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OF THE

Royal Society of Literature

OF

THE UNITED KINGDOM.

SECOND SERIES.

VOL. VIII.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
TRÜBNER AND CO., PATERNOSTER ROW.

M.DCCC.LXVI.

α Soc. 1801. 75

1877 Sept. 3.
Clare Fund.

PRINTED BY
J. E. TAYLOR AND CO., LITTLE QUEEN STREET,
LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS.

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF LITERATURE.

I—ON THE DISCOVERY OF THE LION AT CHÆRONEA, BY A PARTY OF ENGLISH TRAVELLERS IN 1818.

(Read April 14th, 1863.)

I HAVE much pleasure in laying before the Society, this evening, a very interesting account of the discovery, by Mr. G. L. Taylor, of the famous Lion at Chæronea, in a letter he was induced to address to Mr. Newton, on a notice having appeared in the newspapers of the receipt, at the British Museum, of a cast of this venerable relic from Athens, during the autumn of 1862. The letter is as follows:—

Athenæum Club and Broadstairs.
December 19th, 1862.

SIR,

A note in the 'Times' of 12th inst., respecting the Theban or Chæronean Lion, has just been pointed out to me, in which it is stated that a cast of it is being put together by you, at the British Museum. The original ought to have been ours; and I beg to inform you that I am the only surviving member of a party of four, who were the discoverers and disinterrers of this relic of early Greek sculpture. Our party throughout

Greece in 1818 were the late John Sanders (then a retired architect), and Soane's first pupil, the late William Purser, his artist, the late Edward Cresy, my schoolfellow, fellow-apprentice, friend and companion for fifty years, and joint publisher with me of the 'Architectural Antiquities of Rome,' etc., and myself. I perfectly recollect the circumstance, and on referring to my journal, find that "1818, June 3, being all hospitably housed at Livadea, with Signor Logotheti and his family, the Archon of that place, we made an excursion on horseback to Chæronea, two hours distant to the N.W." Pausanias was our handbook, and we had, as was our custom, referred to his remarks the previous evening. When approaching the place, my horse made a fearful stumble over a stone nearly buried in the road, and on looking back, I was struck with the faint appearance of sculpture on the stone, which evidently had caused the stumble. The thought crossed my mind that it might be!? Calling a halt, we all turned back, and having satisfied ourselves, by removing the earth with our riding-whips, that it was sculpture, we engaged some peasants we saw working in the fields, and did not leave the spot until we had dug up the colossal head of the Lion, and some of his limbs separated.

On returning to Athens, we put in our claim to the discovery in every way in our power, apprising our Consul, Mr. Salt, Gropius, Lusieri, etc.

Subsequently I became Civil Architect to the Navy, and endeavoured, ineffectually, to persuade the Admiralty Board to permit it to be brought home in one of their vessels.

Soon after the discovery, notice of the subject was

sent, and appeared in the 'Literary Gazette,' and the Dilettanti Society were urged to assist in removing it to this country. Our endeavours were not successful; but it should be known that neither Greek nor Austrian were the discoverers. Some years afterwards, I heard it had found its way into France,—where, when, or how, I do not remember, but should much like to know. No doubt you are fully acquainted with its modern history, excepting perhaps of that I am now telling you.

Not having the pleasure of your acquaintance, and having only seen you once, when you kindly obtained for me a sight of the Etruscan relics in your Museum, I do not know whether this information will interest you, and probably I ought to apologize for troubling you. I have (like yourself) been occupied in developing architecture, etc., in England and abroad,—I, for about fifty years; and as in Greece we were not so fortunate in our excavations as my valued friend Cockerell, I do not like to lose the merit, if there be any, of having, probably, been the cause of the discovery of this interesting object.

I am, Sir, yours truly,
GEORGE L. TAYLOR.

In a subsequent note, Mr. Taylor says that "during the time we were on our travels in 1817–18–19, Mr. Britton communicated to Mr. Jerdan, the then editor of the 'Literary Gazette,' any points of interest in our letters home, and, we were told, announced this discovery in the 'Literary Gazette.' It would be some little time after the discovery, say the end of June to August, 1818." I regret that though I have looked

through the 'Gazette' for many months after June 3rd, I have not been able to find this reference.

In the same journal, however, for April 24th, 1824, I have found the following narrative, which evidently refers to the same discovery, and though it differs in some respects from Mr. Taylor's own account, is almost certainly the communication to which Mr. Taylor refers; though why, if this be so, the printing of it was deferred till six years after it was written, is not clear. It professes to be an extract "from an unpublished journal of a tour in Greece."

"On Wednesday, the 3rd of June, 1818, our party, consisting of four, set out from the house of the Archon Logotheti, a rich Greek merchant of Libadea, whose kindness and hospitality to English travellers is well known. Our object was to explore the ruins of Chæronea, in Bœotia,—numerous pieces of sculptured ornaments, collected together at a fountain, the remains of a theatre, etc., we had passed the evening before, promising much subject for study,—and we encouraged a hope that the spade and a little exertion would reward us with some antique specimens of art. In two hours we crossed the hills, partly by an ancient paved road, and arrived at the edge of a plain, within a quarter of a mile of Chæronea, and in sight of the fountain and theatre. Here we halted to examine a piece of white marble that lay by the roadside, a portion only of which was to be seen, the greater part being, as we afterwards discovered, buried under the earth, which rose like a flat tumulus, or gave the idea of a platform or base of a temple.

"Whilst our friend —— referred to the extracts and notes provided to direct our pursuits, the eagerness

of —— had encouraged our attendants to remove the soil, when the object of our research was found to be a colossal lion's head of bold and beautiful workmanship. From the nose to the top of the head it measured four feet six inches; and from the forehead where broken off just above the shoulder, five feet nine inches. A part of one of the hind legs lay at some little distance, two feet three inches in diameter, together with the other parts of the statue. Arranging these masses, we decided that the attitude had resembled the one placed on the summit of Northumberland House. The earth removed contained pieces of stone and cement that had formed a part of the foundation, or pedestal on which it had been placed. Holland, in his very accurate and interesting tour, describes the plain of Chæronea, and alludes to the victory obtained there, B.C. 338, by Philip over the combined armies of the Athenians and Thebans, by which he gained dominion over Greece: and this author further observes, 'that nothing is here to be seen of the Theban lion of Chæronea; but it is possibly buried underground, and may yet reward the search of some future traveller.'

"Satisfied that this was the tomb of the Sacred Band of the three hundred Thebans, who till then had never been conquered, we began to consider the best means of removing the lion to our own Museum, where it might serve to assist the studies of the sculptor as well as afford much pleasure to the scholar, it being evidently the very statue described by Pausanias, lib. ix. ch. 40.

"Calculating that the head of this statue alone weighed upwards of three tons, and being some miles

from the seashore, we gave up all idea of removing the whole,—so carefully buried the masses, and left them till other means than those we were possessed of could be adopted; and indulged in the hope that, on our arrival in England, a subscription might be set on foot, for the purpose of importing this vast statue to our shores, where it would serve to remind us how the Greeks commemorated their glorious achievements, and possibly incline our committee of taste to pay the same or greater tribute to the memory of those bands of heroes who, in like manner, have fallen in defence of the honour and liberty of this country."

More than one attempt has since been made to remove the lion from its position on the plains of Chæronea; the last that I am aware of being recorded at a meeting of the Antiquarian Society of Athens (*Ἡ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἑταιρία*), who held their third anniversary meeting on the 12th of June, 1840, by moonlight, under the columns of the Parthenon. At this meeting, the Secretary, M. Rhangabe, stated that it was the intention of the Society to bring to Athens during that year the colossal marble lion of Chæronea. This, however, was not done, and the lion is still *in situ*. The cast in the Museum was obtained through V. A. Drummond, Esq., of H.B.M. Legation, Athens.[1]

The site of Chæronea (*Χαιρώνεια*, now *Kaparna*) is well enough known; and has many claims of great interest for us. It was near the river Cephisus, on the borders of Phocis, at the head of a plain, shut in by a

[1] A restoration of the lion has been published by M. Siegel in Mon. of the Soc. Archeol. di Roma, 1856, Tav. 1.

high projecting rock, which formed in ancient times the citadel of the town, and was called *Πέτραχος* in Pausanias (ix. 41), and *Πέτρωχος* in Plutarch's 'Life of Sulla' (Sull. c. 17). It is said to have derived its later name from one Chæron, who, according to Plutarch, built it towards the east, whereas it has previously faced the west. (Cf. Paus. ix. 40, § 5; Steph. Byz. s. v.; Plut. de Curiosit. 1.) It is not mentioned in Homer, but has been supposed to be the same as the Bœotian Arne (Paus. ix. 40, § 5). Its position naturally exposed it to be the scene of extensive military operations; indeed, it is to the great battles fought at or near it that Chæronea owes whatever fame it possesses. Of these, the first took place in B.C. 447, the result of which was that the Athenians lost the supremacy they had for a short time exercised in Bœotia. A party friendly to the Athenians had held the town; but it having been seized by the opposite faction, Tolmidas was dispatched against it with a small party, and though successful in taking the town, was soon after defeated by the Bœotians, and himself slain. (Thucyd. i. 113; Diod. xii. 6.)

The second and most celebrated battle was fought at Chæronea on August 7th, B.C. 338; and, in this, Philip of Macedon, by overthrowing the united forces of the Athenians and Bœotians, succeeded in crushing for ever the liberties of Greece. Strabo, ix. p. 41, states that it was in memory of a famous band of 300 Thebans, most of whom fell in this battle, that a sepulchre was erected, and, Pausanias adds, surmounted by a lion, as the emblem of the spirit which had animated these Thebans,—a monument of even greater value for us, as no record has come down to our times

with any details of that famous day. The words of Pausanias are as follows:—*Προσιόντων δὲ τῇ πόλει, πολυάνδριον Θηβαίων ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Φίλιππον ἀγῶνι ἀποθανόντων· οὐκ ἐπιγέγραπται μὲν δὴ ἐπίγραμμα, ἐπίσημα δὲ ἔπεστιν αὐτῷ λέων· φέροι δ' ἄν ἐς τῶν ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα τὸν θυμόν· ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἄπεστιν (ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν) ὅτι οὐκ ἐοικότα τῇ τολμῇ σφίσι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ δαίμονος ἠκολούθησε.* "On approaching the city," says he, "is the tomb of the Bœotians who fell in the battle with Philip. It has no inscription; but the figure of a lion is placed upon it as an emblem of the spirit of those men. The inscription has been omitted, as I suppose, because the gods had willed that their fortune should not be equal to their prowess." (Mure's Transl. i. pp. 220–1.)

From the time of Pausanias to the visit of Mr. Taylor and his party, the existence of the lion remained wholly unknown; and we have the successive testimony of Gell, Dodwell, Leake, and Hammond that they sought for it in vain within the district where they reasonably hoped to find it.

Nay, what is most strange is that though the passage in the 'Literary Gazette' we have quoted had been then in print the best part of ten years, Colonel Mure, who visited Chæronea in 1841, had evidently never heard the true history of its discovery, but supposed it had been excavated by some of the modern Greek authorities. Mr. Grote, too, does not allude to it in his history of the battle; while the compiler of the article "Chæronea," in Smith's 'Dictionary of Geography,' 1854, simply refers to the description of it in Colonel Mure's travels.

As, however, the description of this distinguished traveller is remarkably clear and graphic, I have

thought it might be not uninteresting to the Society to transcribe at length what he says.

"About a mile, or little more," says he, "from the Khán, on the right side of the road from Orchomenos, is the sepulchre of the Bœotians who fell in the battle of Chæronea. At the period when this district was traversed by Leake, Dodwell, Gell, or any other previous traveller to whose works I have had access, nothing was here visible but a tumulus. The lion by which Pausanias describes it as having been surmounted had completely disappeared. The mound of earth has since been excavated, and a colossal marble lion discovered, deeply embedded in its interior. This noble piece of sculpture, though now strewed in detached masses about the sides and interior of the excavation, may still be said to exist nearly in its original integrity. It is evident from the appearance of the fragments that it was composed from the first of more than one block, although not certainly of so many as its remains now exhibit. None of the fragments, however, seem to have been removed. The different pieces are so scooped out as to leave the interior of the figure hollow, with the twofold object, no doubt, of sparing material and saving expense of transport. I could obtain no authentic information as to the period and the circumstances of this discovery. The story told on the spot was, that the celebrated patriot chief Odysseus, when in occupation of this district, had observed a piece of marble projecting from the summit of the mound, which he further remarked, when struck, produced a hollow sound. Supposing, therefore, according to the popular notion, that treasure might be concealed in the interior of the tumulus, he opened it

up, and, under the same impression, broke the lion, which was at that time entire, into pieces, or, as the tradition goes, blew it up. Another account is, that the lion was first discovered by that patriarch among the present race of Hellenic archæologers, the Austrian Consul, Gropius; Odysseus being only entitled to the credit of having severed it in pieces. That the government, during the ten years of comparative tranquillity the country has now enjoyed, should have done nothing for its preservation, is another proof how little the regeneration of Greece has done for that of her monuments. It would appear that the marble, with the lapse of ages, had gradually embedded itself in the soft material that formed its base, so as finally to have sunk, not only beneath the surface of the tumulus, but, to judge from the appearance of the excavation, even of the plain itself, a remarkable instance of the effect of time in concealing and preserving, as well as in destroying, monuments of ancient art.

"This lion may, upon the whole, be pronounced the most interesting sepulchral monument in Greece, perhaps in Europe. It is the only one dating from the better days of Hellas, with the exception perhaps of the tumulus of Marathon, the identity of which is beyond dispute. It is also an ascertained specimen of the sculpture of the most perfect period of Greek art. That it records the last decisive blow beneath which Hellenic independence sank, never prominently to rise again, were in itself a sufficiently strong claim on our warmest sympathies. But the mode in which it records that fatal event renders the claim doubly powerful; for this monument possesses the affecting peculiarity of being erected, not, as usual with those situated like

itself on a field of battle, to commemorate the victory, but the misfortunes of the warriors whose bodies repose in the soil beneath,—the valour, not the success of their struggle for liberty." ('Journal of Tour in Greece,' vol. i. pp. 218–220, 1841.)

In Mr. Newton's recent work on 'Halicarnassus, Branchidæ, and Cnidus,' vol. ii. part 2, are some interesting notices of the lion-monuments of the Greeks, with reference to the great lion procured by him from Cnidus, which once surmounted a building, originally, it would seem, a *Polyandrion*. He adds an excellent remark made to him by the late Sir Thomas Wyse: "that the lion of Chæronea, being the emblem of a defeat, is placed in an attitude expressive of angry defiance; while that of the Cnidian lion, being one of natural repose, seems rather the symbol of a victory." This in great measure confirms the judgment of Colonel Mure.

W. S. W. Vaux.

While this paper was in type, I received the following letter from Mr. G. L. Taylor, which I have much pleasure in appending to this paper:—

Broadstairs, April 29th, 1864.

My dear Sir,

I was much gratified yesterday evening, on my return from London, at finding your letter and the proof, which is drawn up with clearness and accuracy.

With regard to the extract (April, 1824) from an "unpublished Journal of a Tour in Greece," I am persuaded from its style, and the circumstances detailed, that it was written by my friend Mr. Cresy himself, and selected by Jerdan, with

whom he was then on intimate terms. It would appear that the discovery had not, as I supposed, been inserted in 1818, but introduced in his Journal in 1824.

I need scarcely remark that it corresponds with my account as much as the notes of two persons on the same subject naturally would, and evidently records the same event. I find in my notes the same observations respecting the theatre and fountains contained in his. The friend mentioned as "referring to our extracts and notes," was, I doubt not, *himself;* and the other friend, "whose eagerness encouraged the attendants," meant your *humble servant.*

This notice, and every circumstance in your paper, go to *prove* that this interesting piece of ancient sculpture *was* discovered by us on the 3rd June, 1818.

I am, dear Sir, yours truly,

GEORGE L. TAYLOR.

II.—SOME ACCOUNT OF A VOLUME, CONTAINING PORTIONS OF PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHY, AND OF THE "GEOGRAPHI GRÆCI MINORES" (BRIT. MUS. ADD. MSS. 19, 391).

BY JAMES YATES, M.A., F.R.S., ETC. ETC.

(Read April 14th, 1863.)

THE geographical writers of ancient Greece have been divided into two classes, viz. the four *greater geographers*, Strabo, Pausanias, Ptolemy, and Stephanus of Byzantium, and the *Geographi Græci Minores*, including all the rest. Although many of the treatises belonging to the latter division have been found only in fragments or in single manuscripts, the matter contained in them is so curious and important that they have engaged the attention and exercised the editorial skill of the most eminent scholars. It has been my good fortune to find in the British Museum a volume containing not only a considerable portion of Ptolemy's Geography, but either the entire remains or considerable fragments of nine of the Geographi Græci Minores, viz. Agathemerus, and the Compendium published under his name; Dionysius of Byzantium, a fragment which had been lost; Arrian's Periplus of the Euxine Sea, his letter to Trajan, and his Periplus of the Erythræan Sea; Hanno's voyage on

the coast of Africa; Philo on the seven wonders of the world; and a chrestomathy, consisting of extracts from Strabo. It appeared desirable to give an account of this volume, in order that it might be used by those who are now engaged, or who may hereafter be engaged, in editing the same authors. A general description, written with this view, is nearly all that I have attempted, and in this undertaking I have to acknowledge the kind assistance and encouragement afforded to me by Sir Frederic Madden, K.H., Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum, H. Ward, Esq., of the same department, and W. S. W. Vaux, Esq., Honorary Secretary of the Royal Society of Literature.

The volume is lettered on the back 'Tractatus de Geographiâ, Græce,' and it appears from a note in it by Sir Frederic Madden that it was purchased of M. C. Simonides in March, 1853. It has been already noticed, as follows, by Sir F. Madden, in a letter published in the 'Athenæum,' March 8th, 1856, p. 299:—

"A Treatise on Geography, compiled from Strabo, Arrian, Ptolemy, etc.; with three rude maps. (Fifteenth century.)"

A fuller account of the contents of the volume, describing them as six different MSS., has been published by Mr. Charles Stewart, in his 'Biographical Memoir of Constantine Simonides,' London, 1859. It is as follows:—

"1. Arrian's Description of the Euxine Pontus. (Fifteenth century.)

"2. Arrian's Letters to Trajanus Adrianus, in which also is the description of the Euxine. (Fifteenth century.)

"3. Arrian's Description of the Erythræan Sea. (Fifteenth century.)

"4. Two books of the 'Geographical Guide' of Claudius Ptolemy, together with two very curious geographical tablets. (Fifteenth century.)

"5. The ingenious Philo on the Seven Wonders. (Thirteenth century.)

* * * * * * *

"15. Passages from the Geography of Strabo. (Fifteenth century.)"

It appears to me that all these tracts are of the same age, and that "Philo on the Seven Wonders" must be assigned to the fifteenth century, with the others; also that Mr. C. Stewart's account, having been taken from verbal statements made to him by Dr. Simonides, is very imperfect. It is important to observe, that the contents of the volume were delivered by Dr. Simonides to the British Museum in detached portions, and were afterwards bound together.

I now proceed to give some account of the volume from my own observation.

It is a folio of 21 leaves, and of parchment, in good preservation, so far as it is entire. All appears to be from the same hand, although the former and the latter portions, which I shall distinguish hereafter, have belonged originally to two different volumes.

The titles of the separate treatises are in red ink, and are in most cases affixed at the end as well as the beginning of the treatise. The writing is in general distinct and regular, except that it is very full of contractions. The three first leaves are ruled, the ten next are not ruled; the eight next, containing 'Ptolemy,'

are ruled. The number of lines in a page varies from forty-three to fifty. The lines are closer, and consequently more numerous, in the pages which are not ruled, than in those which are ruled.

At the commencement is a Table of Contents, as follows :—

Ὁ τῶν γραφέντων ὧδε βιβλίων πίναξ (in red).
α. Ὑποτύπωσις γεωγραφίας ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ. β. Ἀγαθημέρου τοῦ Ὀρθωνος γεωγραφίας ὑποτύπωσις. γ. Ἀνέμων θέσεις καὶ προσηγορίαι ἐκ τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους περὶ σημάτων. δ. Διονυσίου Βυζαντίου ἀνάπλους Βοσπόρου. ε. Ἀρριανοῦ περίπλους Εὐξείνου πόντου ἑκατέρων τῶν ἠπείρων τῶν παρὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ Εὐρώπην διηκουσῶν. ϛ. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Τραϊανὸν ἐν ᾗ καὶ περίπλους Εὐξείνου πόντου. ζ. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ περίπλους τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης. η. Ἄννωνος Καρχηδονίων βασιλέως περίπλους τῶν ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἡρακλέους στήλας Λιβυκῶν τῆς γῆς μερῶν ὃν καὶ ἀνέθηκεν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κρόνου τεμένει. θ. Φίλωνος Βυζαντίου περὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ θεαμάτων. ι. Ἐκ τῶν Στράβωνος γεωγραφικῶν ιζ Βιβλίων χρηστομαθείαι. ια. Πλουτάρχου περὶ ποταμῶν καὶ ὀρῶν ἐπωνυμίας καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς εὑρισκομένων. ιβ. Παρθενίου περὶ ἐρωτικῶν παθημάτων. ιγ. Ἀντωνίνου Λιβεράλις μεταμορφώσεων συναγωγή. ιδ. Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κατὰ Ἡσύχιον Ἰλλύστριον. ιε. Φλέγοντος Τραλλιανοῦ ἀπελευθέρου Καίσαρος περὶ θαυμασίων καὶ μακροβίων. ις. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ Ὀλυμπίων ἀγώνων. ιζ. Ἀπολλωνίου ἱστορίαι θαυμάσιαι. ιη. Ἀντιγόνου ἱστοριῶν παραδόξων συναγωγή. ιθ. Ἱπποκράτους ἐπιστολὴ Θεμιστοκλέους. κ. Διογένους τοῦ κυνὸς. κα. Βρούτου Ῥωμαίων ὑπάτου.

The manuscript to which this title belonged must have been, when entire, a book of great value and interest; and the original, from which it was probably

copied, must have been considerably, perhaps some centuries older, and of higher value in proportion. All the twenty-one articles in the list, except No. 4, have been published.

It may be useful to compare the titles in this list with those of the MS. No. 398, formerly belonging to the Palatine Library at Heidelberg, which is described by Bast, in his 'Epistola Critica,' Lips. 1809, pp. 2–98. It appears that eighteen out of the twenty-one titles in the list recently brought to light by Simonides agree almost word for word with the articles in the Palatine MS., and that they occur in the same order, except that the epistles of Hippocrates and Themistocles, which are entered as separate articles in the Palatine list, are put together as one article, No. 19, in the Simonides list. The four first articles in the Simonides list, and the beginning of the fifth, are wanting in the Palatine; and the second in the Palatine, *Ἀρριανοῦ Κυνηγετικός* is alone wanting in the Simonides list.

It will be necessary to refer again to the Palatine list in what follows.

I now proceed to give some account of the tracts in the Simonides list in the order in which they occur.

1. *Τποτύπωσις γεωγραφίας ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ*—'A Sketch' or 'Compendium of Geography.' This title is repeated in red before the treatise. It immediately follows the table of contents, and then the treatise itself fills the four first pages and part of the fifth. The same tract is described by Holstenius, as he found it, A.D. 1628, in 3 Codd. Regii at Paris. See Bredow, Epist. Parisienses, Lips. 1812, p. 10; Holstenii Epist. ed. Boisso-

nade, Par. 1817, p. 54; Hudson, Geogr. Gr. Min. vol. ii. Oxon. 1703, pp. 33–61. It was first published by Tenullius, Amstel. 1671, 8vo, and afterwards by Gronovius, 'Geographica Antiqua,' L. Bat. 1697, pp. 215–250, as the second book of Agathemerus, and in this Hudson follows Gronovius. It begins with the words *Ἡ τῆς ὅλης γῆς περίμετρος*, and ends with *ἡ μὲν δὴ καθ' ἡμᾶς θάλασσα τοιαύτη*. The Simonides codex shows that it is a distinct treatise by itself. In chap. ix. *περὶ ὀρέων μεγίστων*, where Athos is mentioned, a marginal note in black ink refers to that circumstance. This illustrates the fact stated to me by Simonides, that he obtained the volume from Mount Athos.

2. *Ἀγαθημέρου τοῦ Ὄρθωνος γεωγραφίας ὑποτύπωσις.* Immediately follows No. 1, and breaks off at the bottom of the sixth page with the words *ἔκ δὲ θατέρου ἐπὶ πόσον καὶ τῇ Ἀττικῇ· ἔστι γὰρ μακρά*. These words occur in chap. v., and show that about half of the treatise is wanting in this manuscript. It is found entire in various MSS. See Gronovius, Hudson, Bredow, and Holstenius, *ubi supra*; Fabricii Bibl. Gr. ed. Harles. tom. iv. pp. 615–617.

The title is repeated in red before the treatise. Marginal notes in red refer to the contents of each page. The treatise itself is published as the first book of Agathemerus by the above-named editors, who seem to have taken great liberties in some other respects.

3. The third article is entirely wanting, in consequence of the loss of several leaves.

4. *Διονυσίου Βυζαντίου ἀνάπλους Βοσπόρου.* This article begins at the top of the seventh page, and may be considered unique, since only one fragment of the same tract has been known to exist in recent times, which was its commencement, and this, now recovered, is its termination. The *exordium*, having been found in certain Vatican and Paris MSS.,[1] was first published by Du Fresne in his 'Constantinopolis Christiana,' and afterwards by Hudson, Geogr. Gr. Min. vol. iii. Holstenius had found it, and expresses in his letter to Peiresc, A.D. 1628, an earnest desire that the treatise itself might be discovered and published entire. See Bredow, Epist. Par. p. 15.[2]

Such being the importance attributed by scholars to the commencement of the tract, I have not hesitated to copy the close of it as discovered by myself in the Simonides MS.

(Simonides MS., top of 7th page.)

τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Βιθυνίας βασιλέων. λιμὴν ἐν αὐτῷ πάνυ καλὸς μεθ' ὃν ἀκρωτήριον Αἰετοῦ Ῥίχος, τοὔνομα μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος· πετρώδες δὲ ἅπαν καὶ ἀγχιβαθὲς· ἔνθεν κόλπος Ἄμυκος ἐπικλῆσιν· καὶ Γρωννχία πεδίον ὕπτιον· θῆραι δ' ἐν αὐτῷ κητώδεις ἰχθυών· ἐξ ἧς Παλῶδες ἀπὸ τῆς

[1] See Fabricius, Bibl. Gr. ed. Harles. iv. p. 592, and Kluge, In Hannonis Nav., p. 48.

[2] In his notes on Steph. Byz. *v.* Χρυσόπολις, ed. Dindorf, Holstenius asserts that the treatise of Dionysius was extant in the libraries of Italy and Bavaria. "Hic antiquissimus auctor Latine editus est a Petro Gyllio cum commentario eruditissimo de Bosporo, et *extat Græce in Bibliothecis Italiæ et Bavariæ.*" Du Fresne's "Constantinopolis Christiana" is the Second Part of his "Historia Byzantina," Par. 1680. The account of this fragment, with the fragment itself, is found after the Table of Contents.

ὁμοίας προχώσεως τοῦ κατὰ Βυζάντιον· ἔπειτα Κατάγδιον κολπος ἰχθύων ἐπαγωγὸς ὡς οὐχ ἕτερος· μᾶλλον δὲ, εἰ χρὴ μηδὲν ὑποστειλάμενον ταληθὲς εἰπεῖν, μόνος εὐθηρος ἐκ τῆς Χαλκηδονίων ἀκτῆς· τὰ ἄλλα μὲν γὰρ διαφέρει τοσοῦτον τῶν Εὐρωπίων ὅσον θάλαττα τῆς γῆς· ἐπ' αὐτῷ δὲ Ὀξύρρους ἄκρα· μεθ' ἣν πολὺς καὶ ἐπίπεδος αἰγιαλὸς Φρύξου καλεῖται λιμὴν. μεθ' ὃν ἄλλος ὅρμος Φιέλα Χαλκηδονίων τῶν μέγα δυνηθέντων ἀνδρῶν. ἐπί δ' αὐτῷ βουνὸς ὑπτίος καὶ περιφερὴς εἰς κύκλου σχῆμα περιγράφων τὴν βάσιν· θέατρον δέ τις εἰκάσειεν ὁρᾶν ἀπρονόητον ἐπιτήδευμα τῆς φύσεως· τοῦτο δ' ἀρὰ καὶ κέκληται· πλησίον δ' ἄκρα Λέμβος ὄνομα· κέκληται δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος· καὶ συνεχὴς αὐτῷ αἰγιαλός· κατὰ στόμα δὲ αὐτῷ νῆσος πάνυ βραχεῖα· καθ' ἣν λευκαινομένος ὁ βυθὸς ὑφάλοις ῥαχίαις ἐπὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἀποτρέπει τῶν ἰχθύων τὸν δρόμον· πτοούμενοι γὰρ δὴ τὴν ὄψιν ἐπίφορον τῷ ῥεύματι τέμνουσι τὸν πόρον. Βλάβην αὐτὸν Χαλκηδόνιοι καλοῦσιν ἑτοῖμον ὄνομα θέμενοι καὶ τῇ παρ' αὐτοὺς συμβαίνοντος οἰκεῖον· ἔνθεν τὸ καλουμένον Ποταμώνιον· καὶ μετ' αὐτὸ Ναυσικλεία· καθ' ἣν, φασὶ, Χαλκηδόνιοι ναυμαχία περιεγένοντο τῶν ἐναντία σφίσι πλεόντων. Ἐχαία τὲ περίῤῥουν ἀκρωτήριον· καὶ Λυκάδιον κόλπος ἐπιεικῶς βαθὺς· ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς Μεγάρεως· Κυκλαδιον δὲ ἀπό τινος τῶν ἐπιχωρίων· πλησίον δὲ αὐτοῦ Ναυσιμάχιον· ἄλλης ναυμαχίας παρασήμου χωρίον· ὅθεν Κικόνιον, ὠνομάσθη δὲ καθ' ὑπερβολὰς χαλεπότητος καὶ μοχθηρίας τῶν ἐποικησάντων· στάσει γὰρ δὴ βιασθέντες ἐξέπεσον τῆς χώρας· κατόπιν δὲ αὐτοῦ, τὸ μὲν Ἄκραι Ῥοιζοῦσαι λεγομέναι· τοῦ περὶ αὐτὰς ἀγνυμένου καὶ ῥοιζοῦντος κύματος· τὸ δὲ Δίσκοι· μείζων μὲν ὁ πρῶτος παραπολύς δὲ· ὑπὸ δὲ ἕτερος· ἄμφω δὲ καθ' ὁμοιότητα τοῦ σχήματος· τούτῳ συνεχὲς καὶ τῷ πόντῳ κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην παράλληλον· μεθ' ὃν λιμὴν κάλλιστος ἐκ τε μεγέθους καὶ ἡσύχιας· περίγραφει δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ μέγεθος ἠὼν βαθεία καὶ μαλθακὴ. τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάσσης, πεδίον ἐπάντες εἰς

τὴν ἀκτὴν· κέκληται δὲ Χρυσόπολις, ὡς μὲν ἐνίοι φασὶν ἐπὶ τῆς Περσῶν ἡγεμονίας ἐνταῦθα ποιουμένων τοῦ προσιόντος ἀπὸ τῶν πόρων χρυσοῦ τὸν ἀθροισμόν. ὡς δὲ οἱ πλείους Χρυσοῦ παιδὸς Χρυσηίδος καὶ Ἀγαμέμνονος τάφου. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ αὐτὸν φεύγοντα κατὰ δέος Αἰγίσθου καὶ Κλυταιμνήστρας ἀφικέσθαι διανοούμενον ἐς Ταύρους εἰς Ἰφιγένειαν περαιοῦσθαι τὴν ἀδελφὴν· ἤδη γὰρ εἶναι τὴν Ἰφιγένειαν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱέρειαν· νόσῳ δὲ καμόντα καταλιπεῖν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τῷ χωρίῳ τοὔνομα· δύναιτο δ' ἂν καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ λιμένος εὐκαιριαν οὕτω κεκλῆσθαι χρυσῷ παρομοιούντων τὸ θαυμαστὸν. Ἔνθεν ἄκρα προπίπτει ταῖς τῆς θαλάττης πληγαῖς ἐπιδρόμοις· πολὺς γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὠθούμενος ὁ πλοῦς πρὸς τὸν καλούμενον ἀνθαμιλλᾶται Βοῦν. ἐστὶ δὲ οἷον ἀφετήριον τοῦ πρὸς τὴν Εὐρώπην διάπλου· καὶ κίων λίθου λευκοῦ· καθ' ἣν βοῦς· Χαρητος Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῦ παλλακὴν Βοίδιον ἐνταῦθα καμοῦσαν ἀποκηδεύσαντος· σημαίνει δὲ ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ τοῦ λόγου τἀληθὲς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰκαίαν καὶ ἀταλαίπωρον ποιούμενοι τὴν ἱστορίαν οἴονται τῆς ἀρχαίας λέξεως εἶναι τὴν εἰκόνα· πλεῖστον ἀποπλάνωμενοι τἀληθοῦς· μετὰ δὲ τὴν βοῦν Ἡραγόρα κρήνη· καὶ τέμενος ἥρωος Εὐρώστου· μεθ' ὃν αἰγιαλὸς ὕπτιος Ἱμέρῳ ποτάμῳ καταρδόμενος, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τέμενος Ἀφροδίτης· παρὰ δ' αὐτὸν ὀλίγος ἰσθμὸς πολλὴν πάνυ περιγράφει Χερσόνησον· ἐφ' ἧς ἡ πόλις μικρὸν ὑπὲρ Χαλκηδόνος ποτάμου· καὶ λιμένες ἀμφοτέρωθεν κατὰ τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἰσθμὸν ἀναχωρήσεις. αὐτοφυὴς μὲν ὁ πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἀφορῶν· χειροποίητος δὲ ὁ πρὸς τὴν ἕω καὶ Βυζάντιον· αὕτη δ' ἀνέστηκε λόφου μὲν χθαμαλωτέρα, πεδίου δὲ τραχυτέρα· πολλὰ δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ θαυμάσια κατά τε ἀρχαιότητα τῆς κτίσεως καὶ πράξεις καὶ τύχας καὶ τὰς ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρας μεταβόλας· μαλιστά γε μὴν τέμενος καὶ χρηστήριον Ἀπόλλωνος οὐδενὸς τῶν ἄκρων ἀποδεέστερος· ἔστω δὲ τέρμα τῷ λόγῳ, ταυτὸν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιοῦσι τὸν Βόσπορον τῆς ἱστορίας.

Under this we find in red, *Διονυσίου Βυζαντίου ἀνάπλους Βοσπόρου*, so as to prove the authorship of the tract, the title of each article having been inserted both before and after.

The *rubricator*[3] has then added an important annotation. He says—

Διώρθωται οὐ πρὸς πάνυ σπουδαῖον ἀντίγραφον.

The epigram referred to by Dionysius is also added exactly as it is found in Brunck's 'Analecta,' tom. iii. p. 187, and in the 'Anthologia,' by Jacobs, tom. iv. p. 155. It occupies a very small space, being compressed as much as possible, but is easily divisible into eight hexameters and pentameters.

The original text of Dionysius Byzantinus having been lost, with the exception of the two fragments above mentioned, it is important to observe that the whole of it, omitting the *exordium*, still exists in a Latin translation made by the learned Frenchman Pierre Gilles. This writer is best known by his work 'De Bosporo Thracio,' in which he has incorporated his translation of Dionysius, accompanying it with explanatory annotations. He died at Rome in 1555, and his account of the Thracian Bosporus was first published by his nephew at Lyons, in 1561. It has been often reprinted. I use it as found in the Venice edition of the Thesaurus of Gronovius, tom. vi. The entire Latin translation by Gilles was never published

[3] After the copyist had finished a manuscript so far as he was required to accomplish his work, it was handed to the "rubricator" to add in red the titles, the initial letters, marginal notes, and other explanations. See Pfeiffer, 'Ueber Bücher-Handschriften,' pp. 55, 56.

separately until it appeared in the third volume of Hudson's 'Geographi Græci Minores,' pp. 1–23. The MS. from which Gilles translated has long since disappeared, but we may now form some judgment of its accuracy from the fragment of the original, which I have brought to light, and which appears to be about a seventh part of the whole. I here insert the corresponding part of the Latin translation.

Translation of Dionysius Byz. by Peter Gyllius, as published in Gyllius 'De Bosporo Thracio,' lib. iii. *c.* 6 (*Gronovii Thes., ed. Venet.*, vol. vi. pp. 3197–3210).

". . . a Rege quodam Bithyniæ. Portus in ipso perbonus, post quem est promontorium *ἀετόρηχον*, a figura nominatum: est autem petrosum totum et proximum habens mare profundum usque ad oram littoris. Inde sinus Amycus appellatus, et Gronychia campus supinus et planus, in ipso autem piscationes cetaceorum piscium: deinde Paludes a simili exaggeratione paludum, quæ sunt in penitimo sinu nuncupato Cornu Byzantii.

" Post Paludes subsequitur sinus nuncupatus *Κατάγγειον*, ad se maxime alliciens pisces, siquis alter, ac potius (si nihil decet supprimere eum, qui veritatem dicit) solus ex littore Chalcedoniorum est bene piscosus: verumtamen tantum differt ab Europæo, quantum differt mare a terra. *Ἐπ' αὐτῷ ὀξύῤῥονς ἄκρα*, hoc est, In ipso, vel post ipsum est promontorium Oxyrrhoum. Post Oxyrrhoum succedens littus planum et multum appellatur Phryxi portus; post quem alter portus, et Phiela Chalcedoniorum valde potentum. *Ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ*, id est, in ipso, vel post ipsum. Phiela est tumulus supinus et rotundus in circulo figuram circumscribens basim. Theatrum aliquis conjectaret se videre improvisum a natura constitutum. Prope autem est promontorium nominatum Lembus, a similitudine lembi. Sub littus illi continuum est insula valde brevis, juxta quam maris vadum exalbescens cautibus sub aqua jacentibus in Europam avertit piscium cursum, cujus aspectu

exterriti fretum transeunt secundo Bospori fluxu. Chalcedonii ipsam insulam appellant Βλαβην, apto nomine, et proprio experientiæ rei quæ accidere solet. Inde est Potamonion: post Potamonion succedit Nausiclia, apud quam dicunt Chalcedonios bello navali superasse adversarios contra se navigantes: inde Echæa, περίῤῥουν promontorium, et sinus appellatus Lycadium, satis profundus: illud quidem a viro Megarensi, Lycadium, sive Cycladion, a quodam indigena.

" Prope Lycadium promontorium est Nausimachium, locus altera pugna navali illustris; inde Ciconium nominatum ab excessu malitiæ incolarum. Seditione enim violenta pressi ex loco exciderunt. A tergo autem Ciconii sunt partim Ῥοιζοῦσαι Ἄκραι (ex eo nominatæ, quod circa ipsas fragunntur fluctus, et cursu murmurante feruntur), partim Disci; major quidem primus, multo minor secundus; ambo appellati a similitudine figuræ.

" Post Discos sequitur portus magnitudine et tranquillitate pulcherrimus et optimus. Ipsius magnitudinem circumscribit littus profundum et molle. Supra mare jacet campus acclivis in littus. Appellatur autem Chrysopolis, ut quidam dicunt, ex eo, quod Persæ imperantes in hunc locum cogerent auri acervos exactos ab urbium tributis; ut vero multi tradunt, a Chryse, filio Chryseidis et Agamemnonis, ibi mortuo et sepulto. In hunc enim locum dicunt Chrysen fugientem metu Ægisthi et Clytemnestræ pervenisse, cogitantem in Tauros transire ad sororem Iphigeniam, Sacerdotem initiatam Dianæ; sed illum morbo laborantem, hic sepultura affectum fuisse, suoque ex nomine loco nomen reliquisse. Posset etiam ob portus commoditatem ita appellari, ab iis, qui mirabilia auro comparare solent.

" Post Chrysopolim promontorium maris ictibus expositum prominet; multa enim navigatio ad ipsum impulsa contra promontorium nominatum Bovem concertat. Est autem is locus tanquam e carceribus emittens trajicientes in Europam. In hoc promontorio existit columna lapidis albi, in qua extat Bos, Charetis Imperatoris Atheniensium conjux, quam hic mortuam sepelivit. Inscriptio autem significat sermonis

veritatem: at illi, qui vanam reddunt historiam, putant antiquæ Bovis statuam, aberrantes a veritate.

"Post locum appellatum Bovem, sequitur fons nominatus Hermagora et delubrum herois Eurosti. Secundum id existit littus supinum et planum, lenissimo fluvio irrigatum, in ipsoque Veneris templum, atque juxta ipsum parvus isthmus multam circumscribit Chersonesum, in qua urbs Chalcedon, paulo supra fluvium appellatum Chalcedonem sita, portus utrinque habens in flexibus in isthmum recedentibus: unum quidem ad vesperam spectantem, alterum ad Solis ortum: ipsa quidem effertur colle quidem humilior, planitie vero asperior. Multa in urbe hac admiratione digna, ob antiquitatem, et res gestas, et fortunas, et in utramque partem mutationes: maxime autem admirabilia, Apollinis templum, et oraculum nullo summorum oraculorum inferius. Verum finis esto meæ Bospori historiæ."

ANNOTATIONS.

Line 1. The account, as we now have it, both in the original and in the Latin translation, begins with the "Bay of Mucaporis, named after a king of Bithynia," and identical, as Von Hammer thinks,[4] with the modern Chunkar Iskelessi. *Αἰετοῦ ῥῆχος, eagle's thorn,* may have been the name of a low thorny bush, fit for making hedges, the form of which was supposed to appear in this promontory. Observe the Ionic form of both words.

Line 5. *Παλῶδες*, the Latin *paludes*. I find "*Παλοῦδι*, palus, paludis," in the Glossarium Barbaro-Græcum of Langius.

Line 15. The word *ἐπιτήδευμα, adaptation,* is indistinct; but I think it may safely be assumed. Throughout the whole *codex* there is an utter disregard of the

[4] Constantinopolis, i. p. 291.

division of words, and yet they are not joined together.

Line 27. *Κυκλαδιον* seems to be a mistake of the transcriber for *Δυκαδιον*; but it appears that Gilles found it in his copy.

Line 39. Pierre Gilles has observed, that a clear proof of the antiquity and genuineness of the treatise of Dionysius is afforded by the circumstance that Stephanus Byzantinus, who wrote about A.D. 500, has quoted the passage on the origin of the name *Χρυσόπολις*, introducing the quotation with these words:—

Διονύσιος δ' ὁ Βυζάντιος τὸν ἀνάπλουν τοῦ Βοσπόρου γράφων περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ τάδε φησί.

The subsequent editors and commentators have repeated the observation of Gilles. The quotation begins with *κέκληται* and ends with *Ἀγαμέμνονος*. The only variations are these:—Instead of *πόρων* (*ways and means*) Stephanus has *πόλεων* (*cities*). Instead of *ὡς δὲ οἱ πλείους Χρυσοῦ*, Stephanus has *οἱ δὲ πλείους ἀπὸ Χρυσοῦ*. From other circumstances it appears that Dionysius wrote in the second century.

Line 53. Here Pierre Gilles has taken the liberty of translating *παλλακήν* (*concubine*) by *conjux*. In the epigram upon the marble monument, which the Athenian general Chares erected to her memory, he calls her *εὐνέτις*. We find the same mistake in Smith's Dict. of Gr. and Roman Biography (*v.* Damalis), where Chares and Damalis are represented as husband and wife. In the same valuable work (*v.* Chares), the character of the general is depicted in terms which justify the language of Dionysius. The *παλλακή* was often a slave, and she was not unfrequently called by a name in the neuter gender, and this may explain

why on this monument she is called *Βοίδιον* (*calf*), and in Codinus and other historians *Δάμαλις* (*heifer*). Gilles thinks that Codinus copied his account in great part from Dionysius.

5. *Ἀρριανοῦ, κ.τ.λ.* This tract immediately follows Dionysius Byzantinus. It occupies the remainder of the seventh page, the six pages following, and the top of the fourteenth. It begins, *Κατὰ τὸν Θρᾴκιον Βόσπορον καὶ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου ἐν τοῖς δεξίοις τῆς Ἀσίας μέρεσιν ὑπέρεστι τοῦ Βιθύνων ἐθνοῦς*, and it ends, *τῆς Μαιώτιδος λίμνης. ϛα θ μι ᾱ σ̄*. The only manuscript of this treatise hitherto known and used, viz. that which is at the commencement of the Palatine codex, is imperfect at the beginning. See Gronovii Geogr. Ant. p. 133; Bast, Ep. ad Boissonade, pp. 3–34; Hudson, vol. i.[5]

In Bredow's Epist. Par. pp. 12, 16, in a letter from Holstenius to Peiresc, A.D. 1628, mention is made of a Codex Vaticanus, containing the first part of the treatise, and the writer expresses his "vehement desire" that the whole might be discovered. This treatise is the more remarkable from having been in great part originally written, as it appears, in Iambic verses, taken from the poem of Scymnus Chius.

6. Arrian's letter to Trajan fills the remainder of the fourteenth page and the three following pages, and is No. 3 in the Palatine MS. (Bast, pp. 35–40). It

[5] This Codex Palatinus, 398, was probably seen at Heidelberg by Salmasius about A.D. 1608. See Is. Casauboni Epistolæ, No. 518, p. 585, ed. Grævii, p. 307, ed. Almeloveen.

was first published by Sigismund Gelenius, together with Arrian's Periplus of the Erythræan Sea, Hanno's Periplus, Plutarch de Fluviis, and Strabo's Chrestomathy, all from the same MS., and printed by Froben, at Basle, 1533. The title of the volume is in Greek, and is copied by Fabricius, Bibl. Gr. ed. Harles, iv. p. 574, and by Siebenkees in his edition of Strabo, Præf. p. 34.

7. Arrian's Periplus of the Erythræan Sea, six pages, is published by Gelenius, with the last, from the Palatine MS., which, according to Bast (p. 42), is replete with errors. At the end of the tract in the Simonides MS. the title is repeated as usual, and is followed by the remark also in red ink,

Διώρθωται οὐ πρὸς σπουδαῖον ἀντίγραφον.

On looking back to No. 4 we find the same remark inserted by the rubricator with the addition of the word *πάνυ* before *σπουδαῖον*. The sentence looks like a report or certificate from the rubricator to the abbot (*hegumenos*) of the monastery. We learn from Bast (*l. c.*) that the very same remark is found in the Palatine MS., at the end both of this tract and of the last. Its meaning seems to be, in each case, that the transcriber had not used a good (*σπουδαῖον*) or very good (*πανυσπουδαῖον*) copy. Can any inference be drawn from the comparison of the Palatine and Simonides MSS. in this as well as in other respects? Assuming the Simonides MS. to have been written on Mount Athos, may we not now refer the Palatine to the same source?

8. Hanno's Periplus begins at the bottom of p. 23,

and occupies rather more than half of p. 24. This article, though sometimes called a fragment, is evidently entire. The title, contained in the table of contents (see above), is repeated before the document itself. It was first published at Basle, by Sigismund Gelenius, as above related, No. 6. Numerous editions have been copied, with little variation, after this, the Editio Princeps, which is now extremely rare. Bast says, that Gelenius published the MS. accurately, with one exception, viz. that instead of ὄρη μεστὰ ἀνθρώπων ἀγρίων he has published μετά ἀ. ἀ. The next edition, by Johann. Jacobus Müller, (Argentorati, 1661, 8vo,) appears to be an exact copy of the first. The Greek text fills nearly two pages. An English translation which must have been made from the Editio Princeps, exists in manuscript in the British Museum (Cod. Harl. 6356), and is published in Purchas's 'Pilgrims.'

On comparing the second edition with the Simonides MS. I find the following variations :—

	Second Edition.	*Manuscript.*
Title,	Καρχηδονίων Βασιλέως.	Βασιλέως Καρχηδονίων.
l. 5.	Ἔδοξεν.	ἔδοξε.
l. 6.	ἔπλευσεν.	ἔπλευσε.
l. 15.	θαλάττῃ καλουμένας.	θαλάσσῃ κειμένας.
l. 16.	γύττην.	κύττην.
l. 33.	ἀποστρέψαντες.	ὑποστρέψαντες.
l. 37.	ὄρεσι μεγάλοις δασέσιν.	ὄρεσι δασέσι μεγάλοις.
l. 38.	γινόμεθα.	ἐγενόμεθα.
l. 41.	εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν ἡμέρας πέντε.	ἐπεῖτα ἡμέρας πέντε εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν.
l. 48.	εἰς τὴν θάλατταν.	εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν.
l. 51.	ἠλίβατον τι πῦρ.	ἠλίβατόν πῦρ.

The critics have proposed certain conjectural emendations, one of which only is justified by this manuscript, viz. *ἐγενόμεθα*, which we find, as shown above, instead of *γινόμεθα*. On the contrary, in l. 58, where we find *μετρίοις ἀμυνόμενοι*, for which Kluge (ed. Lips. 1829) has substituted *πέτροις ἀμυνομένοι*, as necessary to the sense, and Osann has proposed *μετεώροις*, the conjectural emendations are unsupported by the MS. The same is the case in two instances (l. 15 and l. 25) of the occurrence of *κατωκήσαμεν*, for which it has been proposed to substitute *κατῳκίσαμεν*. See Osann in 'Zeitschrift für Alterthums-wissenschaft,' no. 69, A.D. 1855, p. 549. Also the remark, that something has fallen out of the text before *Χρέτης* (l. 28), is unsupported by the manuscript.

Although it is not my intention to attempt a general illustration of the geography or natural history of this Periplus, I think it desirable to refer to two of the facts therein contained, on account of the confirmation given them by the discoveries of recent travellers. The "wild men" (*ἄνθρωποι ἀγριοι*), both male and female, "covered with hair" (*δασεῖαι τοῖς σώμασιν*), and called "Gorillas" (*γωρίλλας*), appear to have been identical with those now known by the same name, and the skins, suspended by Hanno with his tablet in the enclosure of the temple at Carthage, must have been similar to those now shown in the zoological gallery of the British Museum. Kluge, indeed, in his note on the passage, asserts, that Hanno's Gorilla is undoubtedly the same quadruped with the orang-outang; but the orang-outang, properly so called, is a native of Java and Borneo, and is specifically different from the gorilla, being much smaller. In the second place,

the description of "fiery torrents flowing into the sea," of "the ground impassable on account of the heat," and of a "mountain of immense size, as seen by day, and appearing by night to emit fire which reached the sky" (l. 48–53), the explanation of which has hitherto been variously attempted, as referring to the luminosity of the sea, to gleams of lightning, or to the native practice of setting the long grass and the woods on fire, suppositions adopted on the assumption that no traces of volcanoes were to be found on the western coast of Africa, seems now to be fully elucidated by Mr. G. Mann's recent account of the Cameroon mountains, opposite the island of Fernando Po. This gentleman, with his companions, succeeded in reaching the highest summit of this group, which they called Mount Victoria, and on which in January, 1862, they planted the British flag. They ascertained its height to be about 4132 mètres = 13,553 English feet; and they observed around it all the usual features of a volcanic country, tracts of ashes, craters, fields and streams of lava, and clefts emitting smoke. See Proceedings of the Linnean Society, vol. iii. no. 25, A.D. 1863, pp. 1–12.

9. Philo on the Seven Wonders of the World, occupies the remainder of p. 24 and the whole of p. 25, with two lines of p. 26, after which is a vacant space. This treatise has been hitherto known only from the Palatine MS., of which I have already spoken. The first edition was published by Leo Allatius, Romæ, 1640; the second by Boessius, Lugd. 1661. We have it also in the eighth volume of the 'Thesaurus' of Gronovius. Orelli followed with a very complete edition

(Lips. 1816). He says (p. v.) that the text, as hitherto edited, was defaced by typographical and other errors without number. Bast (p. 42) makes a similar complaint. On this account the second MS., now happily brought to light, has a peculiar value, although it is to be regretted that it ends, as the editions do, with the words καὶ περὶ, the remainder of the 6th chapter, "the Temple of Diana at Ephesus," and the whole of the 7th, "the Mausoleum," being lost.

10. Chrestomathies, or Extracts from Strabo, fill the remainder of the 26th page. This is the seventh article in the Palatine list, and the last of those in the Simonides list, which are preserved in the body of the MS. It may possess an unusual value, from the circumstance that these Chrestomathies differ much from one another, and have been made by different writers. See Fabricii Bibl. Græca, ed. Harles, iv. pp. 573–575; Strabo, ed. Siebenkees, Præf. xxxiv.–xxxvi.; Bredow, Epist. Par. pp. 69–104. But I think it probable that this is the same which has been published by Gelenius from the Palatine MS., and after him by Hudson, Almeloveen, Falconer, and others. Bast considered the Palatine MS. as unique, but Bredow says that he had found part of the same text in another Paris MS. See Bast, Epist. ad Boissonade, p. 47.

In conclusion, I have to mention the remarkable circumstance, that instead of the eleven authors which follow the Chrestomathy of Strabo in the Simonides list, we find a considerable extract from Ptolemy's Geography written by the same hand with the preceding part of the volume and accompanied by three

maps. One of these maps is intended to represent the world, another the British Isles, and the third Portugal. The appearance of all three is very like that of the maps in other manuscripts, and even in the oldest editions of Ptolemy. The two portions of the codex, which I have now described, have evidently belonged to two separate volumes; the shattered leaves have been bound together, because they related to the same subject and were in the same hand. The extract from Ptolemy begins with book vii., *Ινδίκης τῆς ἔκτος Γάγγου*. Including the maps, it occupies eight leaves, or sixteen pages, and this concludes the volume in its present state.

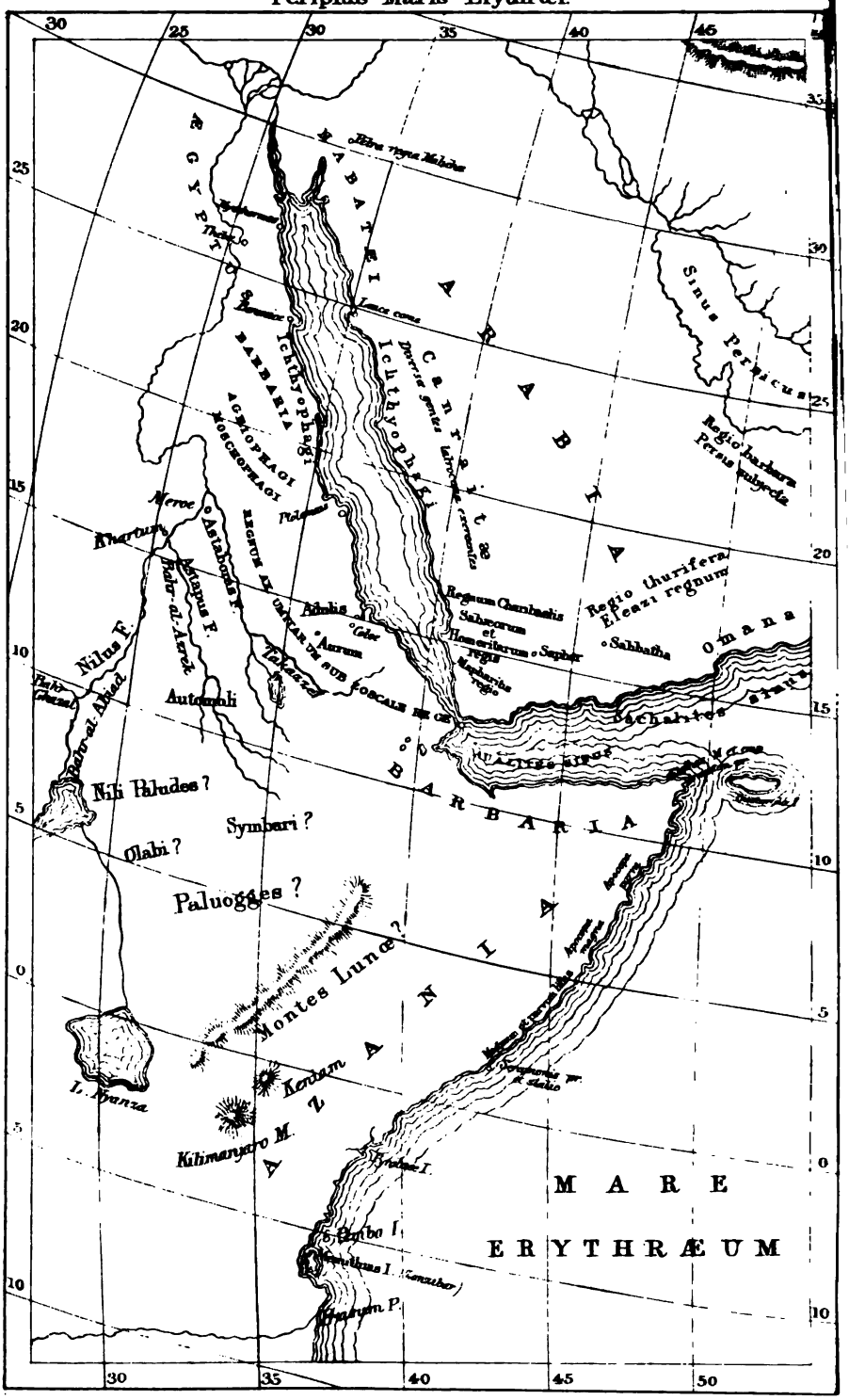
POSTSCRIPT (*April* 30, 1864).

It is probable that this manuscript belonged to the monastery of Batopaidi, on Mount Athos. This monastery was visited by Professor Carlyle and the Rev. Dr. Hunt, in 1801, and the result of their inquiries after its library was published in Walpole's 'Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey,' pp. 194–202 (compare also, p. 220). Their general account of the manuscripts is in the following terms:—"These old tattered volumes were thrown together in the greatest confusion, mostly without beginning or end, worm-eaten, damaged by mice, and mouldy with damp." If so, this may explain why the 'Geographi Græci Minores' and the 'Geography' of Ptolemy have not come to us in a more perfect condition. The other part of Ptolemy's Geography may still be in the same

convent. Carlyle and Hunt, having been deputed by the Bishops of Durham and Lincoln (Barrington and Pretyman-Tomline) to explore the libraries on Mount Athos, made catalogues of the Greek manuscripts. Dr. Hunt says of those at Batopaidi, "We took an accurate catalogue, examining each mutilated volume separately and minutely." If this catalogue could be found, it would probably afford important information respecting some of the manuscripts which came into the possession of Simonides.

JAMES YATES.

THE NILE &c. as Known to Ptolemy and the Author of the Periplus Maris Erythræi.



F.C. Reichardt, lith. H. Mill. St. Conduit St.

III.—ON THE KNOWLEDGE THE ANCIENTS POSSESSED OF THE SOURCES OF THE NILE.[1]

BY W. S. W. VAUX, M.A., HON. SEC. R.S.L.

(Read June 10th, 1863.)

THE success which Captains Speke and Grant have achieved during their recent explorations of the presumed head-waters of the Nile, a brief notice of which has been given by Sir Roderick Murchison in his Annual Address to the Geographical Society for the present year, has led me to think it might not be uninteresting to this Society if I were to lay before it, as briefly as I can, the principal facts which would seem to have been known to the Ancient World with reference to the Upper Nile, Æthiopia, and the sources of this great river. In doing so, I propose to confine what I have to say, as far as I possibly can, to the Nile southward of the Cataracts, as anything like a

[1] Shortly after this paper was read, I received a copy of the admirable memoir by M. Vivien St. Martin on the whole of the ancient geography of Africa. I at once read it through carefully, and have learnt with much satisfaction that, though much more full than my paper, it confirms, in all essential particulars, the views I have proposed in the following notice. I have also referred in several instances to the "Journal" of the expedition under Captains Speke and Grant, which was also published after this Paper was read.—*W. S. W. V.*

detailed history of this river would be out of place here, indeed, has been treated so fully already in numerous accessible works, that it would be a waste of time to go over it again. I shall therefore simply follow the course of ancient classical history from century to century, with some notice at the conclusion of my paper of the principal results of the recent discoveries of modern travellers. By these means I shall hope to be able to bring before you a consistent view of the geography of the head-waters of the Nile, such as it was known during the many ages which preceded the awakening up of modern interest in the investigation of the sources of this river.

The earliest reference to the Nile in classical writers is in Æschyl. Prom. Vinct. v. 807 (about B.C. 490), who states—

τηλουρὸν δὲ γῆν
ἥξεις κελαινὸν φῦλον, οἳ πρὸς ἡλίου
ναίουσι πηγαῖς, ἔνθα ποταμὸς Αἰθίοψ.
τούτου παρ' ὄχθας ἔρφ', ἕως ἂν ἐξίκῃ
καταβασμὸν, ἔνθα Βυβλίνων ὀρῶν ἄπο
ἵησι σεπτὸν Νεῖλος εὔποταν ῥέος.
οὗτός σ' ὁδώσει τὴν τρίγωνον ἐς χθόνα
Νειλῶτιν, οὗ δὴ τὴν μακρὰν ἀποικίαν
Ἰοῖ, πέπρωται σοί τε καὶ τέκνοις κτίσαι.[2]

a passage in which Prometheus indicates to the fugitive Io the course she will have to pursue in order to

[2] It is not necessary that I should introduce here a critical discussion of various points suggested by these lines. It is enough if I call attention to the fact that in this, the earliest document we can quote with reference to the Nile, it is called ποταμὸς Αἰθίοψ, that on following its stream the traveller arrives at what the poet calls καταβασμὸν, that its water is described as εὔποτος, a description still remarkably true, and that, at its embouchure, we find τὴν τρίγωνον χθόνα Νειλῶτιν, which is evidently the Delta.

reach the banks of the Nile. The second is in a fragment of 'Prometheus Solutus,' preserved by Strabo, i. p. 33 :—

φοινικόπεδόν τ' ἐρυθρᾶς ἱερὸν
χεῦμα θαλάσσης
χαλκοκέραυνόν τε παρ' Ὠκεανῷ
λίμναν παντοτρόφον Αἰθιόπων,
ἵν' ὁ παντόπτας Ἥλιος ἀεὶ
χρῶτ' ἀθάνατον καματόν θ' ἵππων
θερμαῖς ὕδατος
μαλακοῦ προχοαῖς ἀναπαυεί.

Both passages are very instructive; for, in the first, the *μακρὰ ἀποικία* can hardly refer to anything else but that made by the Ionians in the time of Psammetichus,[3] 200 years before Æschylus wrote; while the *καταβασμὸς* probably alludes to the cataract of Syene, though it is not possible to determine satisfactorily what the poet may have meant by the *ὀρῆ Βυβλίνα*. The phrase of *ποταμὸς Αἰθίοψ* for *Νεῖλος*, conveys the notion that the poet deemed the river to belong to those strange people, the Æthiopians, whose homes were far beyond the confines of Upper Egypt; a race of whom we have so many conflicting notices among the earlier writers of classical antiquity. In the second, we find the remarkable words *λίμναν παντοτρόφον Αἰθιόπων*;[4] in which,

[3] This colony would seem to have been made about B.C. 660 (cf. Herod. ii. 154). It is probably owing to these colonists (some of whom may ultimately have found their way back to Greece) that the Ionian Greeks obtained their first definite notions with regard to the Upper Nile. The meaning of *καταβασμὸν* has been much discussed, and if, as is probable, the term really refers to the cataract of Syene, we are prepared for any amount of exaggeration when we bear in mind the well-known passage of Cicero, "Nilus ad illa, quæ Catadupa nominantur, præcipitat ex altissimis montibus" (Somn. Scipionis). Cf. also Seneca, Quæst. Nat. iv. c. 1.

[4] It seems worth while to mention in a note the principal facts

besides the reference to the above-noticed Æthiopians, we meet with the earliest allusion to the "marshes of the Nile,"—the existence of which, though often stated, as we shall see hereafter, in ancient writers, has only been absolutely verified by the researches of the last twenty-five years. The third, and most important passage is of the same date, in a fragment of the 'Æthiopis,' a lost play of Æschylus (Fragm. 139, ed. Didot), as follows :—

γένος μὲν αἰνεῖν ἐκμαθὼν ἐπίσταμαι
Αἰθιοπίδος γῆς, ἔνθα Νεῖλος ἐπτάρους
γάνος κυλίνδει πνευμάτων ἐπομβρίᾳ
ἓν δ' ἥλιος πυρωπὸς ἐκλάμψας χθονὶ

recorded of this remarkable people. The name occurs first in Homer (Il. i. 423, xxiii. 206; Odyss. i. 23–24), and refers either to Æthiopia, properly so called,—the district south of Egypt, and between it and Abyssinia,—or to the provinces near the mouth of the Euphrates, known generally by the name of Kush. Herodotus was the first writer to afford any details relative to this country, which, for the most part, belongs to the district south of Meroe. Besides Meroe he mentions however only one town, Nysa, which he connects with a legend of the birth of Dionysus, or Bacchus. Aristotle (in his 'Meteorologica,' i. c. 13, ed. Didot) adds that two great rivers, the Ægon and Nysis, flow down from the Æthiopian mountains. Most of the narrative in Herodotus refers to the story of the Automoli of Psammetichus, in speaking of whom Eratosthenes remarks that they were called Sembritæ (Strab. xvii. p. 786); while Artemidorus of Ephesus calls them Sebritæ (Strab. xvi. p. 770), and adds, that, not far from the island of Meroe, there is another island also occupied by the same Automoli, probably near the present Sennaar. Pliny, quoting Bion and Aristocreon, gives some additional particulars about this country of the Sembritæ, or, as he writes the name, Semberritæ. Bion calls the capital of the Semberritæ, Sembolitis; Aristocreon, Esar, a name we also find in Ptolemy, and probably the same as Sape, the modern Sobah. Pliny mentions, from the same authorities, as we shall see presently, the names of a great number of other places.

τήκει πετραίαν χιόνα· πᾶσα δ' εὐθαλὴς
Αἴγυπτος ἀγνοῦ νάματος πληρουμένη
φερέσβιον Δήμητρος ἀντέλλει στάχυν.

In this passage, the true origin of the inundation of the Nile—namely, the melting of the snows under the influence of the tropical sun of Æthiopia—is clearly referred to; a fact which, like that of the Nile marshes, had never been, till quite recently,[5] established as a certainty, though often conjectured by the more far-seeing of ancient geographers. It seems to be a certain conclusion from these passages, that the Egyptians, from whom Æschylus must have borrowed his statements, either directly or through the agency of Ionian Greeks, as suggested above, had already acquired a knowledge of the Upper Nile which the philosophers of Europe did not possess till more than a quarter of the present century had passed away.

The next author of importance we come to is Herodotus (about B.C. 448), whose life was nearly contemporary with that of Æschylus, but whose history was probably not completed till after the poet's death. Of Herodotus we know that he visited Egypt himself about B.C. 448, and that he went up the river as far as Elephantine (Herod. ii. 3, 29). He tells us that none of those whom he met with during his journey pretended to any knowledge of the sources of the Nile, with the exception of the scribe who kept the register of the sacred treasures of Minerva in the city of Sais (ii. 28), who asserted that midway between two hills,

[5] I have used the words "quite recently" advisedly, without, however, intending to ignore certain indications preserved to us by some of the mediæval maps, quoted by Lelewel and other geographical writers.

called Crophi and Mophi, as you ascend from Syene to Elephantine, "are the fountains of the Nile, fountains which it is impossible to fathom. Half the water runs northward to Egypt, and the other half southward towards Æthiopia." Herodotus adds that his narrator did not seem very certain of his statement, though he averred that Psammetichus had himself tested the unfathomableness of this fountain. It is curious that the tradition of the existence of such a gulf has been preserved in much later authors; thus, Tacitus, in his notice of the expedition of Germanicus during the reign of Tiberius, declares that the Roman general was taken to see it (Annal. ii. 61); while Seneca appears to have thought that the true Nile did not commence till the island of Philæ (Quæst. Natur. iv. 2). The fact is, Herodotus himself exhibits much better judgment than any of the persons he questioned; for, besides his doubt of the veracity or knowledge of the Saite scribe, he distinctly speaks of its being a journey of 112 days (nearly four months) from Elephantine up the river to the place where the deserters from Psammetichus (*αὐτομόλοι*) dwelt[6] (ii. 31). Beyond this

[6] Herod. ii. 29–31, gives a sketch of the journey upwards from Elephantine to Meroe.

1. Four days' tracking, owing to the force of the stream.

2. Twelve *σχοῖνοι* of navigation, the river being as tortuous as the Mæander.

3. A plain and the island of Tachompso.

4. A great lake into which the Nile falls.

5. Forty days' journey along its banks.

6. Twelve days' navigation to Meroe, the metropolis of the Æthiopians.

In Ptol. iv. p. 290 (ed. Wilberg), we find mention of a place called Dodecaschœnus—a name which may have been handed down by tradition. It is probable that an island now called Derar repre-

point, Herodotus does not seem to have acquired any information about the Nile, except the curious statement that, beyond the country of the deserters, the river flows from west to east, no one, however, having any knowledge of its further course, the country being uninhabited, owing to its excessive heat (ii. 31).

A note in Professor Rawlinson's Herodotus (ii. p. 44) suggests the probability that the country of the Automoli is coincident with Abyssinia, in which case the river which flows from west to east would be the Bahr-el-Abiad or White Nile, or, what is perhaps the more likely, a great tributary of the White Nile, the Bahr-al-Ghazal or Keilak, which falls into it from the west in N. lat. 9°. In confirmation of his view of the easterly course of the Nile, Herodotus then proceeds to tell (on the authority of certain people of Cyrene) the story of the five Nasamones (as Sir Gardner Wilkinson conjectures, *Nahsi-Amun*—negroes of Ammonitis, or Northern Libya), and their statement to Etearchus, the king of the Ammonii, that after travelling a long distance, apparently to the south, they fell in with a race of very small black men, who carried them to a city situated on the banks of a great river running from west to east and full of crocodiles, which river Etearchus

sents Tachompso; while Meroe is generally held to be the same as Napata (in the Hieroglyphics called Nepet). Herodotus adds, that from Meroe to the place where these αὐτομόλοι were settled is another journey of two months; the same period which it took to go from Elephantine to Meroe. Hence it has been supposed by Heeren (v. 151) and by Lepsius (Lettre à M. Boeckh, in the Nouv. Annal. des Voyag. iii. p. 350), that the Meroe of Herodotus and of Ptolemy are really different places, and that the true Meroe was much nearer to Egypt than other statements would naturally have determined.

conjectured to be the Nile (ii. 32, 33). This opinion of Etearchus Herodotus adopts, and confirms by a fanciful analogy between the course of the Istrus, or Danube (as supposed by him and also by Aristotle, Meteor. c. xiii.), and this presumed course of the Nile.

With our present better knowledge of the geography of Africa, we may be sure that it was not any portion of the Nile which these travellers reached. Their whole course was evidently to the W. and S.W.; and, if they did reach any river at all, it is more probable that they came upon some portion of the upper waters of the Niger. Herodotus describes, however, with singular accuracy, the present physical character of this northern part of Africa, and the successive belts or zones of country through which these Nasamones passed, viz. first through an inhabited district, then through a region full of wild animals, then through a perfect desert, till at length they reached a land full of trees and marshes, and, ultimately, the banks of a great river. This is precisely the nature of the country through which all modern travellers have passed on their way to the Great Sahra.[7] It is most likely that these Nasamones started from somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Great Syrtis; that they reached the desert at or near Ghadames; and that their subsequent course was to the S. and W. of the great central chain of the Atlas.

We know from Pliny (v. 10) that crocodiles were

[7] The modern Arabs make a similar division of the country which it is necessary to cross in going southwards from the Syrtis. 1. The Sahel, or coast-land. 2. Belád al Jérid, the date country. 3. Sahra, or desert. Cf. Berbrugger, Voy. dans le Sud de l'Algérie, ap. vol. ix. de l'Explor. Scient. de l'Algérie, 1846. Cf. also W. H. Hodgson's Travels.

found during the reign of Juba in the lakes south of the Atlas; and, long before the time of Juba, there was a prevalent tradition that one source at least of the Nile was to the N.W., at the foot of Atlas, a belief which Herodotus himself supported in his statement that the Nile flowed out of Libya, dividing it in the middle, with a course (as we have stated) resembling that of the Istrus (ii. 33). It is remarkable that the story of the Libyan origin of the Nile has held its ground even to the present day among some of the native populations of Central Africa; for, as is well known, Messrs. Denham and Clapperton ('Travels and Discoveries in Northern Central Africa,' ii. p. 371) have published a map of Soudan drawn for them by the Sultan of Bello, in which the Joliba, or river of Timbuktu, under the very name of Nile, is represented as flowing across Africa, till it joins the Egyptian river. The same notion, too, was put forth, in the fourteenth century, by Ibn Batuta, who made the river of Timbuktu flow down to Dongola and Egypt. We may therefore, I think, fairly conclude that Herodotus gathered from the travelling merchants he would surely have met in Egypt some of the prevailing legends which referred to the more distant course of the Nile.

There is one other passage in connection with this portion of my subject to which I must call attention, viz. the statement in the 'Meteorologica' of Aristotle (i. 13), that both the river Chremetes (most likely the Chretes of Hanno's Periplus, ap. Geog. Græc. Minor., whose outlet was in the Atlantic) and the main stream of the Nile (*τοῦ Νείλου τὸ ῥεῦμα τὸ πρῶτον*) flowed down from the Silver Mountain (*ἐκ τοῦ Ἀργύρου καλουμένου ὄρους*), this Silver Mountain being, no doubt, a range

covered with perpetual snow, and not, as Livingstone has suggested, of micaceous limestone. This passage, like those quoted above, points to a similar early tradition of a connection between the Nile and the Niger; and Dr. Beke has some years since suggested, with much reason, that this idea may have arisen from a knowledge of the existence of the great western affluent of the White Nile, the Keilák or Bahr-al-Ghazal—which, as I have already remarked, probably represents the western arm of the Nile of Herodotus (Edinb. New Philos. Journ. xlv. p. 247, 1848). Be this as it may, it is a very curious fact that such a tradition should have reached Aristotle so early as the fourth century B.C.; that it should be found in the works of the mediæval Arab geographers, Masudi and Edrisi; and, still more so, that it should not even now be wholly forgotten (see a letter addressed to the traveller Ali Bey, in Voy. en Afrique et en Asie, i. 69. Paris, 1814.)

From the time of Herodotus we hear no more of the Nile till we come to Eratosthenes, B.C. 240, who, of all ancient geographers, has shown most skill in working out the results of the various expeditions undertaken after the settlement of the Ptolemies in Egypt towards the close of the century preceding the one in which he lived himself. All these explorations, so far, at least, as we know of them, had for their object the examination of the countries beyond Upper Egypt or along the shores of the Red Sea. Thus, the one sent out by Ptolemy Philadelphus, who ascended the Egyptian throne in B.C. 285, for the first time entered Æthiopia, properly so called (Diod. i. 37), and probably formed the basis of the sketch given by Eratosthenes, and preserved for us by Strabo. It is in-

teresting to know that modern travellers have, in great measure, confirmed the essential particulars of this narrative, and especially of that portion of it which refers to the course of the Nile. After stating some facts which agree with the character of the river between Syene and Meroe, though the several distances given are clearly erroneous, Eratosthenes proceeds to state that "the Nile receives two rivers which flow down from certain lakes to the E., and surround the great island of Meroe. One, named the Astaboras, bounds the eastern side; the other is called the Astapus. Some say that the true name of this last river is the Astasoba, and that the Astapus is the stream which, flowing from certain lakes situated to the S., becomes the principal branch of the Nile; and further, that it is the summer rains that cause its inundation."

There can be no doubt that the Astaboras is the present *Atbara*, *Takazze*, or *Bahr-al-Aswad*—the Black River (for it appears to bear each of these titles at different portions of its course), which joins the main river at *Al-Damer* in lat. 17° N.; while the Astapus, which bathes the western side of the so-called island of Meroe, is clearly the more southern and eastern branch of the Nile, now called the *Bahr-al-Azrek*, the *Abai*, or Blue Nile. The statement that the Astapus in the above passage is also called the Astasoba, may be explained by the fact, that, near the junction of it and the Nile, was situated a city called Soba (now *Khartum*), extensive ruins of which are still to be seen. It naturally suggests itself to the mind that Asta, a portion of each of these names, may have a local signification, referring probably to the river; but whether or not such a word can be detected in any of existing

vocabularies, I am not aware. I may observe that the position of the island of Meroe between the Atbara on the E. and the Blue Nile on the S., is well defined. In addition to, and in connection with the above, I may add, that Strabo (ii. p. 77) mentions another writer named Philon, who gave an account of Æthiopia, with certain astronomical observations which Hipparchus made use of a century later; and that these observations are found to be more correct than those from which Pliny calculated the latitude of Meroe and which were probably made during the reign of Nero (H. N. vi. 35).

Following the stream of history, we meet with nothing new respecting the Nile for several centuries; the effect of the Roman overthrow of Carthage and the gradual acquisition of a great part of Northern Africa having been, indeed, to extend the knowledge of the countries west of Egypt, but to do little for Egypt itself or Æthiopia. Thus Strabo (A.D. 19–25) takes the Nile for the eastern boundary of his Africa; so that, in point of fact, Africa, in his estimation, was little more than the Mediterranean coast from the Delta to the Columns of Hercules. For all Upper Egypt he simply repeats what was known in the time of the Ptolemies and has been recorded by Eratosthenes; describing, however, at some length the expedition of Petronius against Pselcis and Napata (B.C. 25 or 24), (xvii. p. 820). But though he gives but few details of Petronius's march, he adds, what he must have learnt from it, the definite statement that, whereas the ancients only knew by conjecture, the moderns have actually ascertained by going to the places, that the inundations of the Nile are due to the summer

rains which fall abundantly in Upper Æthiopia and in the most distant mountains—*Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαῖοι στοχασμῷ τὸ πλέον, οἱ δ' ὕστερον αὐτόπται γενηθέντες ᾔσθοντο ὑπὸ ὄμβρων θερινῶν πληρούμενον τὸν Νεῖλον, τῆς Αἰθιωπίας τῆς ἄνω κλυζομένης, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ὄρεσι, παυσαμένων δὲ τῶν ὄμβρων πανομένην κατ' ὀλίγον τὴν πλημμυρίδα* (xvii. p. 789).

Our next authority is Pomponius Mela (A.D. 40), who would seem to have been desirous of giving a tolerably systematic account of the geography of Africa. There can be no doubt that to him we owe many new and interesting details, though, like Strabo, he considered Africa as in form a right-angled triangle, with the Nile for its base; and though he has interlarded his history with a more than usual number of legendary stories, and with many amplifications of the more sober narratives of the earlier writers. With regard to the Nile, he has borrowed much from the Alexandrian writers, giving at the same time prominence to the curious theory that the Atlantic south of the Equator was prolonged till it met the Erythræan Sea, and that the Nile reached Æthiopia, after passing under the Ocean by means of subterranean canals, from a zone whose winter corresponded with the summer of the North. In this manner he attempts to account for the unusual period of the Nile-floods.

With Pliny (A.D. 70) we begin to obtain more extensive and fuller details, which rest mainly on the famous expedition of Petronius (B.C. 23 or 24), and on that sent out by order of Nero to ascertain, if possible, the sources of the Nile. Petronius, Pliny tells us, penetrated southwards 970 miles beyond Syene (vi. 35), and took Napata, the royal residence of the kings

of Æthiopia, and several other towns. There can be no doubt, owing to abundant recent researches, that this place was at the foot of what is now called Mount Barkal, the hieroglyphical inscriptions also, found there, giving Nepet as the name of the city. It was probably at this place that, as Lepsius has concluded, was situate the Mérâoui, or Meroe, of Herodotus, the upper Meroe (a short distance beyond the confluence of the Nile and the Atbara) not having become the capital till after the overthrow of the elder city. It must also be borne in mind that, as Petronius marched 970 miles from Syene, he must have gone, if these numbers are correct, more than 300 miles beyond Napata, which is distant from it only about 661, and that these additional 300 miles would bring him as nearly as possible to the upper and more recent Meroe. It would seem that it was to this place that Candace, the queen, had retreated, and that from it she sent her messengers to the Roman general to treat for peace, as stated by Strabo.

The expedition to the Upper Nile by order of Nero is even more valuable for its details. Of this we have two accounts, in Pliny and Seneca respectively, each apparently derived from the lips of the two centurions who were sent in charge of the expedition, but varying the one from the other in such a manner that one story may be considered the complement of the other. Thus Pliny chiefly contents himself with an admiration of the accuracy with which the explorers have recorded their distances between Syene and Meroe, together with their account of the island itself; while Seneca, on the other hand, who had been Nero's tutor, and who happened at the time to be studying the sources of the

Nile, limits the information derived by him from these officers to such points as seemed to him to have a direct bearing on the state of the Nile above Meroe. To Seneca we owe the statement of the centurions that they made a long journey with the assistance of the king of Æthiopia, and with letters from him to the neighbouring princes, and that, at the end of this journey, they arrived at immense marshes, in which fluviatile plants were so interlaced that it was not possible to cross them, except in a boat so small as to carry only one person, and that, at this point, they came to two great rocks, over which a great river was falling. It is of the highest interest to know, as we shall see hereafter, that the narrative of these centurions has been in great measure confirmed by the exploring parties sent up the river by Muhammad Ali between 1839 and 1842, who, after leaving Khartum, near the junction of the Blue and White Nile in lat. 15° 30′ N., followed the course of the White Nile for seventeen days, first through a steppe country inhabited by Arab tribes, then through a wooded country occupied but scantily by negro races, till at length they came to a marsh region remarkably resembling that described by Nero's officers. (Selim Bimbaschi, ap. Bull. de la Soc. Géogr. xviii. p. 84.)

The river was found to be nearly blocked up by gigantic reeds, the water itself was black with decomposed vegetable matter. Crocodiles and hippopotami abounded; and hosts of insects hovered over a plain reeking with pestilential vapours. This district commences at Sobat, lat. 9° N., and its character is shown most markedly around a swampy lake through which the Bahr-al-Ghazal flows before it falls into the White

Nile; and it appears to extend through about 2° of latitude. We may gather from this exploration that the centurions of Nero must have ascended nearly as far as lat. 9° N., or about 800 Roman miles above Meroe, and we can understand that from this circumstance they were well able to give a far fuller account of Æthiopia than any traveller who had preceded them: it is equally clear that the river they ascended was the White Nile, which flows from the S.W., and not the Blue Nile, a fact entirely confirming of the original statement of Herodotus.

Pliny adds to the story that the centurions brought back with them what he calls "forma Æthiopiæ" (xii. c. 8); probably a map or plan of the country, which must have exhibited much care, since we find the distances they report from place to place coincide very nearly with the results given by modern travellers. Pliny also notices the return of verdure, after miles of arid sands, in the neighbourhood of Meroe, and the occurrence of fresh grass and wood (herbas circa Meroen demum viridiores silvarumque aliquid apparuisse, vi. 30, 35), the natural result of the annual rains in the highlands of Æthiopia, the limit of which rainfall appears to be about lat. 18° or 19° N.

We owe to the Roman naturalist a list of names of places in Upper Æthiopia, some of which may still be identified. They are as follows:—Adabuli, Megabarri (or Adiabaræ), Macrobii, Memnones, Dabeli, Critensi, Dochi, Gymnetes, Anderæ, Mathitæ, Mesagebes, Hipporeæ, Medimni, Olabi, Syrbotæ. Of these the Megabari (noticed also by Eratosthenes) are possibly the *Mékarebah*; and the Dabeli, the *Debdaileh*: on the other hand, the Macrobii (also noted by Herodotus)

and Gymnetes are rather descriptive of the habits of the people than proper names in the strict meaning of this term. Some, too, of the names will be found to differ considerably in the different editions of Pliny, or to occur in forms slightly modified in other authors; as, for instance, the Anderæ of Pliny, who are probably the same as the inhabitants of the Endera of Artemidorus (Strab. xvi. p. 771). In the famous inscription from Adulis (Cosmas, ap. Montfaucon Coll. Nov. Patrum i. p. 142) occurs a people called *Μεσινέ*, who perhaps may be identified with the Medimni. In the same way the Hipporeæ may be the present *Hafara* (Antoine D'Abbadie, Bull. de la Soc. Géogr. xiv. p. 115), while the Mathitæ much resemble the *Μασσῖται* of Ptolemy (iv. 7).

Pliny adds a curious statement with reference to the great stature of the tribe of Syrbotæ, which he makes no less than eight cubits; an altitude, doubtless, grossly exaggerated, yet in some degree confirmed by the uniform reports of recent travellers on the remarkable height of the people of the far South; six feet and a half being common, and seven feet even not unknown. This fact has been specially noticed in the case of the tribe of the *Elliab* (on Speke's map, Aliab), perhaps the Olabi of Pliny (see Werne, 'Expedition zur Entdeckung der Quellen des Weissen Nil,' pp. 266, 292, 312).

Many more identifications will probably be made when we have before us the detailed results of Captain Speke's remarkable journey.[8] I may add that a letter

[8] It is with the sincerest regret that I have to state that this natural hope is in no way satisfied by the work Captain Speke has just published as 'The Journal of the Discovery of the Nile,' which

from M. Brun-Rollet in the Bull. de la Soc. Géogr. (iv. 411, 1852) speaks of a tribe called the *Poloudjs*, apparently almost as far south as the Line, a name much resembling the Paluogges of Pliny; and that the Nouba of Kordofan would seem as certainly to be the present representatives of the great tribe of the Nubei. In conclusion, Pliny names five travellers who had left accounts of Æthiopia; among others, one Simonides, who had described his stay at Meroe for five years; and Dalion and Aristocreon, who had ascended the river beyond Meroe.

The next documents to which I must call your attention, though briefly, are the famous 'Periplus of the Erythræan Sea,' and the notes of Marinus of Tyre, pre-

is singularly barren in such notices as the student of geography would most desire, and, considering the subject it treats on, far less interesting than any other record we possess of African research. Had Captain Speke been pleased to have omitted some of the interminable disputes about the hongo, or present he was expected to give to each petty chieftain, or thrown such details (if worthy of being preserved at all) into an appendix, his book would have been less wearying to the reader, if not more useful. Had he added some scientific details relative to the tribes he passed through, or some notes on the character of the different languages with which he came in contact, (such as we meet with in the admirable memoir of his former comrade, Burton, 'On the Lake Regions of Central Equatorial Africa,') his book would have possessed a value his best friends cannot claim for it. As it is, we lay it down with a mixed feeling of fatigue, dissatisfaction, and disappointment, aggravated, doubtless, by an uncertainty we cannot wholly shake off, that, after all, other and still more remote sources of the Nile may exist, though that from the Nyanza Lake may possibly exhibit the greatest body of water. I am bound to add, as I shall show presently, that no confidence whatever can be placed in Captain Speke's views at p. 264 of his "Journal," with reference to "the Mountains of the Moon," which he places, on his map, in a semicircle, round the Lake Rusizi.

served by Ptolemy, though it is true that these refer only incidentally to the central part of Æthiopia, or to the Upper Nile. They have, however, this positive value, that from them we get our first clear ideas of the lower portion of the Red Sea, and of the east coast of Africa as far south as Zanzibar: in fact, from these two authorities we can trace ancient voyages to the very place from which Burton and Speke, seven years since, and most recently Speke and Grant, started with the object of completing by actual survey the history of the sources of the Nile. Thus we learn that below Adulis the whole country to the Prom. Aromatum (*Cape Guardafui*, Arab. *Jard-al-Hafûn*) bore the generic name of *βαρβαρικὴ ἤπειρος* (Peripl. 8–12); many of the tribes recorded as then living there being still traceable upon the same spot after 1800 years. Thus the Avalites of the 'Periplus,' the Avalitæ of Ptolemy, are recognizable as the *Habr-Auâl*; while, in all probability, even the name *Barbarica* (regio) is connected with the fact that a *Berber* race, like the present Gallas (who are so, unquestionably), then occupied that country. The very name Berbérah, indeed, still exists as that of a port on the east side of the Gulf of Habr-Auâl.

The Prom. Aromatum had been the limit of the geographical knowledge of Agatharcides and Artemidorus, as quoted by Strabo, nay, even of Pliny and Mela. The 'Periplus' extends our knowledge along the E. coast of Africa beyond the Straits of Báb-al-Mandeb, for a journey of twenty-six days, in the account of which we meet with a number of details of great interest. The first principal station noticed is Opone (Hafûn); then comes the district of Azania, in the 'Periplus' confined to the coast, but in Ptolemy

extended far inland (the *Hosain* or *Al-Khazain* of D'Abbadie's list, Bull. de la Soc. de Géogr. xi. p. 339); a name not improbably connected with the Arabic title *Zinj*, the *Ζίγγιον* of Cosmas Indicopleustes (Top. Christ. ap. Montfaucon, vol. ii. p. 139), and perhaps represented in Ptolemy by the Promontory *Zingis* (iv. 7). It has been suggested that from this *Zinj* we get the two more modern and modified forms *Zanguebar* and *Zanzibar* (Quatremere, Mém. Géogr. sur l'Égypte, etc., ii. p. 181, and Ibn Haukal, wherein *Zingbar* occurs).[9] The island of Menuthias, two days only short of Rhapta, the limit of the commercial voyages from which the account of the 'Periplus' is condensed, may be either *Pemba* or *Zanzibar*, probably the former, as it is stated to have been 300 stadia from the coast, which agrees very fairly with modern measures (Peripl. c. 15). Below these places the author of the 'Periplus' states that "the ocean as yet unexplored turns to the west, surrounding the southern parts of Æthiopia, Libya, and Africa;" thus preserving the old tradition of a great Southern Sea, which we have already noticed as prevailing in the legendary fragments of geography preserved by the earlier Greek writers.

The date of these doubtless commercial voyages cannot be accurately determined; but we may reasonably conclude that they were not known in Europe when Pliny wrote his great work; while we have the

[9] Captain Burton (Lake Regions, etc. ch. ii. p. 30) states that the district from Cape Delgado, in lat. 10° 41′ S., to the Juba or Govend river, in lat. 0° 15′ S., was named in early times by the Greeks Zingis, Zingisa, and Zingium; in the inscription from Adulis, Zingabene; and by Asiatics, Zinj, Zenj, and Zanzibar,—Nigritia, or Black Land,—from the Persian *Zang*, Arabic *Zanj*, a negro, and *bar*, a country.

authority of Ptolemy for stating, that Marinus of Tyre was the first to employ the logs of the merchants who went to Azania, with a view of showing that the land extended far further to the south than geographers had hitherto been willing to admit. One of these voyagers, Diogenes, we learn, was carried by the N.E. monsoon in twenty-five days from Cape Guardafui to Rhapta; another, Theophilus, by the S.W. monsoon in twenty days from Rhapta to Cape Guardafui: the stations mentioned in the 'Periplus' correspond apparently with those mentioned in the first of these voyages. To the same Marinus of Tyre we owe an account of the two expeditions of Septimius Flaccus and of Julius Maternus, which, severally, occupied from three to four months of marching continuously S. from the Garamantes, till the Æthiopian country of Agisymba, abounding in the rhinoceros (Mar. Tyr. ap. Ptol. Proleg. Geogr. i. c. 8), was attained. Recent researches by my friend Dr. Barth render it more than probable that this place was somewhere in the S. W. of Fezzan (Phasania), in or near the oasis of Asben, a name which may possibly have some connection with that of the Alexandrian geographer.

One further document remains to confirm in some measure the statements of Ptolemy and Marinus of Tyre with reference to the interior of Æthiopia, and this is the inscription at Adulis, to which we have already alluded (Cosmas, i. p. 142). In this inscription many names may be recognized which still exist in the country.

I have already alluded to Ptolemy in calling brief attention to the 'Periplus' and to Marinus of Tyre; I proceed now to examine the seventh and eighth chap-

ters of his fourth Book, wherein he states generally what he knows of the head-waters of the Nile and of the countries watered by that river from Syene upwards; premising that with him, about A.D. 140, Ancient Geography, as directed to the portions of Africa south of Upper Egypt, is brought to a close.

Now, according to Ptolemy, the generic name of the basin of the Nile S. of Syene is Æthiopia, the coast line along the western shore of the Red Sea to the promontory of Rhapta being equally considered by him to be part of the same great district. Along the course of the Nile he speaks of Syene and the Dodeca-Schœnus; then of the Great Cataract and of various places between it and the island of Meroe; stating, finally, that the Astapus (which must here be the Astasoba, or Blue Nile) flows down from the country of Axum, and has its origin in a great lake in the neighbourhood of some very lofty mountains.

Eratosthenes, as I have already pointed out (see Strabo, xvii. p. 786), bounded the island of Meroe by two rivers: to the N. and E. by the Astaboras (Takazze or Atbara); to the W. and S. by the Astapus or Astasoba (the Blue Nile).

Ptolemy gives the name of Nile to the western branch; but by calling the Astapus of Eratosthenes the Astasoba, which he conceives, as above stated, to flow from an Axumite lake called Coloe, would seem to have had an indistinct notion that there was some communication between Astaboras and the Astapus: he adds many additional facts to the narrative of Nero's centurions, who, as we have seen, were stopped, after a journey of 600 miles by the marshes of either the White Nile or of the Bahr-al-Ghazal, and makes this

important addition to our previous knowledge, that S. of the Equator, at a distance he considers to be very great, there is a chain of mountains extending 10° from E. to W., and called Σελήνης ὄρος (or the Mountain of the Moon, iv. c. 8). This mountain, he says, is covered with snow, and, from it, the marshes of the Nile receive the melting snows, ἀφ' οὗ (τῆς Σελήνης ὄρους) ὑποδέχονται τὰς χιόνας αἱ τοῦ Νείλου λίμναι. He imagines that these marshes are situated at a considerable distance the one from the other, and that, from each of them, flows a branch of the Nile which afterwards unites so as to form one stream (iv. c. 7). Ptolemy, in his "Prolegomena," attributes this information to Marinus, from whom we have so many other geographical facts, and he again refers to the Greek voyagers who had visited the shores of Azania, probably for commercial purposes. To Marinus, as already noticed, we owe the story of Diogenes, who, on his return from India, was driven by the N.E. monsoon within a short distance of the promontory of Rhapta to the lakes from which the Nile flows (εἰς τὰς λίμνας ὅθεν ὁ Νεῖλος ῥεῖ, Ptol. i. c. 9), which are a little to the S. of the promontory of Rhapta: Marinus himself adding, as founded on this report from Diogenes, that the course of the Nile from the lakes where for the first time the river becomes plainly visible (ἐξ οὗ πρῶτον ὁρᾶται παραγινόμενος) can now be traced with accuracy, upwards to Meroe.

We should perhaps naturally presume from these statements that the Nile-lakes were close to Rhapta, a result which modern research has clearly shown is not the case. Still, allowing for this error, we cannot but be surprised how truly on the whole Marinus has ascer-

tained the principal facts. Nay, it is by no means improbable that we may hereafter discover, as Dr. Beke has urged more than once, *a* source of the Nile in a chain of mountains to the S.E. of the Lake Nyanza; a discovery which will confirm in a signal manner all the essential inferences Marinus has deduced from his informants.

I believe I have now laid before the Society the principal facts which were known to the Ancient world with regard to the basin of the Nile, its probable sources, and the adjacent countries. And here I might bring my paper to a conclusion, did I not think that, with the news just arrived of the successful accomplishment of Captain Speke's extraordinary journey from the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean, it might not be wholly uninteresting were I to add to my previous remarks on the knowledge of the Ancients, a very brief outline of what we have gained in addition by modern researches.

In doing this, I will not detain the Society with any references to the incidental notices which may be gathered from the early records of the Portuguese voyagers and missionaries, though I am inclined to think that a more careful study of the numerous data they have preserved, might, had they been weighed scientifically, have solved this problem many years since. I shall merely note what has been done most recently, by the French, Germans, the Egyptian Government, and the English.

The first direct effort towards a solution of the great question of the origin of the Nile was made by the French expedition of 1798, supplemented as it was, in great measure, by the journeys of Burckhardt

in 1813–1814. The journey of Caillaud in 1820 established for the first time satisfactorily the identification of the ancient Meroe, while those of Rüppell in 1823, and of Russegger in 1836, have added many interesting ethnographical and linguistical details. Of these, Caillaud and Russegger alone ascended higher than the junction of the Atbara and the Nile. A small portion, too, of the White Nile above Khartum was explored by M. Linant in 1827 (Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc. vol. ii.).

In 1839, the first Egyptian expedition[10] of Muhammad Ali penetrated to Khartum, 15½° south of Meroe in lat. 6° N.; and was followed shortly after by a second one, under the care of M. d'Arnaud, which reached lat. 4° N. Of this expedition M. Werne has published an account, which has been translated into English by Mr. O'Reilly, and published by Bentley in 1849. The result of these journeys (as I have already stated) proved clearly that, between the 8th and 9th parallels of north latitude, for a distance of more than 200 miles, there do really exist the vast marshes to which Æschylus referred five centuries before the Christian era, and which checked the advance southwards of Nero's explorers. Still more recently the establishment, in 1846, of the English Church Mission at Mombas, about 4° S. of the Line, on the E. shore of Africa, has proved the existence of lofty mountains, covered with perpetual snow, and at no great distance from the coast, which may fairly be conceived to represent Ptolemy's "Mountain of the Moon." Nearly about the same period, that is, between 1840

[10] There appear to have been, in all, three Egyptian expeditions between 1839 and 1842.

and 1843, Dr. Beke explored, together with Dr. Krapf, a considerable portion of the high table-land of S.E. Africa, and discovered the watershed of the rivers flowing, respectively, to the Atlantic and Indian Oceans (J. R. G. S. vol. xii.).

In 1848, and again in 1849, during a journey towards the country of the Jaggas to the N.W. of Mombas, M. Rebmann, one of the missionaries, observed on the remote horizon a mountain covered with snow. (Church Mission. Intell. vol. i. pp. 16 and 273, 1849.) This mountain, which the natives call *Kilimanjaro*, M. Rebmann places in lat. 3° S., about 3° W.N.W. of Mombas. In the same year, 1849, and again in 1850, another missionary, M. Krapf, travelled to the north of the Jaggas into the country of the Ukambani, and confirmed Rebmann's idea as to the perennial snows on Kilimanjaro, and, at the same time, discovered another mountain, also covered with perpetual snows, called *Kenia*. This he places nearly on a line with, but to the E. of Kilimanjaro,[11] at the distance of about 2° N. of Kilimanjaro. M. Krapf, at the same time, heard of the existence of a great lake, called *Baringo*, which he imagined must be the head of the Nile. This lake was to the N. and N.W. of Mount Kenia.[12]

[11] It is important to notice here, that Fernandez de Enciso, in his 'Suma de Geographia,' A.D. 1530, p. 54, says, "West of this port (Mombas) stands the Mount Olympus of Æthiopia, which is exceedingly high; and beyond it are the Mountains of the Moon, in which are the sources of the Nile:" a statement which seems to hand down to at least the sixteenth century of our era a tradition that, in some chain at no great distance from the coast, men ought to seek for the first springs of the great river.

[12] These distances are not quite correct, but sufficiently near for

His own words are, "I made acquaintance in Ukambani with a merchant of Uembu, a country situate two days' journey to the north-east of the river Dana. This man gave me much important information. For instance, he told me that at the foot of the snowy mountain, *Ndur Kenia* (sometimes called *Kirenia*), there is a lake from which flow the three rivers of *Dana*, *Tumbiri*, and *Nsaraddi*. The *Dana* and the *Tumbiri* flow to the eastern sea; but the *Nsaraddi* flows towards a yet greater lake, called *Barîngo*, the end of which is many days' march off. According to his reckoning, it takes five days from *Uembu* to Mount *Kenia*, and nine more to *Barîngo*, a word which signifies 'great water.'"

Léon d'Avanchers (Lettre à M. d'Abbadie, Bull. de la Soc. de Géogr. xvii. p. 164), who writes this name, *Baharingo*, confirms the existence of this and several other lakes in the same neighbourhood. It was also already known that the tribe of *Baris* give to the upper part of the White River the name of *Tumbirih* (see Werne, l. c.), and that they count a month's journey from their country in lat. 4° N. to its origin; the inference from these statements apparently being, that the Tumbirih and the Bahr-al-Abiad (or White Nile) are one and the same river, and that it is in some way connected with a lake produced by the melting of the snows of Kenia. It is difficult, therefore, not to believe that the mountains, two of whose

practical purposes. Recently, the Baron Carl von der Decken, with Dr. Kärsten, has ascended Kilimanjaro to the height of 13,900 ft., and observed the well-defined limit of perpetual snow at about 17,000 ft. The principal peak he estimates at 20,065 ft., and a second one at more than 17,000 ft. (Proc. R. G. S. vol. viii. p. 6.)

peaks we know bear, respectively, the names of Kenia and Kilimanjaro, belong to the mountain chain which Ptolemy has called the Mountain of the Moon; and that one of the two lakes of the Nile may be recognized in the Baringo. We may still further presume that Ptolemy's Mountain of the Moon and Aristotle's Mountain of Silver are one and the same, the same fact, that the Nile flows from it, being predicated of each: while it should not be forgotten that Abulfeda quotes an Arabian traveller who makes the same assertion that the true source of the Nile is in a White Mountain.

It is only necessary to add that the most recent researches of Captains Burton and Speke in 1857–9, and of Captains Speke and Grant in 1859–63, have done much toward the setting at rest one portion of the problem of the sources of the Nile, or, at least, of the great basin from which this river must have its outlet. Captain Speke in his first expedition succeeded in penetrating as far as lat. 3° 30′ S., to the southern shores of a very large lake, called Nyanza, or, from an island in it, Ukerewe; and Captain Burton reached the eastern side of Lake Tanganyika, and surveyed a considerable portion of it, though, unfortunately, neither its northern nor southern ends: while in his second journey, partly in company with Captain Grant, but more frequently alone, Captain Speke followed, though for the most part at considerable distance from it, the line of its western shores, till he arrived at a point a little N. of the equator, whence a great body of water issues from the lake and flows in a direction nearly due N., at a spot he has called the Ripon Falls. From this point the stream was traced downwards for about fifty

miles, when they were compelled to leave it; and they ultimately arrived at Gondokoro in lat. 5° N., after having followed what they believed to be two further portions of the same main stream. It is clear therefore that geography is indebted to the perseverance of Captains Speke and Grant for some knowledge of between 500 and 600 miles of new ground from Kaze in lat. 5° S. to Gondokoro in lat. 5° N.; and, further, that they have proved to demonstration the commencement at the Ripon Falls of one great affluent of the Nile. It must not, however, be forgotten that the result of their remarkable journey has further demonstrated the existence of another considerable affluent flowing from the E. called the Asúa; and that there seems some reason for supposing that this stream has its rise in the Lake Baringo mentioned above: it is most unfortunate that nearly 200 miles of the distance between Ripon Falls and Gondokoro has not been examined; so that we cannot absolutely connect the stream issueing from the Nyanza with the one into which the Asúa flows.

It remains therefore to be ascertained whether there are not other sources beside that from the Lake Nyanza, and especially whether the Asúa does or does not flow from the Lake Baringo; and further, whether the lake itself derives its waters from the chain of which Kenia and Kilimanjaro would apparently seem to be portions. There would seem also to be no certainty as to the real course of the stream which flows in a direction S.E. to N.W., and which, perhaps, brings down the waters of the little Luta-Nzigè Lake, supposed by Captain Speke to be a sort of "backwater" to the Nile. I cannot myself help

thinking that this Luta-Nzigè Lake will be ultimately found to be one of a chain of lakes of which the Tanganyika is the largest and most southern; the more so, as I have already stated I feel no confidence in the emplacement of Captain Speke's "Mountains of the Moon," which, on his map at least, would bar any outlets from the southern to the northern lake. It must not be forgotten that Captain Speke's former fellow-traveller, Burton, has already given his opinion that the existence of these mountains was "wholly hypothetical or rather inventive" ('Lake Regions,' vol. ii. pp. 90, 91); while in Speke's original map sent from Egypt to the Royal Geographical Society in March, 1863, and subsequently published by Mr. Stanford in June, 1863, this horse-shoe-shaped range does not appear, but instead thereof, two parallel ranges are inserted with the name of "Mountains of the Moon" along the northern portion of Lake Tanganyika, and more than 2° S. of the curved "Mountains of the Moon" of the present map. I cannot doubt that the ascertainment of these geographical details will be the reward of expeditions even now already proposed, and which will confirm or show the futility of suggestions, long since put forward, by Dr. Beke, who, on paper at least, or theoretically, has a right to claim the title of the "Discoverer of one of the Sources of the Nile."

In conclusion, I am bound to say that I think no one, after a careful perusal of Captain Speke's Journal, will readily admit that he has advanced any reasons, either from his own observation or from derived native information, why the chain, of which Kenia and Kilimanjaro are probably the most elevated peaks, is not entitled to the appellation it has borne since

their discovery by Rebmann and Krapf; and which, on the whole, agrees so well with the position which Ptolemy assigns to his "Mountain of the Moon;" or will see any reason why these should be deposed from their rank to make way for the "Mfumbiro Cone" (see Journal, p. 214), which Speke himself only "supposes" to have an altitude of 10,000 feet. At the same time, it ought not to be forgotten that the recent researches of Captain Burton have tended, at least incidentally, to confirm the accuracy of the Greek geographer, in so far that Burton states that some of the inhabitants of the east coast of Africa near Zanzibar are still eaters of human flesh. He particularly names the Wadoe as guilty of "a practice which has made their name terrible even in African ears;"[12] and he places the abode of the Wadoe in lat. 6° S., that is, between Menuthias and the Mountain of the Moon, exactly where Ptolemy places his *Αἰθίοπες ἀνθρωποφάγοι*, or man-eating Ethiopians.[13]

W. S. W. Vaux.

Postscript.

The map appended to this paper is intended only to give the most general notion of the ancient knowledge on this subject. A few modern names have been added, which could not well have been omitted. The map has been mainly based on one in Geograph. Græci Minores, ed. Didot, in Paris, 1855, 8vo.

[13] In bringing to a conclusion this paper "On the Ancient Knowledge of the Sources of the Nile," with some references to the main results of modern researches, I cannot omit to notice the fact that for many years Dr. Beke (himself the recipient of one of the gold medals given by the English Geographical Society for his researches in Abyssinia) has been the consistent advocate of the view that the

head-streams of the Nile do flow from an elevated mountain-range south of the equator, and probably to be identified with Ptolemy's Mountain of the Moon; nay, more than this, that he was the first to propose and to raise subscriptions in aid of an expedition which should attempt the exploration of the sources of the Nile from *the east coast of Africa*. I state this the more distinctly as there has been evidently a desire to ignore the opinion Dr. Beke has so long since publicly put forward, as though the *theoretical* views of any geographer could in the least detract from the accomplishment or realization of such views by the subsequent traveller. Any one who has paid attention to this subject must be well aware that so long ago as 1846 Dr. Beke suggested "that the source of the Nile is situate at a comparatively short distance from the sea-coast within the dominions of the Imâm of Maskat" (Geogr. Journal, vol. xvii.); that, in 1848, he proposed an expedition for the discovery of the sources of the Nile by penetrating from the east coast of Africa near Zanzibar, and did his utmost to enable Dr. Bialloblotsky to make this attempt, which was not however successful (Report of British Association for 1848, pp. 63, 64); that this opinion of Dr. Beke was entirely endorsed by the then President of the Geographical Society, Sir Roderick Murchison, when, in 1852, he drew the natural conclusions of a scientific geographer from the acknowledged discoveries of Rebmann and Krapf; and lastly, that Dr. Beke has drawn up a subsequent and still more complete report on the whole subject, entitled, "On the Mountains forming the Eastern side of the basin of the Nile, and the origin of the designation 'Mountains of the Moon' applied to them," which, though offered to the Geographical Society on May 10th, 1861, was, for some reason or other, not accepted by that body, and was, therefore, ultimately read on August 30th, 1861, at the meeting of the British Association at Manchester. In all these papers Dr. Beke has consistently adhered to the views first enunciated by himself in 1846, which have been nowhere either adequately met or answered. He has now the satisfaction of knowing that a part of his theory has been proved to demonstration, in the discovery of one source of the Nile in a great lake nearly 4000 feet above the sea, and *south of the equator;* while he may reasonably encourage the hope that, ere long, other and more remote sources may be traced to that famous range which many geographers have, we believe with reason, accepted, as the true representative of Ptolemy's "Mountain of the Moon."

IV.—ON SOME OLD MAPS OF AFRICA, IN WHICH THE CENTRAL EQUATORIAL LAKES ARE LAID DOWN NEARLY IN THEIR TRUE POSITIONS.

BY JOHN HOGG, M.A., F.R.S., HON. FOR. SEC. R.S.L., F.R.G.S., ETC.[1]

(Read November 25th, 1863, and April 13th, 1864.)

MUCH confusion has prevailed among some geographers concerning the *central lakes* of equatorial Africa; and others have thought that these large *seas*, or tracts of *fresh water*, are only laid down in those maps which have been derived from the Portuguese colonists and missionaries on the east coast of Africa, about Zanzibar, Melinda, and other places in the territory of Zanguebar. One of some antiquity (I believe of the sixteenth century), which is said to be a copy of one of the earliest of such maps, is in the possession, according to Sir R. I. Murchison, of the College de Propagandâ Fide, at Rome. And even in those maps it is asserted, that these great central lakes are erroneously placed, and very wide of their exact geographical positions, as ascertained by the recent and successful investigations of Captains Burton,

[1] This paper (exclusive of the Postscript) was read to the Section E of the British Association, at Newcastle-on-Tyne, on August 31st, 1863.

tained the principal facts. Nay, it is by no means improbable that we may hereafter discover, as Dr. Beke has urged more than once, *a* source of the Nile in a chain of mountains to the S.E. of the Lake Nyanza; a discovery which will confirm in a signal manner all the essential inferences Marinus has deduced from his informants.

I believe I have now laid before the Society the principal facts which were known to the Ancient world with regard to the basin of the Nile, its probable sources, and the adjacent countries. And here I might bring my paper to a conclusion, did I not think that, with the news just arrived of the successful accomplishment of Captain Speke's extraordinary journey from the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean, it might not be wholly uninteresting were I to add to my previous remarks on the knowledge of the Ancients, a very brief outline of what we have gained in addition by modern researches.

In doing this, I will not detain the Society with any references to the incidental notices which may be gathered from the early records of the Portuguese voyagers and missionaries, though I am inclined to think that a more careful study of the numerous data they have preserved, might, had they been weighed scientifically, have solved this problem many years since. I shall merely note what has been done most recently, by the French, Germans, the Egyptian Government, and the English.

The first direct effort towards a solution of the great question of the origin of the Nile was made by the French expedition of 1798, supplemented as it was, in great measure, by the journeys of Burckhardt

in 1813–1814. The journey of Caillaud in 1820 established for the first time satisfactorily the identification of the ancient Meroe, while those of Rüppell in 1823, and of Russegger in 1836, have added many interesting ethnographical and linguistical details. Of these, Caillaud and Russegger alone ascended higher than the junction of the Atbara and the Nile. A small portion, too, of the White Nile above Khartum was explored by M. Linant in 1827 (Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc. vol. ii.).

In 1839, the first Egyptian expedition[10] of Muhammad Ali penetrated to Khartum, 15½° south of Meroe in lat. 6° N.; and was followed shortly after by a second one, under the care of M. d'Arnaud, which reached lat. 4° N. Of this expedition M. Werne has published an account, which has been translated into English by Mr. O'Reilly, and published by Bentley in 1849. The result of these journeys (as I have already stated) proved clearly that, between the 8th and 9th parallels of north latitude, for a distance of more than 200 miles, there do really exist the vast marshes to which Æschylus referred five centuries before the Christian era, and which checked the advance southwards of Nero's explorers. Still more recently the establishment, in 1846, of the English Church Mission at Mombas, about 4° S. of the Line, on the E. shore of Africa, has proved the existence of lofty mountains, covered with perpetual snow, and at no great distance from the coast, which may fairly be conceived to represent Ptolemy's "Mountain of the Moon." Nearly about the same period, that is, between 1840

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Moezi country,—the word mwezi, m'ezi, or moezi, signifying in the local dialect, moon.[11]

Native tradition or report appears on the whole to have been fairly correct; and Ptolemy, about A.D. 136, had doubtless received his brief information concerning the sources or origin of the Nile, from some *native merchants*, or travellers, to whom these equatorial lakes were known. Ptolemy has expressly told us that his predecessor Marinus received some of his information about the Nile lakes from Arabian merchants; and he (in book i. chap. 17) distinctly records that, "*we* learnt from *merchants*, who passed over from Arabia Felix into those parts of Africa, as Azania, Rhapta (now Zanguebar), etc., that those lakes, from which the Nile flows out, are *not near* the sea, but a very great deal further in the interior." This Greco-Egyptian geographer has assigned his "Mountain of the Moon," from which the lakes of the Nile received the (melted) snow, to lat. 12° 30′ S., and of the *two* lakes, one the *westernmost*, is in lat. 6° S., but that to the *east* in lat. 7° S. His extreme limits of the "Mountain of the Moon" (*τὸ τῆς Σελήνης ὄρος*) occupy, according to his reckonings, ten degrees of longitude, viz. from 57° to 67°; but these degrees cannot be easily reconciled with our modern computation; also his lat. 12° 30′ S. evidently shows that he has placed this range too far to the south of the equator. In all probability, however, this Lunar Range may in part correspond with that lofty district from about lat. 1° to 3° S., and beginning at about the 29th meridian of east longitude; and, if so, it would include

[11] See 'Report of the Swansea Meeting of the British Association,' 1849, p. 63.

the very lofty Mount M'fumbiro, and the mountains called "of the Moon," placed by Captain Speke on the north and eastern sides of Lakes Rusizi and Tanganyika. The latter lake, which extends to beyond lat. 6° S., might be supposed to answer to Ptolemy's western (or S.S.W.) lake, and the still larger lake of Nyanza, to correspond with his eastern (or rather N.E.) lake. From the subalpine district, of which Mount M'fumbiro is considered the centre, its streams flow on the eastern side into the Lake Nyanza, and, through that vast expanse of fresh water into the Nile, whilst its south-western waters descend into Lake Zambre, or as it is now termed Tanganyika.

I have taken Ptolemy's latitudes and longitudes from Dr. Wilberg's accurate edition of that ancient geographer's work in its original language, and which was published between the years 1838 and 1845.

Some geographers, as well as commentators on Ptolemy, have confused the number of the "*lakes* of the Nile"—*αἱ τοῦ Νείλου λίμναι*,—their number being represented as *two* with some, but *three* with others. This is soon determined, for Ptolemy (in lib. iv. cap. 7) expressly states them to be *δύο λιμνῶν*, "two lakes;" that is to say, a western and an eastern one, the former being *one* degree of south latitude *nearer* to the equinoctial line than the other. I have already stated that Ptolemy held the White river to be the Nilus, or true Nile; and his Astapus is certainly the modern Blue river. Through the kindness of Mr. F. Galton, F.R.S., I am enabled to exhibit to you a very neat photograph of part of a map of Africa, which was copied from an Atlas on vellum, which belongs to a very rare Latin translation of Ptolemy's Geography, and which was

published at Rome in 1478. This valuable book is in the possession of Mr. Hudson Gurney, in Norfolk. From that, and a second larger photograph map, it will be seen how the translator, or cartographer, has conceived the several branches of the Nile to have been placed. In both maps two chief branches of the (White) Nile issue from two "Paludes Nili," or *lakes*, at about 8° 30′ south of the equator; and further south of these lakes, *three* rivers feed the western, but *four* rivers flow into the eastern lake; and then all these *seven* streams have their sources on the north side of the "Mountain of the Moon," which extends from about lat. 12° to 14° S. Under it is written "Mons Lunæ, à quo Nili paludes nives suscipiunt." The east portion of Africa, between this mountain-range and the sea, which is called by Ptolemy, ὁ κόλπος βαρβαρικὸς, the Barbaric Gulf,—a most appropriate title, considering the "men-eating" propensities of the savage inhabitants, who are termed 'Anthropophagi,' —belongs to that race of Ethiopians.

But it will also be seen that a *third* large river, or branch of the Nile, running to the south-east, terminates in a smaller lake, which is bisected by the "equinoctial" line. Under this is written "*Coloa* Palus." Since the Lake Coloa, or *Caloe*, evidently is identified with the lake now called Dembea, this river must answer to the Bahr-el-Azrek, Azure or Blue river, the former *Astapus*; its geographical position, therefore, is given far too much to the south.[12]

[12] Ptolemy (in lib. iv. cap. 7) thus writes:—ἡ Κολόη λίμνη, ἐξ ἧς ὁ Ἀστάπους ποταμὸς ῥεῖ, ξθ̄ ἰσημερινὸν, *i. e.* "the Lake Coloë, from which the river Astapus flows, 69° Æquinoc. Circ." If, as I have afterwards suggested, this longitude of 69° is calculated from

I likewise exhibit to you another sketch of a map from a later edition of Ptolemy. Although only sixty-four years later, still the cartographer, or Latin translator, has taken a different view of his great author's "Nili paludes," by drawing all the lakes, *three* in number, in the same south parallel,—the "Montes Lunæ" being in nearly the same latitude as in the former map, about twelve and a half degrees south of the equator. This rough sketch I made from tab. iiii., or map of Africa,—which the author spells *Aphrica*,—of the Latin translation of Ptolemy's Geography by Henry Peter, and published at Bâle in the year 1542. This edition is preserved in Dr. Thomlinson's library, in St. Nicholas's Church, Newcastle-on-Tyne. These maps will be found of interest, as showing the received notions respecting the Nile, its equatorial lakes and lunar mountains, at the respective periods when these different editions were given to the world.

But some seventy years prior to Ptolemy, two exploring officers were sent by the Emperor Nero "ad investigandum *Caput Nili*," expressly to find out the "head of the Nile." Seneca, a contemporary writer, about A.D. 60, himself relates the account, which is this:—"I myself indeed have heard the two centurions, whom Nero Cæsar, as being the most ardent lover of other virtues, so especially of truth, had sent to find out the *head of the Nile*, narrate that, after they had accomplished a long journey, when, being furnished with assistance by the King of Ethiopia, and being recommended by him to

8. Antonio (Cape Verd Isles), the longitude east of Greenwich would be near 43°, which is only about 5° too far to the east from the true position of Lake Coloa, but its Ptolemæan latitude is 12° too far south.

the neighbouring kings, they penetrated into far distant regions. In fact, said they, 'we came to immense lakes, the termination of which neither the inhabitants knew, nor could any one hope to do so, because aquatic plants were so densely interwoven in the waters, that neither persons on foot could pass over the waters, nor in a boat, which, unless a small one and only holding a single man, the muddy and overgrown lake could not bear. Thereabouts,' they stated, 'we beheld *two rocks*,[13] from which the vast force of the river issued forth. But whether that was the *head*, or an *affluent* of the Nile, or that it sprang there, or being received from a prior course it returns there upon the earth,—do you not believe that the *water*, whatever it is, rises up from a great lake of those territories?' It is indeed necessary that the *rocks* should have the water dispersed from many places, and collected in a very deep spot, so that they may be able to throw up with such impetuosity."[14]

[13] These two rocks (*duas p tras*) must not be confounded with two others (*duo scopuli*) mentioned before by Seneca (in lib. iv. cap. 2), thus:—"duo eminent scopuli; *Nili venas* vocant incolæ; ex quibus magna vis funditur, non tamen quanta operire posset Ægyptum." This account very probably refers to the cataract at *Wadi Halfeh*, above 220 miles south of Assuan (Syene); for Seneca first describing the Isle of Philœ, says, "there is the *first* increase of the Nile; thence, 'post magnum spatium,' the *two rocks*, called by the natives 'the veins of the Nile,' are conspicuous."

[14] As this narrative is of much interest, I here subjoin the original (L. Annæi Senecæ Nat. Quæst. lib. vi. cap. 8):—"Ego quidem *centuriones duos*, quos Nero Cæsar, ut aliarum virtutum, ita veritatis in primis amantissimus, *ad investigandum caput Nili* miserat, audivi narrantes, longum illos iter peregisse, quum a rege Æthiopiæ instructi auxilio, commendatique proximis regibus, penetrassent ad ulteriora. Equidem, aiebant, pervenimus ad immensas paludes,

The portion of this narrative which says that, the officers "came to immense lakes, the termination of which neither the inhabitants knew, nor could any one hope to do so, because *aquatic plants* were so densely *interwoven* in the waters," still agrees with many of the very large sheets of water, pools, the sides of the lakes, and even some of the rivers in the upper and equatorial regions of the White Nile, as related by our recent explorers. Captain Burton writes (Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc. vol. xxix. p. 290), some portions of the rivers, which are supposed to fall into the Nyanza, "are crossed, according to the Arabs, over a thick growth of aquatic vegetation, which forms a kind of matwork, capable of supporting a man's weight." So M. Werne often describes the like "phenomenon on the White Nile, and islands of large and small dimensions, formed by water-grasses and green reeds, capable of drawing round and arresting the progress of his boat." (*Ibid.* in note.) In fact, tall grasses, reeds, the lofty and graceful Byblus, or Paper-rush, and other stout fluviatile and lacustrine plants at this day, present the *same* obstructions to boats and canoes as they seem to have done in the time of Nero.

quarum exitum nec incolæ noverant, nec sperare quisquam potest, ita implicitæ aquis herbæ sunt, et aquæ nec pediti eluctabiles, nec navigio, quod nisi parvum et unius capax, limosa et obsita palus non ferat. Ibi, inquit, vidimus duas petras, ex quibus ingens vis fluminis excidebat. Sed sive *caput* illa, sive *accessio* est *Nili*, sive tunc nascitur, sive in terras ex priore recepta cursu redit; nonne tu credis, illam, quidquid est, ex magno terrarum lacu ascendere? Habeant enim oportet pluribus locis sparsum humorem, et in imo coactum, ut eructare tanto impetu possint." Pliny (Nat. Hist. lib. vi. c. 35) mentions briefly this expedition, and he describes the party as "missi ab *Nerone* milites Prætoriani cum tribuno ad explorandum," etc.

Again, Captain Burton, writing of the sides of the long Lake Tanganyika, states that its "borders are generally low, and a thick fringe of rush and reed conceals the watery margin." (*Ibid.* p. 236.)[15] These remarkable coincidences with respect to the natural phenomena afforded by the "implicitæ aquis herbæ" seen in the time of Nero, as well as at the present day, will, I apprehend, strongly tend to prove, that the White river must have been the Nile, explored by the officers dispatched by that emperor. And lastly, this identification seems to be more likely, because the two officers further added, in the *presence* of Seneca, "we beheld two *rocks*, from which the vast force of the river issued forth"—"vidimus duas *petras*, ex quibus ingens vis fluminis excidebat." So, then, these rocks appear, with great probability, to have been no other

[15] Still more recently, on March 21st, 1863, Madame Tinné, describing her voyage in the steamer on the Bahr el Ghazal (river of the Gazelle), observes: "We are near to an island which Petherick calls Kyt, but the natives Misr of Reg. Its longitude is 26° 45 east of Greenwich." The Bahr el Ghazal "winds through *high grass and bulrushes*." Again, "This is a very difficult place to come to, as the river, though deep, is *choked with rushes*, and a soft-wooded sort of tree, which breaks as our ship passes, but is very formidable to look at. We came through it with the steamer, having the paddles taken off." (Proceed. Roy. Geogr. Soc. vol. vii. p. 204.) And Captain Speke (*ib.* p. 218) relates from Arab merchants, "That with the rising of the Nile, and consequently the increased violence of its waters, islands were floated down its surface,—which is really the case, not composed of earth and stone, but *tangled roots of trees, rushes, and grass*, with even sometimes huts upon them, which, otherwise undisturbed, are torn away by the violence of the stream and carried down, perfect floating islands." This account refers to the Nile, north of the equator, and beyond the Lake Nyanza. (J. H., Jan. 29th, 1864.)

than those at the Karuma Falls,[16] where the united main stream of the White Nile rushes on with great impetuosity, well described by Captain Speke.

Norton House, Stockton-on-Tees,
August 20th, 1863.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since this Paper was read, I have had an opportunity of examining some more old maps of Africa, and especially those contained in Lelewel's 'Mediæval Geography,' upon which I will now add a few remarks.

The first map that I have mentioned is the "Propaganda" map at Rome, which, according to Monsignor Nardi, was made by Jerome Verrazano (probably about A.D. 1530); a copy of it, as reduced by the German officer General Jochmus, may be seen at the Royal Geographical Society.[17]

On being favoured with a very neat tracing of that

[16] This fall or cataract answers to Æschylus's true description of

"The fall,
Where from the mountains with papyrus crown'd
The venerable Nile impetuous pours
His headlong torrent"—

Καταβασμὸν, ἔνθα Βυβλίνων ὀρῶν ἄπο
Ἴησι σεπτὸν Νεῖλος εὔποτον ῥέος,

written (in his Prom. Vinct. v. 836) twenty-three centuries ago.

[17] See note, p. 193, Proceed. Roy. Geogr. Soc. no. iv. vol. vii.

copy, I was disappointed in finding that that *Italian* map had not been taken from Ben Musa's Arabian map of A.D. 833. It merely delineates the two lakes, "Paludi Nili," south of the equator, much the same as those by Ptolemy's translators; only it represents three rivers flowing into each lake of far greater lengths, and fifteen small and short branches uniting with the six long streams, and rising at the northern base of a range of mountains. The last extends also more to the south, being in the same south latitude (15°) as "Mozambich,"[18] or the city of Mozambique.

The statement which I have before made respecting Ben Musa's Arabian map, being taken from the July number (1863) of the 'Quarterly Review,' must be corrected, for I find that the date of it is A.D. 833, and not "883." And "the Nile is placed on it" as *flowing out* of a large reservoir-lake, but not "rising in it," on the equator, named "Kura-Kavar," and the sources or feeders of that lake are represented by six rivers which run into it from the south. See Plate I., 'Tabula Almamuniana,' in Lelewel's Atlas, 'Géographie du Moyen Age' (edit. Bruxelles, 1850). This is considered the first Arabic map, and to have been constructed in the time of Almamoun (or *El Ma'mún*), about A.D. 830.

Lelewel states that the work called 'Rasm,'—*Horismus*, ὁρισμός,—'El Rasm al Arsi,' or 'The Mark-

[18] As the map mentions on the west coast, "Manicongo" and "Regno di Manicongo," meaning, the kingdom of the *sovereign of Congo*, which is described by Francis Alvares in his 'Viaggio nel Æthiopia,' vol. i. p. 249, edit. Giov. Ramusio, who died in A.D. 1540, the date of the map, 1530–40, is, I think, correct. Indeed Congo was not discovered till 1487.

ing-out of the Earth,' was by Djafar Mohammed-ben-Mousa, the Chouaresmian, an astronomer and keeper of the library at Bagdad, in the reign of that caliph. Almamoun, who was himself a lover of the sciences and an able astronomer, had ordered a translation of Ptolemy's Geography to be made, and some say that that Arabic work is compiled from that of the Greek author.

Plate II. is by the astronomer Abul Hassan Ali Ibn Junis, A.D. 1008; and that portion, termed "Quadrans Habitabilis," gives the same lake intersected by the equinoctial line; but its sources are made to flow from a range of mountains called "M. Komr,"[19] which is situated about 15° further to the south. It seems to me that this portion of the map has been taken from the Arabic translation of Ptolemy, which was ordered by the Caliph Almamoun; because Komr, or Kamr, or Kamar, signifies the same as Σελήνη, the Moon; and the author, being an Egyptian, had most likely followed the great work of his countryman, the Greek astronomer of Pelusium.

Plate IV. in Lelewel's Atlas is after a map by Hassan Nureddin Ibn Said, in A.D. 1274, and varies in a remarkable manner from the two former maps.

It represents the Lake Kura on the equator, from which flows to the west a river, probably the Congo; from that lake some (six) rivers communicate with two more lakes further south; thence some (four)

[19] The word here and in the following map by Ibn Said is *Komr*, not *Kamr* or *Kamar* (the moon). "The practice of the older Arabs," was, according to Silvestre de Sacy, to "pronounce the word, *Komr*, as has been proved by Makrizi." (Humboldt's 'Views of Nature,' Bohn's edit. 1850, p. 115.)

rivers run into each of those two lakes that have their sources—"Fontes Nili"—in the mountains "Komr," or the Moon. Here the Kura on the equator, would seem to be intended for the lake termed "Little Luta Nzigé," and of the two southern lakes, that on the east corresponds with the Nyanza, whilst the western one answers to the Tanganyika. I must, however, mention that the lake Luta Nzigé (or *Dead Locust*) is only called "Little" in comparison with the two latter lakes. In fact, it is as yet entirely unknown; but, according to Speke's map, it is about three-fifths of the Lake Tanganyika in length,—perhaps 180 miles long; and the island placed in it, in long. 30° 40′ E., called *Gasi*, agrees with the islet laid down in the 'Tabula Almamuniana.' From the report of the natives it is resorted to by them, at certain times, for the obtaining of salt, although the lake water itself is stated to be sweet.

Two other important maps are given at No. X., the larger one being entitled 'Tabula Itineraria *Edrisiana*,' and the second 'Tabula Rotunda *Rogeriana*,' of the date A.D. 1154. In this last we see two lakes at the equator, from the north-western of which the river Kauga (or Kanga = Congo?) takes its origin, and flows to the west. This lake, from its position, probably indicates the Little Luta Nzigé. The second or larger lake, on the equator, may be the Nyanza; the west lake, in about 8° of south latitude, is perhaps the Tanganyika; and the east lake, that called Baringo, which has not yet been investigated, although it is evidently placed too far south. The head rivers of the two southern lakes proceed from the "Mons Komr" and the "Fons Nili;" but the range, being

situated in lat. 12° S., is most likely given from Ptolemy. Lelewel calls the 'Tabula Rogeriana' the "Mappe monde" of the geographers of Sicily. It was preserved and described by Edrisi, and was the result of researches made and related by an African Mussulman at the court of Roger, King of Sicily, who reigned from A.D. 1130 to 1154.

Plate XLIII. is a Portuguese sea-chart, or 'Charta Marina Portugalensium,' which was prepared for publication in 1508, but did not appear till 1513. Two lakes are placed on it a little south of the equator, one about 65°, the other in 69° long. east of Ferro (=47° and 51° east of Greenwich), the "M. Lunæ" being laid down in about lat. 6° S. From each of the lakes a river flows to the north, and these at a few degrees in north latitude meet, and then form one river, the Nile. This point of confluence would seem to answer to a spot near Madi, at the junction of the Asua river with the White Nile, indeed just opposite to Miani's Tree.

About the same time (A.D. 1508) there was published at Rome 'Nova Orbis Tabula,' for some edition of Ptolemy, and which was drawn up by the monk Marinos and another. See Plate XLIV., by Johannes Ruysch, in Lelewel's Atlas.

Another map of some interest is Plate XLV., the work of Bernard Sylvanus, of Eboli, in the year 1511; it is entitled 'Tabula Ptolemæi Universalis Reformata.' In presenting some fresh additions to Ptolemy, from the then recent discoveries, it delineates the "Lunæ Montes" as usual, but it adds to them a second range perpendicular to them,—*i.e.* extending north and south, from the east and west line of the

Lunar Mountains, and they are placed in long. 60° east of Ferro (or about 42° east of Greenwich).

Having already described the central equatorial portion of the map of Africa, which Mr. Hudson Gurney kindly forwarded to the section of the British Association at Newcastle-on-Tyne, I will further observe that that map was taken from the rare folio edition of Ptolemy's 'Cosmographia,' published at Rome in 1478, and printed by Arnold Buckinck.

I have lately seen a copy of it, which is preserved in the "King's Library" of the British Museum (C. 3. d. 6.), and found it beautifully printed with red and blue capitals, and an illuminated title-page. It is a Latin translation only.

The atlas, containing the maps roughly engraven on copper, is supposed to be the first book ever published "tabulis æneis." See Bib. Spenc. vol. iv. p. 537. Lelewel says of this fine edition (vol. ii. p. 207), that "it was begun by Conrad Schweinheim, and finished by Arnold (Panartz) Buckinck; and that it was translated and edited by Domitius Calderinus, from the Greek codex of Georgius Gemistus Pletho."

One more edition of Ptolemy deserves, as being one of the best, to be here recorded, and that is by the French Regius Professor of Mathematics, Pierre the Berté (Bertius) published at Amsterdam, 1619; it contains a collection of maps supposed to have been drawn by Agathodæmon, a geographer of Alexandria, who is thought to have lived about A.D. 200, and was the author of 'Delineatio Orbis ex Libris Ptolemæi,' in Latin. A copy of the central part of Africa from one of these maps, fig. 1, is published by Dr. Beke with his paper (read at the Swansea Meeting of the

British Association), entitled "On the Sources of the Nile in the Mountains of the Moon," in Jameson's 'Edinburgh Philosophical Journal' for October, 1848.

I will now briefly mention the noble atlas of the most distinguished geographer of his age, Gerhard Kauffmann, but who is better known by his Latin name of *Mercator*, he having been the inventor of the geographical *Projection* called after him. The edition to which I refer is the fifth, which was published at the expense of Henry Hondt (*Hondius*), at Amsterdam, in 1623; it is illustrated with well-coloured maps, and engraven on copper by Mercator himself. The particular map to which I call attention is entitled, "Abissinorum sive *Pretiosi Joannis* Imperium." All the maps and countries are described in Latin. Of the Emperor of the Abyssinians, whom he calls "*Pretiosus*, non Presbyter" (or termed in English, *Prester*), meaning 'high' or 'mighty,' he writes, "hic inter maximos nostræ ætatis monarchus procul dubio censendus" (p. 337). That map delineates "Nilus fl." as flowing a little to the west of south for about 5° south of the equator, where it issues from an immense lake, 8° of latitude in length and about 4° of longitude in breadth, named "Zaire" or "Zembre Lacus." This lake, which certainly answers to the Tanganyika, is divided by his meridian of 56° of longitude east of the Azores, and exhibits a large island near its centre; at its north-west end, the river Zaire is made to issue near a place also called "Zaire." A large river flows into it from the east, which is evidently the Malagarazi; and at its southern extremity is placed the town Zembre, past which a river, doubtless the Marungu, enters that lake. All this has most likely

been laid down from the descriptions, already cited, of F. d'Encisa and De Barros. Another branch of the "Nilus," at about 1° south of the equator, flows from a smaller nameless lake, at the north extremity of which is a place called "Garava." If this word be (which is probable) a corruption of *Ukerewe*,—the name of the island in the Lake Nyanza, as *Kerewe*, or *Gerewe*, or *Garave*,—it would show that that lake, although much too small, was intended by Mercator. Many other affluents to the Nile are inserted at the S. E. of the equator, and many of them proceed from different lakes, only one of which I need notice: and this is the *Barcena*, which is doubtless meant for the Baringa, for the word may be also written Barenca, or *Barenga*. It is, however, too far to the east.

Another very large lake, termed "Zaflan Lacus," the *Zambesi* of some authors, with six islands, on the east at about long. 66° E., and beginning near lat. 5° S., is laid down, which, though too large, corresponds with the lake now called Maravi or Nyassa.

Mercator places his "Lunæ Montes" further south than Ptolemy, and consequently south of his two large lakes—Zembre and Zaflan.

Another large lake is given, which begins at about 2° north of the equator. It is termed "Niger Lacus," and from its north end the river Niger is made to flow north. A town on its east side being named "Maita *Gazi*," would tend to prove that it answers to Captain Speke's Luta Nzigé, since the island there inserted bears the same name of *Gazi*. Again, further north, at just about lat. 10° N., there is a smaller, but an unnamed lake laid down, which would seem to correspond with that now known as the Lake No.

More than a century ago, the eminent French geographer D'Anville published (1749) his folio Atlas, under the auspices of the Duke of Orleans. In his map of Africa his upper portion of the Nile is chiefly Ptolemy's, but somewhat modified after the Arabic maps, especially that of 1274, by Ibn Said, and he differs from all of them by his geographical positions. D'Anville has there delineated the line of the "Montagnes de la Lune," in about lat. 5° N.; thence proceed some ten head-streams, which flow into two large lakes, the easternmost of which is in about long. 45° E. from Ferro (27° from Greenwich). One river then proceeds from each of the lakes, and enters a *third* large lake on the parallel of lat. 10° N. This lake is termed "Lac Couir," having a town, or place, called *Tumi*, on its south side, and the river "Le Nil" thence issues out in a single stream at its northern extremity. By comparing this third lake with a modern map it will at once be manifest that D'Anville's Lake *Couir*, which is clearly a corruption of *Kavar*, or *Kura Kavar*, from the Arabian maps, is placed where the Lake No and river Gazelle (Bahr el Ghazal) actually exist.

D'Anville has engraven the following judicious remarks upon his map,[20] respecting the "sources of the

[20] These are the original words of D'Anville :—"Quoi qu'on se soit flatté dans le dernier siècle, d'avoir trouvé les sources du Nil dans celles d'un gros fleuve de l'Abissinie, cependant l'étude des géographes de l'antiquité nous apprend, qu'ils ont connu ce fleuve sous le nom particulier d'Astapus, et bien distinctement d'un autre plus reculé dans le continent de l'Afrique, et auquel le nom de Nil est donné par préférence. Ainsi, dans le cas où nous sommes d'ignorer encore les *vraies sources* de ce fleuve, on n'est pas en droit de rejeter entièrement ce que non-seulement Ptolémée, mais encore les géographes orientaux, El Edrisi et Abulféda, rapportent de son origine, jusqu'à ce que d'autres connoissances nous soient acquises."

Nile:"—"Although one flattered oneself, in the last century, that the sources of the Nile had been found in those of a large river of Abyssinia, yet the study of the geographers of antiquity informs us that they had known that river by the particular name of Astapus, and very distinctly of another (river) more remote in the continent of Africa, and to which the name of Nile is given by preference. Thus, in the case where we are still ignorant of the *true sources* of that river, we have no right to reject entirely what, not only Ptolemy, but also the Oriental geographers El Edrisi and Abulfeda, relate concerning their origin, until we shall have acquired further information about them."

M. Vivien de Saint-Martin, in his recent work, 'Le Nord de l'Afrique,' (Par. 1863) follows in a modified manner M. D'Anville; and I need scarcely say that he is greatly in error. He lays down in his "Carte No. 1," at the *time* of Ptolemy, the two "Nili Paludes," in about lat. 8° and 9° *North*; into these flow rivers coming from 2° and 4° *North* of the equator; and the longitudes of the two lakes are respectively about 46° and 48° east from Ferro.

Since the best Greek editions of Ptolemy are rare, and the maps of Africa, by different cartographers, which are appended to the Latin translations, vary in the position of the equatorial lakes, or "Nili Paludes," I will next briefly state from Wilberg's excellent and collated edition (Essend. 1843), what that Egyptian geographer has actually recorded (Geogr. lib. iv. cap. 7) concerning them, both in his own words and in my interpretations.

Εἶτα καθ' ὁ ἑνοῦται ὁ Νεῖλος ποταμὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ῥεόντων

ποταμῶν ἐκ τῶν ὑπερκειμένων δύο λιμνῶν . ξ̄ βορ.′ β̄
τῶν λιμνῶν ἡ δυσμικωτέρα . . . . . νζ̄ νοτ.′ ς̄
ἡ ἀνατολικωτέρα τῶν λιμνῶν . . . . ξ̄ε νοτ.′ ζ̄

"Then where the river Nile (*white* river) becomes *one*, by the uniting of the rivers that flow out of *two* lakes which are placed higher up . . . . . 60° north 2°
The more western of the lakes . . . . . 57° south 6°
The more eastern of the lakes . . . . . 65° south 7°."

Again Ptolemy writes (lib. iv. cap. 8), Τοῦτον μὲν οὖν τὸν κόλπον περιοικοῦσιν Αἰθίοπες Ἀνθρωποφάγοι, ὧν ἀπὸ δυσμῶν διήκει τὸ τῆς Σελήνης ὄρος, ἀφ' οὗ ὑποδέχονται τὰς χιόνας αἱ τοῦ Νείλου λίμναι, καὶ ἐπέχει μοίρας τὰ πέρατα τοῦ τῆς Σελήνης ὄρους—νζ̄ νοτ.′ ιβ̄ λ′ καὶ ξζ̄ νοτ′. ιβ̄λ′.

Having mentioned the Κόλπος Βαρβαρικὸς, or the "Barbaric Gulf," being that portion of the Indian Ocean which flows along the coast of Zanguebar, the author adds:—"About this gulf (Barbaric) the Æthiopian Anthropophagi inhabit, from whom the Mountain of the Moon extends towards the west, wherefrom the Lakes of the Nile receive the (melted) snows; and the extremities of the Mountain of the Moon reach these degrees—57° S. 12° 30′, and 67° S. 12° 30′."

From these accounts we learn that the Mountain of the Moon, or the range of that mountain, is placed by Ptolemy in 12° 30′ south latitude,[21] and that it extends

[21] If 12° 30′ here could be considered as an error of copyists for 2° 30′, then the range of the Mountains of the Moon would include the mountains extending from 28° to 38° east longitude, and so comprise the mountains called by Speke "of the moon," as well as Kilimandjaro and Mount Kenia. This is one view of the question. But a second and a better may be alleged as follows:—From the sections given in Speke's map, it would appear that the lake Little Windermere, at the east slope of Mount M'fumbiro, is situate 3639 feet above the ocean, and that from thence to Kazé, 3564 feet in south latitude

from east to west, 10° of longitude; that the streams increased by the melted snows flow northwards into two lakes, which are 8° of longitude apart; of which, the eastern one is placed in 65° of longitude and lat. 7° S., but the western is in 57° long.[22] and lat. 6° S.; that the rivers which issue from them flow for about eight degrees of latitude more to the north, and then meet together at a spot fixed in long. 60° and lat. 2° N.; and thence the *united* stream constitutes the river Nile.

This point of *confluence* of the lake-rivers, the numbers of which are not specified, although the lakes themselves are expressly said to be *two*, would seem to correspond with the place named *Koki*, some 15 miles south of the Karuma falls, as laid down in Speke's map; that is, if we can consider Ptolemy's degrees *of* latitude to be the same as our own; but if not nearly co-extensive, then the confluence of the lake-rivers

at 5°, this high range continues to exceed 3000 feet in height. Again, from Kazé to East Ugogo in about 6° 30′ south latitude, much the same altitude is continued; thence succeeds the Robêho, given as 5148 feet high, and a chain of that name then seems to run to the north towards Mounts Kilimandjaro and Kenia. Why may not this sweep of a mountainous country, being somewhat lunate in form, and traversing, as it does, the *Mono Moezi*, or rather the *Unyamwesi*,—kingdom or land of the moon,—have been esteemed as the more *correct* portion of the Lunar range? With this view, Ptolemy, on the supposition that his degrees of latitude are equal to our modern ones, would only be in error by 6° south latitude. But he would be right as to the χιόνας, or melted snows, descending from the snow-clad Kenia, and swelling most likely the Lake Baringo and its streams, which flow into the Asua, or tributaries of the White River or Nile.

[22] Here 65° and 57° of east longitude, if computed from St. Antonio, as I have supposed afterwards, would answer to 40° and 32° of east longitude from Greenwich, which are more likely positions.

may probably be extended to about Miani's Tree. The corresponding degrees of Ptolemæan longitude are difficult to reconcile; if reckoned from Ferro, one of the Fortunate Islands, 60° of longitude would agree with 42°, instead of 32° or 33° east of Greenwich, nearly the correct positions. But I think it probable that Ptolemy, who reckoned his first degree of longitude from the "Fortunate Isles" (lib. i. cap. 12), included under that *general* name, the more western islands called anciently the Gorgades, or Gorgones, and now the "Cape Verd Islands." So, by placing his *first* meridian through the island at this day named San Antonio (in about long. 25° 34′ west), the most western of them, we should then find that his 60° would correspond nearly with long. 34° east from Greenwich, which is a *more exact* approximation to the longitude of either Miani's Tree, or Koki in the Chopi district.

It must therefore be acknowledged that these accounts of Ptolemy, which relate to the upper portion of the Nile, to the reservoir-lakes beyond the equator, to the head-streams of that mighty river, and to a range of mountains termed "of the Moon," from whence descend, as well as from whose roots spring, the waters and sources that feed those central lakes, are *in the main correct.*

Indeed, so accurate have his descriptions been proved by recent explorations, that they strongly confirm the opinion that that Egyptian geographer had received them from some natives, or from some merchants who had actually visited those distant regions, for the purpose of obtaining (among other valuable things) tusks of ivory. Moreover, he has expressly stated that, "we *learnt from merchants* who passed over from Arabia

Felix into (those parts of Africa called) Azania, Rhapta, etc. (about Zanguebar), that the Nile flows out of (certain) lakes . . . very far in the interior."[23]

Ptolemy's words are these:—*Καὶ μὴν καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀραβίας τῆς Εὐδαίμονος διαπεραιουμένων ἐμπόρων ἐπὶ τὰ Ῥαπτὰ . . . μανθάνομεν . . . τὰς λίμνας δὲ ἀφ' ὧν ὁ Νεῖλος ῥεῖ . . . ἐνδοτέρῳ σύχνῳ.* (Lib. i. cap. 17.)

Herr Ferdinand Werne, fifteen years ago, in his paper "On the Sources of the White Nile," which was read at the meeting of the British Association at Swansea in 1848, publicly expressed the same opinions. That traveller, who one of the European officers of the expedition sent in 1840–41 by Mohammed Ali, Pasha of Egypt, to explore the Nile, and who, like the Roman officers dispatched by the Emperor Nero for the same object, seem to have turned back at places not so very far apart from each other. Werne reached 4° of north latitude,[24] near Laburé; Miani cut his ini-

[23] Captain Burton says (p. 441, Journal Roy. Geogr. Soc. vol. xxix.):—"Zanzibar is the principal mart for perhaps the finest and largest ivory in the world." It collects the tusks of the elephants frequenting "the lands lying between the parallels of 2° north. lat. and 10° south lat., and the area extends from the coast to the regions lying westward of the Tanganyika Lake." This being the case, it is very surprising that those countries should not have been well known for many years past. It is likely, however, that the slave trade, in a great degree, was the cause of the civilized world being kept in ignorance of them.

[24] But according to the French engineer Arnaud's statement (Bull. de la Soc. Géograph., Feb. 1842, p. 94), the more exact distance reached is thus given: the expedition stopped for want of water in the river, at the season when they got there, in 4° 42′ 42″ north latitude, and 31° 28′ east longitude of Greenwich, where mountains close upon the White Nile on both sides. This spot would be in Speke's map about Rijeb or Doro, south of Gondokoro. M. d'Arnaud then adds, that the river continues for thirty leagues

tials on a tree about 20′ further south, and the Roman explorers most probably advanced to the Karuma Falls,[25] to a distance of about 1° 43′ further southward than Werne's expedition.

After distinctly contradicting "the supposed discovery made by M. Antoine d'Abbadie, of the source of the Nile in lat. 7° 49′ north," and long. 36° 2′ east of Greenwich, Herr Werne adds that he was "told by the natives, that the sources of the Nile lie still further to the south."

"Lakono, the king of Bari, and his people invariably pointed to the south, when describing the situation of the sources of the river," and they could not be induced "to deviate from their original statement, that the *river comes* from the *south*." Werne "expressed his conviction that Ptolemy and the natives of Bari will be found to be correct in their statements respecting the position of the sources of the Nile, and that those *sources* are in the regions *near the equator*,

further south, when several branches unite, the chief one flowing from the east (Journ. Roy. Geogr. Soc., vol. xviii. p. 73). Now, if we calculate ninety miles along the course of the river, the *confluence* of these branches will be found where the Asua, which is supposed to flow out of Lake Baringo, joins the White Nile, indeed close upon Miani's tree. With this evidence obtained in 1842, in addition to the accounts of Herodotus, Seneca, Ptolemy, and the Arabian maps, it is to me most remarkable that geographers should have persisted in their own *hypothetical* views of the sources of the Bahr el Abiad, or true Nile, for some twenty years longer.

[25] This is most likely, from the narrative that Seneca has left us, and which I have before given. There are, however, other neighbouring falls in the river, which proceeds to the west towards Lake Luta Nzigé, and which Speke did not investigate; he mentions (p. 568) "one within ear-sound, down the river, said to be very grand." Signor Miani left a record on a *tree*, and it is possible that

where we shall also find the Mountains of the Moon."[26]

"In the notes to the translation of Abd Allatif's 'Description of Egypt,' M. Silvestre de Sacy[27] states, 'the name of the mountains regarded by Leo Africanus as furnishing the sources of the Nile, has generally been rendered 'Mountains of the Moon.' I do not know whether the Arabs originally borrowed this denomination from Ptolemy."

"Reinaud, in his translation of Abulfeda (ii. pp. 81–82), regards it as probable that the Ptolemæan interpretation of the name of 'Mountains of the Moon' (ὀρῆ σεληναία) was that originally adopted by the Arabs."[28]

It may have been that the Arabs used this appellation of the mountains from Ptolemy, after his work had been translated in the ninth century of our era, into Arabic; or it may have been received by the Greek geographer from some Arab merchants who knew the country; although I think it more likely that the "Mountain of the Moon" was a *local* and indigenous name. The uncivilized natives of that portion of equatorial Africa may have so called, in their own language, that range, either from some *crescent-like* shape or disposition of the mountains, or from some high summit of them being considered, in certain appearances of the moon, to reach nearly to that orb; or possibly from a religious motive, from their being in some degree (Σεληνοσεβεῖς) "worshippers

some inscription cut upon a *rock* near the river by Nero's centurions may yet be discovered.

[26] Report of the British Association, p. 78, 1849.

[27] Pages 7, 353, edit. 1810.

[28] 'Views of Nature,' by A. von Humboldt, p. 115, Bohn's edit. 1850.

of the moon ;" indeed, Captain Speke tells us of King Rumanika's monthly ceremony, which he terms "the new-moon levée" (p. 224). This takes place every *new moon* in the kingdom of Karagué on the eastern side of the roots of the cone of M'fumbiro, the loftiest of that traveller's Lunar Mountains.

In concluding, I will notice only one more map, and that is the red portion of Keith Johnston's reduced map in Speke's Journal. This is said to be taken from the *Purans*, or ancient Hindoos, by Lieut. Wilford. Captain Speke thus alludes to it:—"I came to the conclusion that *all* our previous information concerning the hydrography of these (equatorial) regions, as well as the Mountains of the Moon" (or the *Soma Giri* of the Purans, p. xv.) "originated with the ancient Hindoos, who told it to the priests of the Nile." "Reasoning thus, the Hindoo traders alone, in those days, I believed, had a firm basis to stand upon, from their intercourse with the Abyssinians, through whom they must have heard of the country of *Amara*, which they applied to the Nyanza, and with the *Wanyamuezi*, or 'Men of the Moon,' from whom they heard of the Tanganyika and Karagué Mountains" (p. 264).

This is clearly *hypothetical*, and I can by no means think that *all* our former information of that part of Africa, was made known by "the *Hindoo* traders alone;" for surely the early Egyptian writers had received some accounts of the more southern districts,—

ἔνθα Βυβλίνων ὀρῶν ἄπο
Ἴησι σεπτὸν Νεῖλος εὔποτον ῥέος,—
"Where from the mountains with papyrus crown'd,[29]

[29] Not the mountains "crowned with *papyrus*," as Dr. Potter has

> The venerable Nile impetuous pours
> His headlong torrent,"

just as Ptolemy had done; and most likely from Abyssinian or Arabian merchants, who had visited some portions of them in quest of gold, spices, or ivory.

Further, on examining the red portion of Johnston's map, in which "the course of the river Cali, or Great Krishna, through Cusha-Dwip without, and Shankha-Dwip proper, from the Purans by Lieut. Francis Wilford," I felt great suspicions about the correctness of it, and particularly about the so-called "Lake of Amara," which is too like the Red Sea reduced, inverted, and placed in the centre of Africa, to be in the least probable; I therefore directly (on December 20th) wrote to an able Indian traveller, who is well acquainted with Hindoostanee, asking him the supposed age of that so-called *Puran* map, and where Wilford's description of it could be found. To this inquiry (on January 4th) I received from him this information:— "The early Hindoo map is taken from vol. iii. of the 'Asiatic Researches' of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1792) p. 295, and explains a long paper "On Egypt and other countries adjacent to the *Cali* river, or Nile of Ethiopia, from the ancient books of the Hindoos,"

here translated Βυβλίνων ὀρῶν, but the "*Bybline Mountains*," *i.e.* the mountains near which, or at whose bases, the *byblus* or papyrus abounds. Hence the roots of the Σεληναία ὀρῆ can be also appropriately called Βυβλίνα ὀρῆ. The paper-rush, or *Papyrus antiquorum* of Sprengel, was formerly, but not now, met with in the lower Nile; at present it is abundant on the margins of the lakes and rivers in equatorial Africa This aquatic plant is well represented in the Plate of the Little Windermere Lake, situate near the eastern roots of M'fumbiro, in Speke's Journal, p. 223. See further on the papyrus, Hogg's 'Classical Plants of Sicily;' and the 'Magazine of Natural History' for April, 1864.

by Lieut. F. Wilford. The map is not an ancient map at all, but merely one drawn to illustrate Wilford's theory, that the Cali of the Hindoo Puranas is identical with the Nile. This, I think, he entirely fails to *prove*, or even to make appear *probable*. After reading the paper, I have been unable to see any good reason for supposing that *Cali* (the name of a Hindoo goddess) is the river Nile, and not a Hindoo river. All the names of places on the banks of the Cali, the forests, lake, etc., are Hindoo, and have no resemblance to any names on or near the Nile. The materials for the paper are arbitrarily collected from numerous Puranas, and other Hindoo writings, extending over several centuries of years." This account strongly confirmed my suspicions, and I felt certain that it must be esteemed purely *visionary*. To my surprise, however, about a fortnight afterwards, my kind informant wrote to me again, as follows:—"I have looked into vol. viii. (dated 1805) of the 'Asiatic Researches.' There, at p. 249, etc., Lieut. Wilford writes, in great distress, to say that his former paper (in vol. iii.) was a complete imposition, he having been taken in by his *Pundit*, or Hindoo teacher. He seems to have told this wily fellow 'all our ancient mythology, history, and geography,' letting him know that he was anxious to find evidence of the Hindoos having been acquainted with them, for their ancient writings. The Pundit sent extracts (from the Puranas, according to him), and Wilford translated them without suspecting anything wrong. It was afterwards found out that the Pundit had invented legends to resemble those told him by Wilford, inserted the names, Egypt, etc., and made up a story to please him. In the original MS. he erased

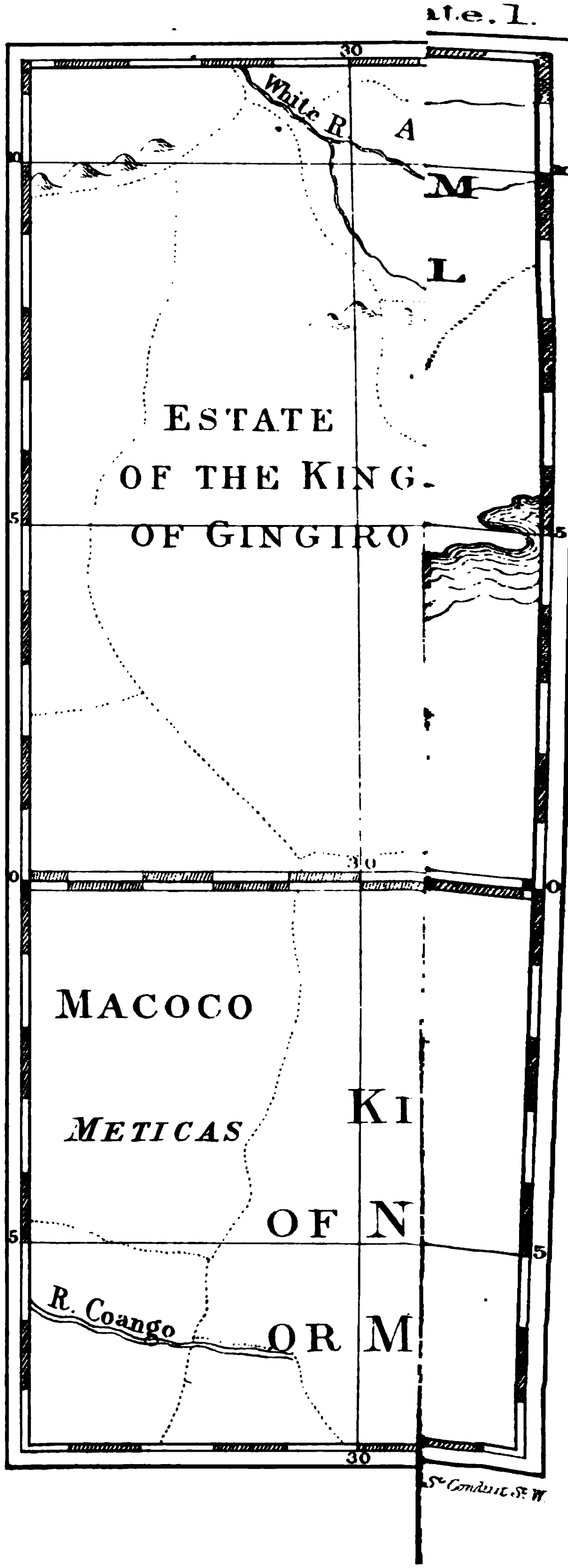
the real name of a country, and put in Egypt; he took out leaves, and added others composed by himself, which he thought would suit Wilford's views."[30]

It is but just to the memory of so distinguished a man as the then President of that "Asiatic Society" (Sir Wm. Jones), to state what another correspondent has since told me, viz. that he "*at first* declined to acquiesce in Wilford's views, but he became at length *convinced*, when Wilford produced his apparent authorities, that is to say, the *supposed original* MSS., whereby the author had been himself imposed upon."[31]

[30] Having occasion to write to Mr. Keith Johnston in Edinburgh, I mentioned to him the worthlessness of the red part of his reduced Map of Equatorial Africa, and pointed out vol. viii. of the 'Asiatic Researches,' where he would find how Lieutenant Wilford had been tricked, with the express object that, in a new edition of Captain Speke's 'Journal,' the map might be corrected. To this Mr. Johnston replied (on Jan. 26), that "he had nothing to do with the red map, but he felt sure Captain Speke would be greatly amazed" when he learnt the particulars of the deception.

[31] This correspondent is the same able scholar who (I afterwards found) wrote the biographical article in the 'Penny Cyclopædia,' under the title "Wilford." Having referred to Wilford's essay (which was written in or before 1791), in vol. iii. 'Asiatic Researches,' reprinted in London in 1801, I read (p. 463) Sir W. Jones's own 'Remarks' on it, and in which he confesses that "he had abandoned the greatest part of that natural distrust and incredulity which had previously taken possession of his mind." (J. H., April 12th, 1864.)

Norton House, Stockton-on-Tees,
January 29th, 1864.



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EXPLANATION OF THE MAPS.

Plate I. is a portion of the map of "Africa" by John Senex, Esq., F.R.S., and dedicated to Sir Isaac Newton, President of the Royal Society. It was engraved by that eminent "Geographer to the Queen" (*Anne*), about the year 1712. The "Great Lake," corresponding with the Nyanza, is laid down with considerable accuracy.

Plate II., No. 1, is taken from a part of John Senex's "Map of the World" bearing the date of 1711. Here it will be seen that the "Great Lake of the Caffres" is placed nearer to the equator, and therefore more correctly than in his previous map. The longitudes are calculated both from Ferro and from Greenwich.

No. 2 is copied from Walker's map of "Africa," which was published in his small 'Universal Atlas,' No. 4, in 1811. Here the "Lake of Zambre," now called the "Lake Tanganyika," is represented with much correctness. It would however seem, in the absence of any actual survey, to be prolonged by above three degrees of latitude too far to the south.

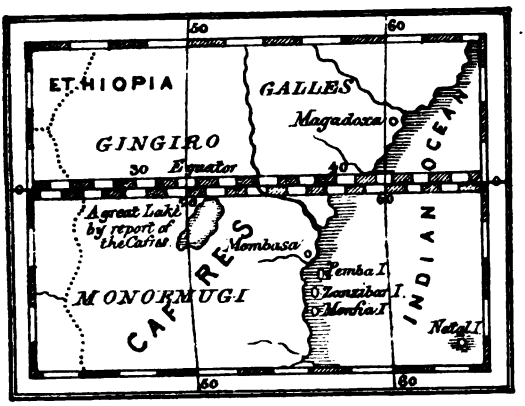
No. 3 gives a portion of a Scotch map engraved by Lizars in 1815, which, having omitted the "Great Lake" (Nyanza) of Senex, and the long "Lake of Zambre" of Walker, and erroneously styling the country where those lakes had been previously notified, as an "unknown territory," merely adds the "Lake Moravi." This is bisected by the parallel of lat. 10° S., and by the meridian of 35° east from Greenwich.

Plate III. represents, in a surprising manner, the actual condition of the physical character of that part of Central Equatorial Africa, viz. as abounding in lakes, rivers, and mountains. This is taken from a portion of the illustrious geographer, Mercator's, map of the "Empire of the Abyssinians, or of *Prester* John," as detailed in the beautiful work published by Henry Hondt, at Amsterdam, in 1623. It appears from this map, that nearly all the lakes of that African

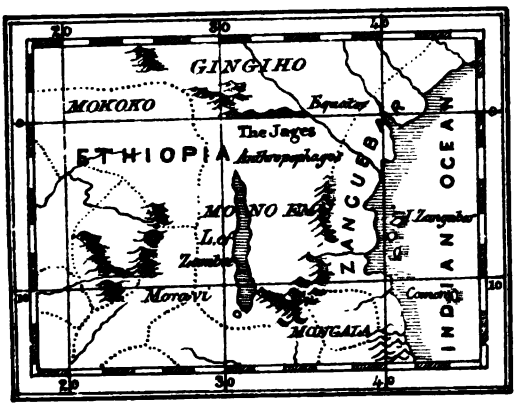
district are laid down, although not with great exactness. The longitude is given from the Azores; this calculation, I apprehend, originated from the fact of the Flemings having been permitted in 1466 by the King of Portugal to colonize those islands soon after their discovery; and Mercator, himself being a Fleming, naturally chose that western region as his starting-point, wherefrom to calculate his longitudes. In addition to this, it is very probable that the Flemings had received from their friends and signiors—the Portuguese—much information concerning the real nature of that territory of Africa.

Plate IV. is a map reduced by Mr. Keith Johnston, of Edinburgh, from Captain Speke's map of the "Outfall of the Nile." It is neatly executed; but owing to its having been drawn before Mr. K. Johnston had received Captains Speke's and Grant's observations, it is not altogether accurate. One subject is worthy of remark, and this is not free from surmise, or even doubt,—it is this: in the map published by Mr. Edward Stanford, June 22nd, 1863, and signed by Captain Speke "26th February, 1863," the mountains termed by that traveller the "Mountains of the Moon," are placed at the north extremity of Lake Tanganyika; but in his own map published in his Journal in December last, Captain Speke (or the constructor of it) has altered their position, and inserted them around the west and north sides of the more northern Lake Rusizi, and has also given them a certain mythical, colt's-foot form.

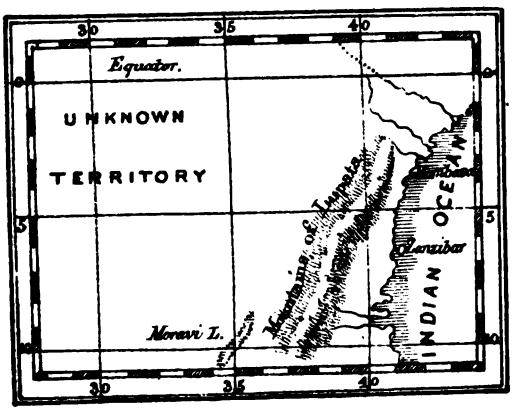
N°1.



N°2



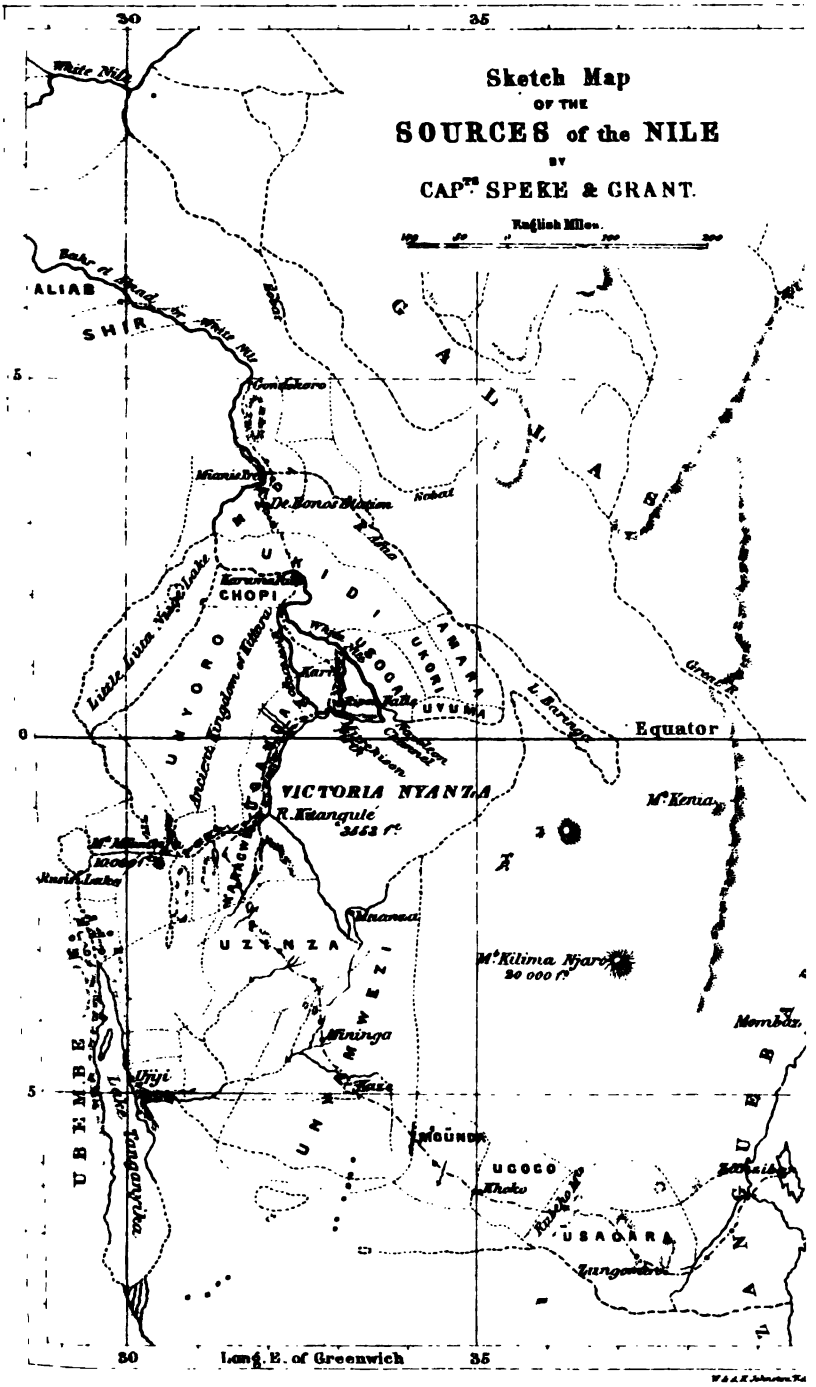
N°3.



F. G. Netherclift lith. 17 Mill Street. Conduit St. W.

Plate III.

F. G. Nethe[illegible] Lith. Pt. Mill St. Cardiff St. W


Sketch Map
OF THE
SOURCES of the NILE
BY
CAPTS SPEKE & GRANT.
English Miles.
30
35
White Nile
Baker & Grant in 1864 Nile
ALIAB
SHIR
GALLA
Gondokoro
Mianie
Nebat
CHOPI
Karuma Falls
Little Luta Nzige Lake
UNYORO
Victoria Nile
Kamrasi's Kingdom of Kibero
UKORI
AMARA
UVUMA
Grant's R.
L. Baringo
Equator
VICTORIA NYANZA
R. Kitanguié
3553 ft.
Mt. Kenia
Mt. Kilima Njaro
20 000 ft.
Mombas
Speke's Lake
Mwanza
UZINZA
Mininga
Ujiji
Lake Tanganyika
UBEMBE
UNYAMWEZI
MGUNDA
UGOGO
Kiboko
USAGARA
Zungomero
Zanzibar
Long. E. of Greenwich
35

V.—A TRANSLATION OF SOME ASSYRIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

BY H. F. TALBOT, V.P.R.S.L.

(Read January 6th, 1864.)

No. I.

A GRAMMATICAL TABLET IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

This inscription on a clay tablet in the British Museum marked K. 39, was first published by Oppert (Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie, p. 359).

Although I agree with him as to some parts of the inscription, yet I translate many words and phrases quite differently.

1. Haikal Ashurbanipal sar kissat, sar Ashur-ki:	Palace of Ashurbanipal, king of nations, king of Assyria,
2. sha Nabu, Tasmita, uznu rapastu ishruku,	to whom Nabu and Tasmita have given far-hearing ears,
3. ikhutzu ini namirtusu.	and have sharpened his far-seeing eyes.

Observations.

The name of the goddess Tasmita is derived, according to Oppert, from the verb שמע, to hear.

Nabu, who answers to Mercury, the god of eloquence, may be derived from *naba*, to speak divinely, Heb. נבא, which also means to prophesy, and to be very eloquent ("Mercuri *facunde*, nepos Atlantis"). Thus Nabu and Tasmita, as the deities who presided over speech and hearing, were naturally united in the Assyrian mythology.

Ashurbanipal was so ardent a patron of learning, that in his inscriptions he calls Nabu and Tasmita his father and mother, by whom he was educated (Oppert, p. 361).

The epithet which accompanies the word "ears" is expressed by a symbol, followed by the syllable *tu*; Oppert reads it *rapastu*, and this is fully confirmed by the tablet K. 43, which I have examined in the Museum, and in which I find this passage repeated, with the word *rapastu* written at full length. *Rapastu* means *wide, capacious*, and is used in the inscriptions as an epithet of the world, and of divers large countries, such as Syria, etc.

When the king says that the gods have given him capacious ears, we are to understand far-hearing ears, and I have therefore so translated it.

Ishruku, 'they have given:' a very common word. Here K. 43 reads *ishruku's* for *ishruku-su*, they have given *to him*.

Ikhutzu, they have sharpened for him; *ikhutu-su*. From the Heb. verb *khut* or *khud*, חד, to sharpen; which is used of sharpening a sword, the intellect, etc.

Here the tablet K. 43 reads *ikussu*.

Namirtu, far-seeing: from the verb *namar* or *amar*, to see. But K. 43 reads *tamirtu*, which I think is better.

3. (*Continued.*) Dippi sarruti	The tablets of elementary instruction,
4. sha as sarin alik makri-ya	which, among the kings who went before me
5. nin miru suatu ikhutzu,	none showed solicitude for this useful work,
6. ninim Nabu ilu kipir, antakku mala as nasmu,	by the favour of Nabu, god of learning, I pronounced the words with my breath,
7. as dippi asthur, ashnik, abriu,	(then) I wrote them upon tablets, I conjugated them, I dissected them,
8. ana tamarti litashi-ya	(and) for the instruction of the Teachers
9. kireb haikal-ya ukin.	I placed them within my palace.

Dippi, tablets, is the Chald. דף, tabula,—used in Rabbinic literature also for 'folium libri, pagina.'

Sarruti has, I believe, nothing to do with the common word *sarruti* (kingdom). It here means elementary instruction, and is derived from the Chaldee verb שרא, inchoavit.

It is sometimes written *surrut*, e. g. "In the beginning (*surrut*) of my reign, as I sat on my throne," etc.

However different these two meanings of *sarruti* may seem, yet they had a common origin, to which the Latin language offers an exact parallel. On the one hand we have *princeps*, *principatus*, etc., implying royal power (the first in *rank*), while, on the other hand, we have *principium*, the beginning of a thing (the first in *time*), and *principia*, the first *principles* of

a science, its very elements. So a child's *primer* is his *prémier livre*.

There is another remark which may be made.

The Hebrew ש often changes to ת in Syriac and Chaldee, as תור, for שור, a bull; hence there may be some connection between *sarrut* and the Chald. תרא, 'docuit, erudivit,' and as a subst. 'pædagogus, magister, doctor,' whence תארותא, *taruta*, doctrina. See Schaaf, p. 640.

Nin, no one. It is upon this word that the whole sense of the passage reposes. Fortunately, there are several examples of it. To cite one: in the inscription of Esarhaddon (Col. V. l. 34), we find the following passage:—"A great building. . . .

"sha as sarin alikut makri abi-ya	which, among the kings my fathers who went before me
"nin la ebusu, anaku ebus.	none had ever made, I accomplished."

It may be added, as a further confirmation, that K. 43 adds the particle *la* (not) after *miru suatu*.

Miru suatu, 'this work,' or 'this useful work,' is a very common phrase. For instance, on Bellino's cylinder, l. 42, we have, "Then I, Sennacherib, King of Assyria, resolved to accomplish this good work" (*miri suatu*).

Ikhutzu. This word is differently spelt from *ikhutzu* in l. 3, and is, I think, of different origin. I would derive it from Heb. *nakhatz*, נחץ, to urge a thing onwards; to be solicitous about it. The sense is, "no former king *cared for* education and literature."

Ninim, "by favour of." In other passages it is *ninumi*. Instead of the final *m*, Oppert's text has *ku*, which, I think, may be an error. If the upper-

most wedge be removed somewhat to the left, it will become a final *m*.

Ilu kipir, I have rendered "god of learning," but this is conjectural. It may be "lord of research, or study." חפר means a close search or exploration (Schindler, 631), *e. g.*, in Joshua חפר is to explore (the land).

Antakku is a very doubtful word. I have rendered it "I pronounced," supposing it may be the *t* conjugation of the verb *nakakh*, נכח, to declare or make manifest. As an adjective and preposition, נכח is 'promptus, coram, ante oculos,' etc.

The analogy of the Latin may help us: *res in promptu*, is a thing displayed or declared; *expromere* is to *utter*, e. g. 'exprome leges!' declare the law! 'exprome sententiam!' speak out your opinion! I therefore think it possible that *antakku* means "I spoke out."

Mala. Heb. מלה. Syr. et Chald. מלא, verbum.

Nasmu, breath. Heb. נשם, halitus, anhelitus, spiritus, anima.

Ashnik, I joined. The meaning of this expression is rather obscure; but the verb has that meaning in the great E. I. H. inscription. Perhaps it is a *grammatical* term, and in that case we can only guess at its meaning, which would probably be conventional. For instance, it may mean 'I *conjugated*' the verbs; which is the case on some of the tablets.

Abriu appears to be another grammatical term, "I dissected," viz. the words, which expresses very fairly the nature and arrangement of some of these tablets.

Moreover the word *abriu* or *ebriu* (in Hebrew הבר) occurs on Bellino's cylinder, l. 20, where I long ago translated it *dissecui*. But what chiefly makes me

think that this is correct, is the curious fact, that the verb דבר is used in *grammar* for dividing a word into its members or syllables; see Buxtorf's Thesaurus, and my paper in the 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society' for 1860 (vol. xviii. p. 91). Such a coincidence can hardly be fortuitous, and we may therefore infer, that the Assyrian grammarians and teachers of youth employed it in the same sense.

Tamarti, instruction: properly enlightenment, from the verb *namar* or *amar*, to see. Perhaps, however, the king only meant to say, 'I placed them in the palace, *for the sight* of the Teachers,' or *to be seen* by them.

Litashi, teachers or instructors. The Heb. לטש is to sharpen anything, as a *sword*, or the *eyes*. So the Latins say both *acies gladii* and *acies oculorum*.

From hence (see Sch. p. 947) comes *lutash*, לוטש, a master or teacher. Thus in Genesis, Tubal-cain is the *lutash*, or teacher, of all workers in metal. The Talmud renders it *rabbon*, great master.

The tablet K. 43 ends with an imprecation on any future sovereign who should efface Ashurbanipal's name on the tablet, and substitute his own. It is broken, and what remains is only "u mu-su itti mu-ya-ishaddaru, . . . sumu-su zir-su as mati likalliku."

"And shall write his name instead of mine . . . (*may the gods*) sweep away from the land his name and his race!"

I will add a fragment from the tablet K. 131, which commences with an invocation to some deity:—"Unto the king of the world, my lord, (I *pray*). . . . May Ashur and the other gods accompany my lord the King in his journey (*allik*) from the Kingdom unto the land of Egypt!"

The original is,—

Line 4, ana sar belni-ya
5, likrubuni valtu sarti
6, ana mat Mitsir.

Likrubuni, may they draw nigh! from the verb *kereb*, to draw nigh. This fragment is only important as showing that Ashurbanipal, on one occasion, made a journey to Egypt.

No. II.

AN INSCRIPTION OF SARGON.

This inscription was first published by Oppert in his 'Expédition Scientifique,' p. 333. My version differs from his in many particulars. It appears that Sargon, when building the palace of Khorsabad, constructed for each of the deities whom he most honoured a separate chapel, or rather, as I think, a small apartment richly embellished, in which stood the image of the deity, with an appropriate inscription on the wall of the room. Two of these have been preserved. The first of them is in honour of the god Ninev, the mythic founder of Nineveh.

1. Ninev bel abari sha sut-su dannut-zu	O Ninev, Lord of the Celestials; whose hands are powerful,
2. ana Sargina sar kissat, sar Ashur-ki, sakkanakku Babilu,	Unto Sargon, king of nations, king of Assyria, high-priest of Babylon
3. sar Sumiri u Akkadi, banu kumi-ka	king of Sumir and Akkad, the builder of thy apartment
4. sibut patlitzu! lisbaa buhari	protect his possessions! increase the rare animals

5. as kireb bit-shakdi u bit-khira ! kin pali-su !	within his enclosures and preserves ! prolong his years !
6. karniski sutishir ! sullima tsindi-su !	protect his stud of horses ! keep safely his chariots !
7. sutali-su emukan lashanan ! dunnu zikruti !	give youth (*i. e.* renewed vigour) to his warriors unconquerable ! fortify their valour !
8. kuti-su sutabi-u linar gari-su !	and make his arrows good, to destroy his enemies !

Ninev, in the Assyrian mythology, was frequently identified with the Sun. In the invocation to him (B. M. pl. 17), it is said that heaven and earth are radiant with his splendour (*nukhutsu* and *ikdu*). He was therefore properly called Lord of the Celestials; although, of course, a similar title might be given to Ashur and other gods, in invocations especially addressed to *them*.

Abari, Celestials. I agree with Oppert that this is the Heb. אבר, whence אביר is derived. The word אביר is applied, first, to the Deity himself; secondly, to the Angels, as in a passage quoted by Schindler, p. 17, "Man ate the food of angels," אבירים, where the Targum has, "food which descended from the habitation of the מלאכיא" (angels). Thirdly, to wings and birds, especially high-flying birds, as the נץ, or *accipiter*. Now the sun was considered a celestial bird in the Assyrian mythology.

Kum, an apartment. The word occurs in that sense in the E. I. H. inscription more than once.

Sibuta, wealth, occurs frequently. It is sometimes spelt ***sabuta***, as in B. M. pl. 15, 54, where there is this mention of a former king: "he was very pious, and attained to wealth (*sabuta*) and old age."

Patli-tzu. I would derive this word from Syriac ܒܛܠ, curam gerere. Schaaf, p. 60, renders ܒܛܠ by μελειν, 'curæ esse,' whence he derives *bathiluta*, cura. I therefore think that *sibut patli-tzu* (bathili-tzu) may be rendered, "protect his possessions for him," μελετω σοι χρηματων αυτου.

Lisbaa is a very common word, 'may it be abundant!' or, 'may it be prosperous!' I derive it from שבע, abundare (Ges. 955).

Buhari also occurs very frequently in the sense of a hunting-expedition, or the result of such an expedition, viz. a menagerie of rare animals. The Assyrian kings were extravagantly fond of this sport.

It will be observed that our present inscription was dedicated to Ninev. Now, he was the god of hunting in conjunction with Sidu (whose name comes from the Heb. צוד, to hunt; ציד, a hunting). Accordingly in pl. 28 of the B. M. series, it is said of the king Ashur-akhbal, that "Ninev and Sidu have given him *buhur* gabar,—a vast menagerie." See line 1; but in line 32 it is written '*muhur* gabar,' by a slight change of spelling.

Bit shakdi. *Bit* is not merely a *house*, but a residence, estate, property. Thus in the Michaux inscription, line 3, a certain field is said to lie in the בית, or estate, of the man Killi. *Shakdi* might be translated *custodiæ* or *curæ vigilis*, from the Heb. שקד, vigilare, curam gerere (Sch. 1930); but, on the whole, I prefer to view it as an Assyrian form of *shakri*. The Hebrew verb סגר, otherwise סכר, has the decided

meaning of *enclosing*, or shutting up. *Bit shakdi* is therefore an enclosure. I would render it "a park."

Bit khira. The verb *khira* meant to preserve, as we see in the frequent phrase *napshat-sun ekhir*, I saved their lives.

Kin pali-su, prolong his years!

The correctness of this translation will, I think, appear manifest, if we consider the votive tablet of Sargon which Oppert has published in his great work, p. 330. That tablet says in effect that Sargon built a temple to the gods "pro salute vitæ suæ et regni sui."

Ana ti su (for his own health), *kin pali-su* (and the duration of his years), etc.

Pali 'years,' occurs frequently.

Kin means *firm duration* or *long duration.* It is the Heb. כון, to stand firm; in Hiph. הכין, stabilivit, firmavit. Moreover the word is frequently used in Assyrian. Nabonidus more than once prays the gods that the temples built by him may *endure* (likun) like heaven itself (kima shamie).

Ana ti su. This phrase occurs frequently. *Ti* means either *life* or *health.* It may be a contraction for *tila*, life. There is a votive inscription in the volume of the B. M. pl. 35, in which certain cities dedicate a statue to Nebo, *ana ti sar* (for the health of the king) u ti Sammiramat (and for the health of Semiramis), the royal lady—his wife. Then, after giving the names of the cities, it adds: *ana ti zi-su* (for the health of their lives,—with the plural sign to *zi*): *buta-su* (for their security, Heb. בטח): and for the length of their years, this statue, etc., they dedicated.

Karniski, horses, and *sutishir*, to protect, are very common words.

Sullima, from Heb. שלם, salvare, servare.

Tsindi is, I think, frequently used for "chariots." They were *bigæ*, drawn by two horses, and carrying two warriors. From Heb. צמד, *tsimid* or *tsemed*, jungere; per paria jungere, etc. The two warriors were called in Hebrew *rakabim tsimdim* (the two in the same chariot). The inscriptions have *ustishir tsindi-ya*, I disposed my chariots in battle array.

Sutali. It was first discovered by Dr. Hincks, that imperatives in Assyrian often begin with the syllable *su*. The meaning of that prefix is doubtful, but it had probably an independent meaning. It is, of course, omitted where the verb itself begins with *su*, as *sutishir*, etc. I find so many instances of it that I cannot do otherwise than adopt his opinion.

I think that *sutali* may come from the verb *tala*, טלא, 'juvenis fuit,' which is found in Syriac. *Talitha* (damsel) is familiar to the readers of the New Testament.

In the next line we find the very similar form of verb, *sutabi*, 'make thou good!' which seems to be the imperative of *tab*, bonus fuit, טב. I think these two verbs confirm each other.

Emukan is a very difficult word, though at the same time a very common one; in fact, it seems to occur in several senses.

When Sennacherib fought with the Egyptians (B. M. 38, 75), the latter brought up against him *emuki la nibi*, which seems to mean "warriors without number." I think the *emuk* (Heb. ענק) was a golden collar or *torques*, worn only by persons decorated for their services. So golden spurs denoted a knight, and a golden annulus a Roman *eques*.

Lashanan probably means *unconquerable;* from *shanan*, to conquer. This verb, in the *t* conjugation, forms *ashtanan*, I conquered, and *ishtananu*, they conquered.

Dunnu is from the root *dan*, strong: *dunnun ir* means to fortify a city (Jerusalem).

Zikruti, valour, from זכר, 'masculus,' is often applied to the king himself.

Kuti, arrows, is a very frequent word.

Linar, to destroy. When *li* or *lu* follows an *imperative*, it answers to the Latin *ut*. "Acue sagittas *ut* occidant inimicos!" *Linar* comes from *nar*, to destroy, e.g. *la magiri anar*, I destroyed the unbelievers; *sairi-su iniru*, he slew his enemies (obelisk, l. 20). All my enemies thou didst slay! (*tanaru*) [short inscription of Esarhaddon, Col. III. l. 4].

Gari, 'enemies,' is a very frequent word, from the Heb. *garah*, גרה, to fight.

No. III.

AN INSCRIPTION OF ESARHADDON ON A BLACK STONE FOUND AT NINEVEH, AND PRESENTED TO THE BRITISH MUSEUM BY THE EARL OF ABERDEEN.

This inscription is written in the hieratic character, and has been lithographed in pl. 49 of the B. M. vol. of inscriptions. A transcript of it into the ordinary character will be found in the following plate. It is full of obscurities, owing to the broken and mutilated state of the stone.

The subject of the inscription is a religious revolt which took place in Babylonia, and which appears to

be the same that is mentioned in the great inscription of Esarhaddon (Col. II. l. 42–54).

Column I.

1. Ashur-akhi-adanna, Esarhaddon, king sar
2. kissati, sar Ashur-ki, of the nations, king of Assyria,
3. shakkanakku Babilu, high-priest of Babylon,
4. sar Sumiri u Akkadi, king of Sumir and Akkad,
5. rubu nadu, palikh the glorious ruler, the worshipper
6. Nabu u Marduk. of Nabu and Marduk.

This preamble is usually followed by the word *anaku*, "I am he," which is here omitted.

7. Vallanu-ya as bul, (Those who were) before me in life,
8. sar makrie as Sumiri The ancient kings of Sumir
9. u Akkadi, itpuraha and Akkad, sought to make prosperous
10. itti, khuli, nisi, the standards, the army, and the people
11. asib libbi suanna, dwelling within that land
12. valla . . . [Here two lines are lost,
13. ilu . . . which seem to have mentioned the rise of a sacrilegious race of rulers or princes.]
14. ana libbi bit-saggathu Into the holy temples

15. haikali ilim rabrabim	the palace-dwellings of the great gods
16. ubilu, khurassi	they broke with violence; the gold
17. nisikti abni ana	and precious stones they dispersed
18. Nuva-ki ibsuru, makhirish	into the land of the Susians
19. iguku. Bel	and melted it down for gain.
20. Sin, Marduk ana tusut-zu	Bel, Sin, and Marduk of their golden ornaments
21. ikhulluku. . . .	they stripped. . . .

The last two lines, 22 and 23, of this Column are much injured and unintelligible.

The Princes who acquired power at Babylon sometimes respected the established idolatry and at other times sacrilegiously plundered the temples.

When Susubi was king of Babylon in Sennacherib's time, "he broke open the treasury of the great Temple, and cut off the gold and silver of Bel and Sarpanita from the temples of those deities, and sent it as a bribe to the king of the Susians." ('Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' vol. xix. p. 160; see the original text in B. M. 41, 19.)

Itpuraha seems to be the Hithpael conjugation of Chald. פרא, to augment, multiply, make prosperous, etc.

Khuli, Heb. חיל, an army, from root חול.

Suanna generally signifies "that same." Probably derived from *suhu* (itself) and *anna* (that), plural *annati* (those). *Suatu* is a similar compound.

Rabrabim. This adjective, רברבין, 'summus, maxi-

mus,' is found in Chaldee, *e.g.* Dan. iii. 33, and in several other places.

Ubilu, 'they seized, they make themselves masters of,' is a third plural. *Abilu*, 'I conquered,' in the first person singular, is very common. Perhaps, however, *ubilu* means "they ravaged," from the verb בלה.

The jewels called *nisikti* are very often mentioned. It may be derived from *nisik*, a prince.

Ibsuru, they dispersed; from בזר, sparsit, dispersit, dissipavit (Ges. 136). And פזר has the same meaning. The robbers got rid of their booty by sending it into the land of the Susians, who were probably their confederates. The word is used of *spoil* in Daniel xi. 24; disperget (*ibzur*), spolium ipsorum (Sch. p. 187).

Makhirish, for gain; for a price. Heb. מחר, to buy or sell; מחיר, *makhir*, a price.

Iguku, they melted. Chald. גחח, *gukh*, fluxit, effusus fuit.

In line 20, there is an important error in the lithograph. The first two signs mean the god Sin (or the Moon). But the vertical wedge (erroneously) inserted between them, alters the meaning to "the gods." This should be rectified.

Tusut appear to have been thin golden plates.

These the robbers stripped off the very images of Bel, Sin, and Marduk without any scruple.

In Tiglath Pileser's inscription we find the imprecation, "May his enemies melt down the golden ornaments of his throne" (*tusut guza-su*). *Tusu* is evidently the Chald. טס or טוס, lamina vel bractea (Sch. p. 697). In the present passage the word is partly effaced, and only the first syllable *tu* remains.

Ikhulluku, they robbed or despoiled; from Heb.

חלק, 'to rob,' and as a substantive, "a robber," Job xvii. 5. The verb is very common in Assyrian, where it generally means "to make a clean sweep and leave nothing," *e. g.* in the imprecation, "May the gods *sum-su zir-su as mati likhallik!*"—sweep away from the land his name and his race!

In line 21, I think the first sign should be the vowel *i*.

Column II.

The King now comes to the rescue: but unluckily the first five lines are much destroyed. In line 2, there only remains the word *abubi*, chaff; and as the kings very often boast, that they have dispersed their enemies, *abubish*, like chaff, it is probable that something of that sort was said here. Part of lines 3 and 4, which remains, says, speaking of the gods, *subat-zu ishrieti-su*, "their dwellings (or temples) and their shrines" . . . a word lost, which was probably, "I restored." The next line may perhaps be read *nabihu ushan* or *ushanna*, "I restored the Oracle," for this verb is found in the inscriptions. It comes from Heb. שנה, to renew, replace, restore. The inscription then continues,—

6. Kari ilim ishtarat	The temples (or fortress-temples) of the gods and goddesses
7. asib libbi-su elu.	who dwell within it (*i.e.* within the city), I raised up again.
8. Shaba(ti) nisi asib	The prisoners, who were inhabitants

9. **girbi-su, ana tsindi**	of the city, with fetters
10. **u birti tzukhut-zu**	and chains coercing them
11. **illiku riesut**	(those who had done this impiety)
12. **mu-anna minut**	to a fixed number of years
13. **niduti-su ishthuru.**	of degradation, I sentenced.

Shabati or ***shabi*** probably means gangs of prisoners. They were chained together (see Col. IV. 32).

It is the Heb. שבי, captives, *e.g.* שבה שבי, abducit captivos, Numbers xxi. 1; Ps. lxviii. 19.

Asib is short for *asibut*, 'dwellers,' in lines 7 and 8, and very frequently in other passages.

Girbi-su, within it, viz. the city.

Tsindi, fetters; from the Heb. צמד, ligavit, alligavit; also 'jugum.' Perhaps the slaves were collared or yoked together, two and two, that they might not escape.

Birti, chains; sometimes written *biritu*, *e.g.* B. M. 40, 39, *takmannu biritu almas addi-su*, "I loaded him with very heavy chains of iron."

Tzukhut, binding or fettering them; from Heb. צוק, anxit, arctavit, constrinxit, coercuit.

Illiku, third plural; 'they had attacked.' The first singular, *allik*, 'I attacked,' is very common.

Riesut, impiety. Heb. רשע, impius fuit, tumultuatus est (Sch. 952). רשע, adj. impius, and subst. impietas, "sexcenties occurrit" (Gesenius). *Illiku riesut*, "who had made this impious attack."

Minut, counted, numbered, and therefore "fixed" or "settled." From Chald. מנא, numeravit.

Niduti, degradation; penal servitude. It comes from the root נדה, which signifies abomination, exçommunication, anathema, proscription (Sch.).

Ishthuru, I wrote; I sentenced them in writing.

From what follows next, it appears manifest that this disturbance at Babylon took place at the very beginning of the king's reign, as almost always happened. For the succession was almost always contested among the late king's sons, and the Babylonians then seized the opportunity to try and establish their independence.

I will add a few words as a preface to the following paragraph, which is full of difficulties. I have said that when a king of Assyria died, a contest usually arose among his sons. Whoever proved victorious, easily gained over the priests of Ashur, at Nineveh, and those of Marduk, at Babylon. Thereupon the shrines of those gods were duly consulted, and an oracular response proclaimed to the people the name of their future Ruler.

This results from a comparison of various passages of the inscriptions, and is probable enough in itself.

14. Riminu Marduk	Then Marduk the supreme
15. shurrish libba-su inukhu;	clearly declared his will,
16. emat ana shiput:	and raised me to the supreme power:
17. usbaliku ana su	He proclaimed unto the people
18. mu-anna-ya shiput-su.	my name, to reign over them.
19. Yaati Ashur-akh-adanna	And I Esarhaddon

20. **assu** ebshaeti sinati	have made all these works of Art
21. **ana** ashri-sina-tarri	and have disposed them in their places
22. **as** lishan akhati **rabbati**	as an expression of the great assistance
23. (sha) tuddannima.	which thou hast given me.

Shurrish seems to mean *clearly;* it is perhaps related to ***sharuri***, brightness.

Inukhu, he declared. This word occurs again, Col. III. 6, and in Khammurabi's inscription we find ***nukhu's nisi***, "the people call it so."

Emat, he raised. Heb. עמד, to stand; in Hiphil, to raise up.

Shiput, sovereignty. The last sign in line 16 is nearly effaced, but seems to have been *ut* in the original hieratic character (see pl. 49). Moreover the passages to be quoted establish the reading *shiput*.

Much light is thrown upon the present passage by that in Col. III. 6–8, *ana nukhi libbi iluti-ka rabti shiput Ashur-ki tumallu.* And also by the passage (B. M. 15, 47) where Tiglath Pileser calls himself Grandson of King ——, whom Ashur the great Lord, by an emphatic declaration (*kun utut*) of his will (*libbi-su*), called to the sovereign power (*ana shiput*).

Usbaliku is perhaps "he proclaimed." It may be the *sha* conjugation of בלג, to speak loudly.

The last sign of line 17 seems to be *su* in the hieratic text, and not *si*.

Su is equivalent to *kissat*, 'the people,' in an often recurring phrase, *sar su*, which is the same as *sar kissat*.

It is doubtful whether this word has the sense of 'people' in other phrases. M. Oppert thinks that it has, for he frequently renders *su* by "people," where it appears to me to be simply the pronoun "his."

Mu signifies both a *year* and a *name*. *Mu-anna* often signifies a *year*, but I have not found it elsewhere with the meaning of a *name*.

Yaati, I myself.

Assu, I have made; from Heb. עשה, to make.

Atarri, I have placed, or disposed. Heb. ערך, ordinavit. The first vowel is lost, owing to the preceding *a*; the three words, *ashri sina atarri*, being rapidly pronounced as one.

Lishan, vox; lingua. But the cuneiform sign is doubtful.

Akhi are *allies*. The word originally meant *brothers*.

Akhati seems to mean *alliance*.

The last word of the line, on consulting the original hieratic text, appears evidently to be *rab*, with a plural sign, and therefore to be read *rabbati*. It is disguised by a small angular wedge placed before it, which I call the calligraphic *u*, as when it stands alone it has the value of *u*. In some texts it is prefixed to most of the signs.

Sha. This word is effaced, but may be restored with some confidence.

Column III.

1. (As) resh eli . . .	At first, the (. . .)
2. . . . ya, kullat zahiri-ya	(of my . . .) and all my foes

3. (ra)pish tasbunu, gimir — thou hast greatly darkened, and all
4. . . . ya tanaru. — my (*enemies?*) thou hast slain.

These four lines are sadly fractured, and the missing words must be supplied by conjecture.

In line 2, the third sign from the end is *khi* or *hi* in the hieratic text, making *za-hi-ri*.

For the sign *kul*, see Col. III. 21.

Rapish, powerfully. This adverb occurs again (line 11) with the sense of "grandly."

Tasbunu is the second person of some verb implying injury; perhaps צפן, occultavit.

Tanaru, thou hast slain. This verb occurs elsewhere, e. g. *la magiri anar*, I slew the unbelievers; *iniru*, he slew (his enemies).

5. (tak)sidu nirubati — (And) thou hast shown prosperous omens
6. ana nukhi libbi ilutika — and by the declared will of thy
7. rabti, rusukh kabittika, — great divinity, and thy awful grandeur
8. shiput Ashur-ki tumallu. — thou hast given me the throne of Assyria.

The first word in line 5 is broken, and we can only see that it is some verb. I think the lost word was probably the Chald. כשט, prosper fuit.

Nirubati, omens, prognostics; from Heb. ארב, prospexit, observavit. See Col. IV. 8.

Nukhi, outspoken; declared.

Rusukh, awe. *Kabitti*, great. The awe was doubtless that which surrounded the Oracle.

Tumallu, thou hast given. This verb occurs frequently.

9. As resh sarti-ya, as makhri	At the commencement of my reign, in my first
10. bul-ya, sha as guza	year, while upon my royal throne
11. sarti rapish usibu,	proudly I sat,
12. tunanu itti	Thou didst show prodigies;
13. (. . .) as shamami kakkari	(*a darkness?*) of the heavenly orbs.
14. (Khuru) ra iskimmu's	The astrologers explained it
15. (ana) epish miri suata,	(that I was) to do this work;
16. . . . ak si sha Shemesh	the enemies of Shemesh, (the god of the Sun)
17. (u) Marduk ditar rabi	and of Marduk, the great Ruler,
18. ili bieli-ya aktashid	the gods my lords, I was to destroy!
19. ikbi makhar-sun.	So the deities commanded!

This is a very interesting passage. What were the omens seen among the celestial orbs? As the king was sitting on his throne, it was probably during the daytime, and as the astrologers expounded that the sun had enemies, the omens had probably some connection with him. The most natural explanation is,

that a solar eclipse occurred during the first year of Esarhaddon's reign. Most unfortunately a fracture of the stone has destroyed the principal word; but I think that this inscription recorded (a darkness) in the heavenly orbs.

I pass to the examination of some of the terms employed.

Tunanu, thou didst show omens. See Ges. 783; Sch. 1345. From the verb ענן, *anan* (more probably *onan*), augurans, divinans.

The chief meaning of the word ענן is 'a cloud.'

The augurs sought omens in the clouds, and in the sky, and in the flight of birds. I have no doubt that the Greek οιωνος is connected with the Semitic *onan*, and I also think it the same with the Latin *omen*, which word they inherited from the Tuscan sooth-sayers.

Itti, signs, prodigies. This word is very common in the inscriptions. It corresponds to Lat. *signa* in its different senses, *e. g.* signs or marvels, and military standards; whatever, in short, strikes the eye much. It is the Chald. אות, signum, portentum, signum rei futuræ: etiam signum militare. So also σημειον is (1) an omen, a sign from the gods, (2) a standard or flag.

Shamami, heavenly; from *shami*, the heavens.

Kakkari, orbs. In this word I follow the original hieratic text of pl. 49, which gives *ri* for the last syllable. *Kakkari* is the Heb. ככר, orbis, circulus. The value of the first sign was first shown by Oppert to be *hak* or *khak:* and I think that this is its value in the word *hakkar*, earth (formerly read as *ebgar*).

Khura, or rather *khurara*, the Seers, *i. e.* Astro-

logers: from חור, prospexit, observavit, spectavit, contemplatus est. Syr. חרור, *khurur*, observator. This Semitic root *khur* or *hur* appears cognate with the Greek ὁραω, which latter word has some remarkable affinities. One of these is ωρα, care, regard; which, as Liddell and Scott truly observe, is akin to Lat. *cura*, *e. g.* ολιγωρος, in Italian *poco-curante*: πυλωρος, a gate-keeper; 'qui portas servat vel observat;' πυλουρος, the same, hence ουρος, a watcher or warder, is connected with ωρα.

Nestor, in Homer, is called ουρος Αχαιων.

Liddell and Scott say this is usually derived from ὁραω, but better from ωρα. They should rather have said, that all three come from the same origin. Let us now consider the word *augur*, and we shall see that it comes from *avis* and *curare*, as *auspex* (with the same meaning) from *avis* and *spicio;* and *auceps*, a fowler, from *avis* and *capio*.

Iskimmu's, they explained it: for *iskimmu-su*.

This word, *iskimmu*, 'explicaverunt,' I derive from the Syriac שחם, simplex: *i. e.* sine plicâ. 'Explicatio' is literally an *unfolding*.

Iskimmu, they unfolded.

In line 16 the first sign is effaced, but the word seems to have been *nu-ak-si*, which often means *enemies* or *heretics*, but is a dubious word.

Ditar rabi, the great Ruler, is a very frequent epithet of one of the chief gods.

Aktashid, is the *t* conjugation of *akshid*, to cut down with an axe: or of *kashid*, to conquer.

Ikbi, they commanded. The first singular of this verb is *akbi*, I commanded; or in the *t* conjugation, *aktabi*. The third plural is usually *ikbuni*, they com-

manded. This verb is almost always employed, whenever the gods give any command to the King.

Makhar sun, their divinities. Compare the Greek, *μακαρες θεοι αιεν εοντες.*

I now take line 19 again, to show the connection.

19. ikbi makhar-sun.	
As sukalti	With destruction
20. nisi akhuti, ammat	thy enemies, that rabble
21. tukulti,	of evil-doers thou didst
tushaknutsu.	subdue.
22. Kunu epish Babilu	Safe I made Babylon:
23. pardu's bit-	the plunderers of the
shaggathu	great Temples
24. ushasdira ana mut.	I sentenced to death.

Sukalti may be Chald. סכל, mors, pernicies. Or we may read *as su rabti*, with the strong hand.

Akhuti, enemies; generally written *akh*, with a plural sign. I think the root is somehow connected with Greek *εχθος*.

Ammat, the populace. Heb. עם, populus; עמת, an assemblage.

Tukulti, evil-doers; verbal substantive from root *nakal*, נכל, machinatus est malum, etc. The second sign is *kul*. See Col. III. line 2.

Tushaknuts. The first person of this verb, *ushaknis*, 'I subdued,' is extremely common.

Kunu, fixed or firm. Heb. כון, confirmavit; from which many Hebrew words are derived.

Pardu's for *pardu-su*, its robbers, viz. those of the temple. Schindler, p. 1479, gives the Rabb. Chaldee root פרש, fregit, aperuit, and at p. 1494, the Syriac פרת, rupit, disrupit.

Ushasdira, I wrote; I sentenced in writing.

Much the same as *isthuru*, Col. II. 13, but in the *sha* conjugation.

Mut, death. Heb. מות.

Column IV.

1. Ana Annisunu-ki	At the city of Annisun
2. atemat kiema	I received certain news
3. gimir ummanati-ya. u nisi	(that) all my army, and the people
4. Karduniash ana	of Karduniash, throughout
5. sikhirti-sha itsallu,	its whole extent, had revolted,
6. utarbitu emadda	and had excited an insurrection
7. musikku as nitsakhi ganabu.	of slaves, (who were) mere robbers.

Annisun appears to be the name of some city.

Atemat is, I think, the *t* conjugation of a verb *amat*, which is from the Heb. אמת, *veritas*.

Kiema, 'news,' is a frequent word. *Atemat kiema*, I received true news.

Itsallu, they had shaken off (viz. the yoke); they had revolted. This is the Heb. זלל, to shake off.

Utarbitu, they had raised up. The participle *tarbit*, "raised up," occurs frequently. The root is רב, altus. I have taken the syllable *tar* from the hieratic original text.

Emadda, an insurrection; from Heb. עמד, to raise

up. Gesenius, p. 775, says "עמד, insurrexit adversus aliquem."

As nitsakhi answers, as I think, to the Heb. לְ נצח, prorsùs, omninò. It means, slaves who were *altogether* thieves; perfect scoundrels.

The Heb. נצח is perfectus, absolutus.

Ganabu, thieves (written *ga-ana-bu*), is, in my opinion, the Heb. *ganab*, גנב, fur; plural, *ganabin*, fures. Schindler gives many examples of the word.

8. Nirubu nabi tannam-sikhi	By advice of the prophets (*who foretell events?*)
9. kuri illiti aplutsa usrabir,	I arrayed myself in splendid raiment,

Nirubu may be "prognostics;" from ארב, prospexit.

Tanna is perhaps the Heb. תאנה (Sch. 97), causa, occasio; eventus fortuitus.

Sikhi may be סקה, quæsivit, scrutatus fuit.

The last syllable in this line is a hieratic form of the usual *kh* or *ikh*.

Kuri, Heb. קורי, *telæ;* webs finely woven. The word has the same meaning in Arabic, "webs made of gossypium" (Ges.). *Aplutsa* is a doubtful word: the root may be Chald. בלץ, otherwise בלט, eminent, conspicuous.

The King now summons his great council, and presides over it. They doubtless advise the rebuilding of the Temples, which is forthwith undertaken and accomplished.

10. Kuduru as reshdu-ya assima.	My crown I placed on my head.

Kudur may be the *Κίδαρις* worn by Eastern monarchs.

It comes from Heb. כתר, diadema regis Persarum; Esther vi. 8.

Assima, I crowned; from *sima*, a crown.

Elsewhere it is said of the gods, *isimu simati*, "they crowned me."

11. ushasab rabani	I seated my noblemen (or lodged them)
12. as itsuru ka-amsi	in halls (adorned with) ivory,
13. its dan, its ku, its mushikanna	*dan* wood, *ku* wood, and *mushikanna* wood,
14. atmitsa ana niri-ya.	and I admitted them to my presence.

Rabani, from *Raban* or *Rabbon*, a nobleman.

Itsuru. Heb. חצר, atrium, a hall or court.

Atmitsa, I caused them to be present. This appears to be the *t* conjugation of מצא, *matsa*, to be present. (See Sch. 1028.)

15. Ushalbina libitti,	Then I caused bricks to made,
16. Bit-shaggathu, bit-rab ilim,	The Temples, great palaces of the gods,
17. u ishrieti-su	together with the shrines
18. Babilu ir kitanni;	of Babylon the former city;
19. Imgur-Bel kar-su,	Imgur-Bel, its great fortress-temple,
20. Nibit-Bel shalkhu-su,	and Nibit-Bel, its citadel,
21. valtu ussha-sun adi	from their foundations unto

22. naburri-sun sansish — their summits newly
23. ushapish, usarbi, — I rebuilt, I raised them high,
24. ushakki, usarrikh. — I spread them wide, and I made them splendid.

All these words are in frequent use, and require no commentary, except *kitanni*, which is קדן, an Assyrian form of the Heb. קדם, priscus, antiquus, prior, primus.

We see by line 16, that *bit-shaggathu* was a *general* name for any large temple.

25. zalam ilim rabim uttish, — The statues of the great gods I restored
26. as lulie iluti-sun usarba, — in their divine *chambers?* I erected them,
27. subat darati dika-sun — and lasting habitations for them, worthy of their
28. matluti ukin. — grandeur, I established.

Uttish, 'I restored,' is a very common word.

Lulie. The hieratic text has *lul*, followed by the sign "divine."

Dika. Chald. דכא, Heb. זכה, justus, meritus, vel dignus fuit.

Matlut, an Assyrian form of Heb. משלות, dominatio, potestas.

29. Tari Babilu, sha — The common people of Babylon, who
30. ana riesuti suluku, — in their tumult had subverted (*the temples*)
31. ana tsindi u birti — with yokes and fetters

32. tzuhut-zu upakhiru;	coercing them, I **chained** together;
33. ana Babilaya	and unto the **inhabi**tants of Babylon
34. amnu. Kitannut-zu sansish	I distributed **them** (*as slaves*). All the **old** customs, once more
35. ashkun.	I re-established.

Tari, the common people; literally "small **people.**"

Riesuti. See note to Col. II. 11.

Suluku. Heb. שלך, dejecit; evertit, ut **domum.** (Ges.)

Upakhiru. Syriac, פכר, ligavit.

Babilaya. This is written "people of Babylon," **with** the plural sign added.

Amnu. The sign placed before this word in the "cursive transcript" should be erased, since it is not found in the hieratic text.

Kitannut, old customs; from קדן. See Col. IV. 18. "I re-established the old order of things."

The following is a connected translation of the whole.

Column I.

Esarhaddon, king of the nations, king of Assyria, high-priest of Babylon, king of Sumir and Accad, the glorious ruler, the worshipper of Nebo and Marduk (*says*):—

Those who were before me in life, the ancient kings

of Sumir and Accad, sought to make prosperous the standards, the army, and the people dwelling within that land.

(*A portion of the inscription is here lost, which seems to have narrated how Babylon fell into the power of sacrilegious men.*)

Into the holy temples, the palace-dwellings of the great gods, they broke with violence. The gold and precious stones they dispersed into the land of the Susians, and melted it down for gain. Bel, Sin, and Marduk they stripped of their golden ornaments. . . . (*The last two lines of this column are defaced.*)

Column II.

(*I attacked the robbers and I dispersed them*) like chaff. The dwellings and the shrines (*of the gods I repaired*). The Oracle I restored. The fortress-temples of the gods and goddesses dwelling within the city, I rebuilt. The prisoners, who were inhabitants of the city, who had done this impiety, with fetters and chains coercing them, unto a fixed number of years of degradation I sentenced. Then Marduk the supreme clearly declared his will, and raised me to the royal power. He proclaimed unto the people my name, to be their king. And I, Esarhaddon, have made all these works of art, and have disposed them in their places, as a grateful expression of the great assistance which thou hast given me.

Column III.

At first, the (*counsels ?*) of all my enemies thou hast greatly darkened, and all my (*assailants ?*) thou hast

slain. And thou hast shown prosperous omens, and by the declared will of thy great divinity, and thy awful grandeur, thou hast given me the throne of Assyria.

At the commencement of my reign, in my first year, while I was sitting proudly on my royal throne; thou didst show prodigies! (*A darkness*?) of the heavenly orbs. The astrologers explained it, "that I was to do this work: the enemies of Shemesh, the god of the sun, and of Marduk, the great Ruler, my divine lords, I was to destroy! so the deities commanded!"

With quick destruction thou didst smite thy enemies, that rabble of evil-doers.

Once more I gave safety to Babylon, and the plunderers of the great Temples I sentenced to death.

Column IV.

At the city of Annisun, I received certain news, that all my army and the people of Karduniash throughout its whole extent, had revolted, and had excited an insurrection of slaves, who were mere ruffians. By advice of the prophets, who foretell events, I collected much treasure and jewels. I placed my crown upon my head; I admitted to my presence my council of noblemen (whom I had lodged in the apartments of my palace, adorned with ivory and divers precious woods). After this, I began this work of rebuilding.

The temples, great palaces of the gods, together with the shrines of Babylon, as it used to be in former times; Imgur-Bel, its great fortress-temple; and Nibit-Bel, its citadel, from their foundations unto their summits, I rebuilt them new, I raised them high, I spread

them wide, and I made them splendid. The statues of the great gods I restored: in their divine (*chambers?*) I erected them; and lasting habitations for them, worthy of their grandeur, I established.

The common people of Babylon, who in their tumult had subverted the temples, with yokes and fetters coercing them, I chained together: and unto the inhabitants of Babylon I distributed them as slaves.

And the old order of things once more I re-established.

VI.—REMARKS ON NAMES OF PLACES, ETC., IN THE CRIMEA.

BY THOMAS WATTS, ESQ., HON. MEMB. R.S.L., SUPERINTENDENT OF THE READING ROOM, BRITISH MUSEUM.

(Read February 3rd, 1864.)

The English geographer Arrowsmith made use of some Russian maps as materials for the completion of his map of Asia, published in 1822, but, unluckily, he neglected to procure the assistance of a competent translator to interpret to him the Russian phrases which he found in the originals. The consequences were both lamentable and ludicrous. Klaproth, who reviewed the map in the 'Journal Asiatique' for 1825, pointed out that wherever the Russian maps indicated the existence of ruins in the Kirghiz steppe by the Russian word for "ruins," Arrowsmith introduced in his English map the unaltered word "Razvalini," which would of course be taken by his readers for the name of a town or village. Where the Russians gave the information with regard to a river in Eastern Siberia, that it was "Rieka po Karagaski Sochem u nashikh Uda," *i.e.* "a river called by the Karagaskians Sochem, by us Uda," Arrowsmith turned the whole sentence into one interminable name, "Pokaragaski Sochem O nach Iouda River." Another sentence of the same

kind was apparently found too long to transplant, for the river it belongs to bears in Arrowsmith's map the name Kazier kotoroia River, *i.e.* "the river Kazier which,"—the "kotoroia," or rather "kotoraya," thus made to form part of the appellation, being in reality the Russian relative pronoun agreeing in gender with the antecedent Rieka, or river, and, in the original, acting, no doubt, as the nominative to some verb which Arrowsmith left out.

In the forty years which have elapsed since the publication of this map, the Russian language and the Russian literature have made a prodigious advance. As the language of about sixty millions of men, who form an empire which has been thought by some sufficiently powerful to threaten Europe, and as the organ of a literature which has of late been fertile in poets, historians, novelists, travellers, and authors of all kinds, it might have been expected that a knowledge of it would have been by this time, to some extent, a favourite study among the literary classes of the West, who are apt to look back with some surprise on the generation of literary Englishmen which was contemporary with Schiller and Goethe, and yet contentedly ignorant of German. As yet, however, this interest does not seem to be aroused, and we are in general as surprisingly ignorant of Russian literature as the Russians are surprisingly familiar with ours. It is not uncommon to find parallels drawn between the character of ancient and modern languages, in which it is assumed that various characteristics belong exclusively to the ancient languages of Greece, Rome, and India, which are in full force in the language spoken at this day from St. Petersburg to Kamschatka. That

a very small degree of acquaintance with this language might often preserve learned inquirers from serious errors is shown in the instance of Arrowsmith's map, and may be confirmed by another instance in a recent number of the Transactions of this Society,—respecting which it may be regretted that it did not fall under the observation of some student of Russian before it was issued to the public at large.

In an elaborate memoir on the Scytho-Cimmerian origin of the Romanic or Catalan language which was read before the Society on the 11th of June, 1862, the ingenious author assumes that from the names of places in a modern map of the Crimea are as old as the time of the Scythians, and endeavours to prove from these data that the language of ancient Scythia was allied to the modern Catalan or Provençal. One of the proofs which he alleges is as follows :—

"Il existe encore un système de dénomination appliqué aux cours d'eau comme aux villages voisins; c'est de les distinguer entr'eux, lorsqu'ils portent le même nom, par une bénédiction donnée au premier, tandis que le second reçoit une malédiction, ou tout autre vœu qui se réunit au nom primitif. Il y a lieu d'observer que la malédiction est encore ici exactement celle de la langue catalane *Malehit* et *Malaïa ;* la bénédiction a très-peu varié. Elle se compose du monosyllabe *bel* ou *bol*, par opposition à *mal* suivi de la même terminaison, tantôt *ahï* tantôt *aja*, en catalan 'qu'il ait.' Ainsi un cours d'eau s'appelle *Outliouka.* En catalan le mot *oullou* signifie source ; il est terminé par le monosyllabe *ka*, qui est russe et se rencontre souvent. Tout près se trouvent le béni et le maudit *Outliouka*, le premier précédé du mot *Bolchaïa*, et le second du mot *Malaïa.*"

Let us here stop for a moment. If the author of these speculations, who has not omitted to notice that *ka* is a Russian termination, had pursued his researches by looking into a Russian dictionary, he would have learned that the two words Bolshaya and Malaya, on which he grounds his hypothesis, are simply the Russian words for "Great" and "Little,"—adjectives in common use in the names of places in every language under the sun. The termination "aya" common to both is the feminine form of the nominative, which in Russian is declined thus, Bolshoy, Bolshaya, Bolshoe; Maluy, Malaya, Maloe;—as in Latin, Magnus, Magna, Magnum; Parvus, Parva, Parvum. Let us proceed with the extract.

"On rencontre encore le *Maliiadjalik* auprès du *Boladjalik*, le *Srednii Kouialnik* près du *Malii Kouialnik*. Ici on ne donne pas la bénédiction au premier, mais on lui souhaite *de se retenir*. Il existe un village composé sans doute de gens trop remuants qu'on n'a pas maudits plus que bénis. On s'est contenté de leur souhaiter plus de tranquillité, par les mots *Star Aïa*, qui viennent après *Chveds Kaïa*, nom du village, qui paraît être une colonie de Suédois." [1]

A new word here appears, the Srednii of Srednii Kouialnik, which is simply the Russian word Sredny, "mid," or "middling," applied probably in a case where "great" and "little" had already been made use of. The word "Staraya" is simply the adjective "Old" in the nominative feminine, and "Shvedskaya" is the adjective "Swedish" of the same case and gender. By some good fortune the author of the investigations appears to have become informed that

[1] Transactions, 3rd ser. Vol. VII. p. 503.

the epithet "Shvedskaya" had some connection with Sweden; but this has evidently not had the effect of arousing his suspicions with regard to "Bolshaya," "Malaya," "Sredny," and "Staraya." Even supposing that these words belonged to some unknown and extinct language, it would be difficult to produce a ground for believing that they meant what they are assumed to mean in the dissertation before us,—for believing that a river was called "Sredny" from a wish for its waters "de se retenir," and a village "Star aia" from a wish that its inhabitants should keep quiet. Geographical names of this nature are seldom to be met with, except, indeed, in the long list at the end of this very essay in which the names of various places in the Crimea are supposed to be derived from Catalan words, signifying in French "Tu prends garde en sautant," "soif là," "vient au sang;" "aller à la noce," "maintenant je porte," "quoi dans la besace," "taxe le lit," "agit du derrière," "je te vois cher," "qu'ils aient un prix fixe," "y prendre garde," and finally, "rire stupide."

Seeing, as we have already seen, that the words in our quotations to which such singular meanings have been assigned are in reality no other than the commonest words in modern Russian, the theory of course loses one of its bases.

Most other passages in the same dissertation are based on similar misapprehensions with regard to words in Turkish, a language very closely indeed allied to the the Tartar which is spoken in the Crimea. One of the most usual Turkish names for a river is Karasu, literally "Black Water;" and "Buyuk," "Great," and "Kuchuk," "Little," are words familiar

to every one who has the slightest tincture of that language. The writer of the dissertation was, unfortunately, unacquainted with these facts, and writes accordingly (p. 502) :—

" Par exemple, une rivière qui porte l'ancien nom de la Crimée, le *Kerso*, que le cartographe Handtke a écrit *Karassu*, se compose de deux branches, l'une droite et l'autre tortueuse ; cette dernière est appelée *Kutschukk*, mot qui se retrouve sur la carte toutes les fois qu'il s'agit d'une ligne coudée. Or, *Coutsout* signifie *coudé*, en catalan. L'autre porte le nom de *Béiouk*, toujours donné aux lignes droites, et se compose de deux mots : *bé*, qui signifie *bien*, et *jouke*, qui signifie il *perche* ou *se tient droit*, en parlant des volatiles de basse cour."

There is much more of the same kind, but enough has probably been said to render it unnecessary to pursue examination further. The hypothesis that the modern languages of Catalonia and the neighbouring countries, instead of being derivatives from the Latin, as is universally supposed, are languages more ancient than Latin itself, is entirely based on such grounds as we have been examining, and when the supports are withdrawn, the necessary consequence is the immediate downfall of the hypothesis to which its author has given the name of the Scytho-Cimmerian.

VII.—ON THE MEANING OF THE WORDS IN GENESIS XLIX. 10, "UNTIL SHILOH COME."

BY THE REV. STANLEY LEATHES, M.A., PROFESSOR OF HEBREW IN KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON.

(Read March 2nd, 1864.)

THE prophecy contained in the 10th verse of the 49th chapter of Genesis, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come," will readily be acknowledged as one of the most difficult in Scripture. It is difficult, whether we regard the actual rendering of the words or investigate the grounds of their supposed fulfilment. The remarks which I shall have the honour to make this evening will probably be considered as open to doubt, but I trust that if my suggestion is admitted, it will at least have the merit—though it should be thought neither learned nor scientific, which it does not pretend to be—of removing the principal difficulty of this prophecy, that, viz., which is connected with its fulfilment.

Into the other difficulties I do not propose to enter, those, for instance which arise out of the interpretation of the word Shiloh, and of any uncertainty there may be as to whether it is the name of a person or the name of a place—any further at least than to enumerate the various opinions which have been advanced.

In the first place, it is well known that there is great doubt how the word Shiloh should be spelt, MSS. varying between שִׁלֹה and שִׁילוֹ. According to the evidence produced by Dr. Lee in his Lexicon, *s. v.*, corroborated by Dr. Davidson, *Heb. Text Revised*, the weight of it appears to be in favour of שִׁלֹה. Gesenius, on the other hand, inclines to שִׁילוֹ, and says that the contraction of the pronoun אֲשֶׁר into שׁ which is implied in שִׁלֹה is not found elsewhere in the Pentateuch; but however this may be, it is certainly found as early as the Song of Deborah, and as a matter of fact it occurs in Gen. vi. 3. The interpretation given to the word will of course vary with the form of spelling adopted. Gesenius makes שילו to stand for שילון, and this again for שילום, and gives other instances of words thus formed, translating accordingly—*locus quietis, pacis tranquillitatisve.* It is remarkable, however, that all the ancient versions appear to favour the other orthography and interpretation. The LXX. have *ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ, the things reserved for him;* Aquila, Symmachus, and several MSS. of LXX., the same slightly modified, *ᾧ ἀπόκειται.* The Targum of Onkelos renders "until the Messiah shall come to whom the kingdom belongs;" the Jerusalem Targum, "whose the kingdom is;" Saadias, "whose it is;" Rashi and other Jews, and the Peshito, "whose it is;" Theodotion, Epiphanius, and Herodian follow the Septuagint; Justin Martyr, in his dialogue with Trypho, agrees with Aquila. There is moreover a remarkable expression in Ezek. xxi. 32, which, if it is really, as it seems to be, an allusion to this word, decides the question at once, עַד בֹּא אֲשֶׁר לוֹ הַמִּשְׁפָּט—"Thus saith the Lord God: Remove the diadem, and take off the

crown: this shall not be the same: exalt him that is low, and abase him that is high. I will overturn, overturn, overturn, it: and it shall be no more, *until he come whose right it is;* and I will give it him." Some also have thought that St. Paul has a similar allusion, Gal. iii. 19: "Wherefore then serveth the law? It was added because of transgressions, till the seed should come to whom the promise was made;" ᾧ ἐπήγγελται. Following once more the other mode of spelling, some among the Jews suppose the word to be equivalent to בְּנוֹ, his son, comparing the Arabic, سليل, *fœtus, filius;* the Rabb. שְׁלִיל, *embryo;* and the Biblical שִׁלְיָה, Deut. xxviii. 57. So Kimchi, "Shiloh, its meaning is, his son." Bechai, בְּנוֹ שֶׁיִּוָּלֵד מְשֻׁלַּחַת אִשָּׁה כְּדַרְכָּהּ כָּל־הַנּוֹלָדִים; so Abul Walid, سليله اى ولده, and among the Germans, Illgen. Many moderns also, among whom are Rosenmüller, Winer, Hengstenberg, and Knobel, take it as an appellative denoting *peace* or *quiet*, or, abstractum pro concreto, *the peaceful one*, or *the pacificator*, and thus equivalent to שַׂר שָׁלוֹם, Is. ix. 5, *the prince of peace*. Lastly, Jerome renders these words "donec veniat qui mittendus est," mistaking, apparently, שִׁילֹה for שָׁלוּחַ, and probably bearing in mind certain passages of the New Testament where our Lord speaks of Himself as sent. It appears then that there are no less than four interpretations which have been advanced for the word Shiloh:—1. The sent one. 2. His son. 3. The peaceful one. 4. He to whom *the kingdom belongs*. To the last of these I myself decidedly adhere, but the rendering I shall hereafter propose will stand equally with either.

II. Is Shiloh the name of a person or a place? If we adopt the reading שִׁילֹה there will certainly be con-

siderable reason for supposing it to be the name of a place, for this is the only passage in the Bible where we cannot be quite sure that it does denote a place. It may therefore appear somewhat arbitrary to take a word, which whenever it occurs elsewhere has one meaning, in a totally different sense when we find it here, more particularly when it is said that the only word in Scripture that is formed exactly on the model of it, Giloh, appears also as the name of a place; but may not these considerations be added to the others enumerated above as tending to furnish decisive reasons for preferring the alternative reading שִׁלֹה? Those, however, who maintain that the word is the name of a place, among whom are Bunsen and many others of note, render the verse thus: The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, till he shall go to Shiloh,—and believe it to have been fulfilled in the primacy of Judah in the subjugation of the Promised Land, which was to last till the ark was laid up at Shiloh. It would seem, however, that in the face of so much which has been recognized as Messianic in this declaration of the patriarch, we are not at liberty to adopt a rendering which would deprive it of its chief prophetic features, and reduce it to a prediction of comparatively little weight or moment. Surely the prominence of Judah in the Canaanitish war was hardly a subject adequate to this occasion. If Jacob was really endowed with the prophetic spirit at his death, it must have been for some higher object than merely to enable him to predict the temporal fortunes of his sons. Or supposing this to have been a temporal blessing, it seems to require a longer range and a purpose of greater significance and importance generally than the proposed

rendering would give it. I conclude therefore, on many grounds, that we are more likely to be right in translating these vexed words, "until Shiloh, or Shello, come," than in understanding them "till he shall go to Shiloh." [1]

But starting with this supposition, now comes the greatest difficulty of all; for if Jacob declared that the sceptre should not depart from Judah until Shiloh, that is, the Messiah, came, how are we to make out that his words have been fulfilled? Is it possible to reconcile with the facts of history the apparent assertion of the prophecy that the temporal supremacy of Judah should last till the birth of Christ? I confess I think not. In order to do so, it is necessary to resort to shifts which appear to be equally unworthy of the Bible and its interpreters. It cannot be done without wresting Scripture in a way that Scripture itself condemns; and no good is ever done by forcing facts in a Procrustean manner to suit the assumed dicta of Holy Writ. Better by far to look facts in the face, to study Scripture honestly and believingly, and to wait with patience till the reconciliation of the two is established, as sooner or later it assuredly will be. Now, as a matter of certainty, we know that the throne of David had long passed away when Christ was born.

[1] It must be borne in mind that it is not here proposed to make the word Shiloh a name of the Messiah, but to interpret it, or rather its more probable form Shello, grammatically, "until *he* come *whose* (it is)," *i.e.* the sceptre or the kingdom spoken of in the former part of the verse. With all due deference to Gesenius and others, instead of this being, as he says, an ellipse which *ægre feras*, it is common enough in Hebrew to have to supply in one member of the sentence a word which is expressed in the other. Let two instances, out of many, suffice: Prov. xiii. 1; Ps. cix. 19.

He indeed sprang from a royal family; but His was a family that had for ages ceased to reign. At the time of His birth Judæa was a Roman province, and His nation tributary to the then mistress of the world. These are facts it is impossible to gainsay, and highly unsatisfactory, as it seems to me, is the way in which the difficulties that arise out of them are commonly met. It is affirmed that the prophecy relates to the birth of Christ as occurring in the reign of Herod, just before Judæa became a Roman province. However this may be, it is certain that Antipater, the father of Herod the Great, had already been appointed by Julius Cæsar procurator of Judæa in B.C. 47; and moreover, with respect to the exact position of Herod, we have the testimony of Jerome in his 'Commentaries on St. Matthew,' lib. iii. c. 22, who writes thus: "Cæsar Augustus Herodem filium Antipatris alienigenam et proselytum regem Judæis constituerat, *qui tributis præesset et Romano pareret imperio.*" We cannot reasonably regard the tributary rule of Herod the Idumæan as an instance of the sceptre being still borne by Judah at the birth of Christ. But even admitting that it is possible so to regard it, there was, nevertheless, a long period in Jewish history when the sceptre of that kingdom was borne by no one. "About 588 years before Christ, Jerusalem had been taken, its temple destroyed, and its inhabitants led away into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Chaldees; and during the next fifty years the Jews were subjects of the Chaldæan empire. Afterwards, during a period of somewhat above 200 years, from the taking of Babylon by Cyrus to the defeat of Darius by Alexander the Great at Arbela, Judæa was a province of the Persian empire.

Subsequently, during a period of 163 years, from the death of Alexander to the rising of the Maccabees (who were themselves a family of the tribe of Levi, and not of the tribe of Judah), the Jews were ruled by the successors of Alexander. Hence, for a period of more than 400 years, from the destruction of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar, the Jews were deprived of their independence, and, as a plain, undeniable matter of fact, the sceptre had already departed from Judah."[2] In the face of such evidence as this, I do not see how we can wisely hold to the common interpretation that is given to this prophecy. But what is to be done? If the rendering "till he shall go to Shiloh" does not seem to be more satisfactory, what remains to us? Manifestly we must either give it up altogether or endeavour to find some other meaning; and this should be, if possible, not a forced meaning, but one that arises naturally when we consider the circumstances of the occasion on which it was uttered. Assuming then that Jacob on his death-bed was in the highest sense inspired, and bearing in mind that as the heir of the promise, "in thee shall *all* families of the earth be blessed," it was at least probable that some part at any rate of his benedictions would have a universal and not merely a national or family interest, we may reasonably suppose that he would hand on to one among his sons that promise of which he was himself the heir. And if to any one, to whom could it be but to Judah? I infer, therefore, that in the blessing of Judah we may expect to find some promise of the Messiah; and probably such a promise is to be found in the first verse: "Thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise; thy

[2] Smith's Dict. of the Bible, Art. *Shiloh*.

father's children shall bow down before thee." But most assuredly we may find it in this one; all antiquity would warrant us, as we have seen, in arriving at this conclusion. But, as I believe, the real point of the prediction has been lost. The Jews, misled by their national vanity, as was not unnatural they should be, interpreted the oracular words of the temporal sovereignty of one of their tribes, and nearly all Christians seem to have done likewise, notwithstanding that the facts of history appear to be directly against them. All have alike believed that Jacob foretold the temporal pre-eminence of Judah up to a certain time, indicated by the coming of Shiloh. In so doing, however, they have forgotten, or rather neglected to observe, a very common idiom in Scripture language occurring both in the Old and the New Testaments,—an idiom which might not unfitly be looked for in a high poetic style such as that prevailing here,—an idiom, moreover, which is certainly used twice in this identical Book of Genesis; the idiom, viz. which gives a sort of unlimiting and continuous sense to "till" and "until;" so that the action which those words would appear to conclude is clearly understood to go on and continue after the time specified. The passages I refer to are the well-known one, Gen. viii. 7, quoted by Theophylact on Matt. i. 25, "And he sent forth a raven, which went forth to and fro, until the waters were dried up from off the earth;" or as it is in the Greek, "*Οὐχ ὑπέστρεψεν ἕως τοῦ ξηρανθῆναι τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς*:" and Gen. xxviii. 15, "I will not leave thee until I have done that which I have spoken to thee of." It is obvious that God did not leave Jacob then, and that the raven did not return nor cease to go forth when the waters were abated.

There are besides these, however, many other passages where the like idiom occurs, *e.g.* 1 Sam. xv. 35, "Samuel came no more to see Saul until the day of his death;" 2 Sam. vi. 23, "Michal the daughter of Saul had no child unto the day of her death," etc. etc. Supposing therefore the same usage to obtain here, the sense of the present passage will be as follows:— The sceptre shall not depart from Judah . . . until Shiloh come; but neither shall it depart then: on the contrary, the coming of Shiloh shall mark the commencement rather than the termination of Judah's truest sovereignty, in fact, the sceptre shall never depart *when* Shiloh is come,—that is, according to the interpretation now proposed, this passage contains not the promise of temporal dominion *up to* a certain time, but *what is equivalent to* the promise of everlasting spiritual dominion *from* that time. Which is the more probable and appropriate meaning can hardly be a matter of doubt. Jacob, in pronouncing this blessing upon Judah, virtually handed on to him that promise of universal benediction and sovereignty which was first given to Abraham; he becomes henceforth the depository of all Messianic expectation and hope; from him is to spring the future monarch unto whom the "obedience of the people" shall be given. To adopt such an interpretation as this is manifestly allowed by the whole spirit of the context, and as manifestly removes all those difficulties that arise from a more rigid adherence to the letter, which seems to promise to Judah an appointed duration of temporal dominion, that can only by very lax and arbitrary explanations be reconciled with history.

I had thus far worked out the subject to this con-

clusion when, on referring to Bunsen's 'Bibelwerk,' I found that my own position was materially strengthened by a note of his upon the passage. He indeed, as we have seen, understands it differently, but observes, "*Bis er kommt* indicates by no means a period with which Judah's pre-eminence was to cease; cf. xxviii. 15. When the children of Israel assembled themselves in Shiloh and set up the tabernacle, a preliminary termination was given to the conquest of Canaan. According to the sense of our verse then, Judah is to be the leader of the other tribes until Canaan is subdued, and also afterwards to maintain his priority in peaceful possession of the Land." As he therefore admits the principle of our interpretation, I think it can hardly be questioned that his own rendering is capable of amendment. The force of the prophecy in every way is very much weakened if we refuse to regard it as strictly Messianic. I may add further that the view now advocated is also illustrated and confirmed by an expression that is found in the Targum of Onkelos, which, after explaining "the sceptre shall not depart," inserts the words עד עלמא, *for ever*, and then says, *till the Messiah come*. Now had he said "the sceptre shall not depart until the Messiah come, *i.e.* for ever," his interpretation would have been precisely identical with our own. And lastly, Dr. Hengstenberg, in the 'Christology of the Old Testament,' says, "The dominion of Judah does not by any means *terminate* in Christ, it rather *centres* in Him. Several interpreters have determined the verse as follows: the dominion of Judah should continue until the appearing of Shiloh, but that then he should lose it. We, on the contrary, conceive the sense to be this, 'that the tribe

of Judah should not lose the dominion until he attain its brightest realization by Shiloh, who should be descended from him, and to whom all the nations of the earth should render obedience.' Against this interpretation no difficulty can be raised from the עַד כִּי. It is true that this term has always a reference to the *terminus ad quem* only, and includes it; but it is as certain that very frequently a *terminus ad quem* is mentioned which is not intended to be the last, but only one of special importance, so that what lies beyond it is lost sight of. If only sceptre and lawgiver were secured to Judah up to the time of Shiloh's coming, then as a matter of course they were so afterwards. That previous to the coming of Shiloh great dangers would threaten the sceptre of Judah is indicated by Jacob, since he lays so much stress upon the sceptre's not departing until that time. *Hence we expect circumstances that will almost amount to a departing of the sceptre.*" If we did not believe that these circumstances actually did amount and more than amounted to such a departing, there would be no occasion to seek for that amendment of Dr. Hengstenberg's interpretation which is here attempted.

VIII.—REMARKS ON A FRAGMENT OF A MS. OF VALERIUS MAXIMUS IN THE PUBLIC LIBRARY AT BERNE, CONTAINING A PORTION OF THE TEXT SUPPLIED FROM THE EPITOME OF JULIUS PARIS.

BY FREDERIC W. MADDEN.

(Read April 13th, 1864.)

THE facsimile attached to this paper is made from a portion of the first leaf of a MS. of Valerius Maximus,[1] now in the Public Library at Berne, which I have been allowed to examine by the kindness of M. Ch. L. de Steigez, Principal Librarian of that Institution. As the leaf is only a fragment, and liable to be lost, it was thought of sufficient interest to have an exact copy preserved of its appearance.

My attention was principally directed to this subject by the fact, that many editions of Valerius have given the name of the Consul (whose name, fortunately, occurs on this fragment) as *Cn.* Calpurnius. It may not be uninteresting to trace briefly as far as possible how this reading has crept into the text, together with a short account of the MS. from which the fragment is taken.

It was well known, even in the time of Aldus (1502),

[1] No. 366, Sinner's *Cat.* vol. i. p. 620.

that a lacuna existed in most of the MSS. of Valerius Maximus, extending from book i. chapter i. to the end of chapter iv.; that is, from "Milesia Ceres" to "suffecturam urbem." This missing portion was first inserted in the text by Aldus (ed. Ven. 1502), and supplied to him by Cuspinian from a very ancient MS.[2] of Valerius Maximus at Vienna, and not from a copy of the epitome of Julius Paris now lost, as supposed by Mai.[3] The MS. seen by Cuspinian is said to have had an *additional portion* at the beginning, as is the case also with the MS. of Pierre Daniel now at Berne, and it is probable that the two MSS. were the same. In the text printed by Aldus, the name of the Consul is given as *L.* Calp. [*Lucius* Calpurnius], which may also be found in several other editions.[4] The reading *Cn.*, as far as I have been able to ascertain, was first introduced into the text by Pighius (8vo, Antwerp, 1574), and is again found in two of his later editions (8vo, Lugd. Bat. 1594; 18mo, Lugd. Bat. 1596). In 1601, an edition was published at Frankfort by Coler, who, although copying the text of Pighius, professes to have collated it with the MS. of P. Daniel. Here also the prænomen is given as *Cn.*, as it is likewise in the edition of Torrenius (4to, Leid. 1726), whose text has been considered the standard, and in Kappius (8vo, Lips. 1782). With these facts to start from, it became desirable to inquire on what authority one class of editors printed the prænomen of Calpurnius as

[2] "*Valerium antiquissimum*, in cujus principio quædam haberentur nunquam ante ab eo visa." (Ald. *Præf.*)

[3] *Script. Vet. Nova Coll.* vol. iii. *Præf.* p. xxi.

[4] Par. 1517; Lugd. 1512; Par. ap. Colinæum, 1535, 1543; Ald. 1534; Lugd. 1550; Par. 1588; and doubtless many others.

Lucius, whilst the others, without comment or stated authority, gave it as *Cnæus*.

Upon examining all the MSS. of Valerius Maximus in the British Museum, of which there are twenty-two, I found that *twenty* out of the twenty-two omitted the portion which had been supplied by Aldus, who states that it was missing in all the MSS. he had seen in Italy. This appears to be the case also with the majority of MSS. in all the European libraries. The two in the Museum which have it, read respectively *l. Calpurno*[5] (*sic*) and *lucio cabsurino*[6] (*sic*). It will also be seen that in this fragment the name of the consul is given as *L. Calpurnio*.

It has been often questioned whether the portion thus inserted is in the words of Valerius Maximus himself, or some epitomizer, and the question has been more especially discussed since Mai[7] published from MSS. in the Vatican abridgements of the text of Valerius Maximus by *Julius Paris* and *Januarius Nepotianus*. The work of the former certainly dates from the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century, and that of the latter is probably of the sixth century. Although Mai has assigned the age of the former MS. to the tenth century, yet it is most probable the MS. is earlier than, and the prototype of, the Berne MS., which is itself of the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century. Both these epitomizers contain the portion in question, but in different words, affording a sufficient proof that they made their abridgements independently from an earlier prototype. In the

[5] *Burn.* 209, fifteenth cent.

[6] *Harl.* 2759, fifteenth cent.

[7] *Script. Vet. Nova Coll.* vol. iii. pt. iii. pp. 1–116.

epitome of Julius Paris (for Nepotian does not finish the sentence) the name is also given as *L. Calpurnio*. We may hence infer that this portion originally formed part of the text, but that subsequent to the fifth century it became lost by the carelessness of scribes or by accident, and was not restored till the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century, and then only from the epitomizer.

We now come to the MS. of Valerius Maximus from which the facsimile of the fragment is taken. This MS. is the most ancient known to exist of Valerius Maximus; and from the fact of the name of its former owner being written on the second leaf, is now known to be the one hitherto quoted as the *Codex P. Danielis*.[8] It can with certainty be ascribed to the close of the ninth century. The fragment here represented contains the supplementary portion prefixed to the MS. in *another hand*, but nearly coeval with the original. The scribe states, *In adbreviatore, qui et vetustus erat, quædam reperta sunt quæ quoniam nostro deerant, necessario supplevi.* Then follows the missing portion of the first book of Valerius, evidently copied from the abbreviated text of Julius Paris,[9] *Timasitheus liparensis creteram quam romani pythio*

[8] Kempf (ed. Val. Berl. 1854, p. 80) thinks that this MS., before it came into the possession of P. Daniel, belonged to the monastery of St. Benedict, at Fleury, near Orleans. If this is so, it might be unfavourable to our opinion that this MS. and the one seen by Cuspinian at Vienna were the same. The library of Daniel was purchased in 1603 by Paul Petau and Jacob Bongars, and in the year 1632 the books of Bongars were transferred to Berne.

[9] The proof of this is, that the first paragraph, *Timasitheus . . . delphos perferendam*, is really *not wanting* in the text of Valerius Maximus, but is found there at greater length.

apollini miserant interceptam a piratis curavit delphos perferendam, and from *Milesia Ceres* to *suffecturam urbem*. In this fragment (although, unfortunately, so much damaged by damp and vermin) we find still preserved the commencement of the lost portion, with part of the middle portion. I have transcribed what is still remaining at the end of the paper. At the end of this MS. the scribe copies the name of the abbreviator of Maximus as C. Titus Probus, a person who is also recorded as finishing the epitome of Paris in the Vatican MS. published by Mai. The question as to this Titus (or Titius, according to Kempf) Probus seems to be involved in great obscurity,[10] and it would appear that even the scribe himself of the fragment in the ninth century was doubtful who was really the abbreviator, for in his extracts from the epitome, inserted on the margin of the MS., he sometimes annexes the letters I. P. (*i.e. Julius Paris*), and sometimes C. T. (*i.e. Caius Titus*), or else merely BR. (*i.e. Breviator*).[11]

[10] This question has been discussed in the recent edition of Valerius by Kempf (8vo, Berlin, 1854), to whom every praise is due for his careful examination cf several of the previous editions, and for a clear statement as to the *provenance* of most of the principal MSS.

[11] In the Vatican MS. published by Mai, the epistle prefixed is addressed by Paris to a Licinius Cyriacus, and claims the ten books which "ad unum volumen epitomæ coegi;" and also in the heading to the work, "Julii Paridis epitoma decem librorum Val. Maximi." The abridgement of Paris, as we now have it, includes the whole of the nine books; but of the tenth, although a list of six chapters is prefixed, only the first, *De Prænominibus*, has survived, at the end of which is *C. Titi Probi finit epitoma historiarum diversarum exemplorumque Romanorum*, as if Titus Probus was the real author of the whole. This last sentence, with the exception of the *que*, has been copied, as I have already observed, by the later scribe of the Berne

There can be but little doubt that from this early copy of Valerius all the later transcripts which retain the missing portion, and which do not seem to exceed eight or nine, were made. The lacuna, which occurs in most of the MSS. of Valerius, and which are chiefly of the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, was probably caused at a very early age (as I have already observed) either by the carelessness of the scribe or by accident. There is, however, in the British Museum a MS. of the twelfth century,[12] containing excerpts of Valerius, probably made by Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres, who died in 1027 or 1031,[13] which also omits the portion in question.

MS., which makes it probable that the MS. he refers to in his heading was the identical one now at the Vatican. Two short prefaces were published by Pighius from MSS., the first of which ascribes the tenth book to Paris, the second omits this. Kempf (p. 54) says that out of 100 MSS. he only found these prefaces in late MSS. of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. He instances for the first preface, Brit. Mus. *Arundel*, 7 and 256; and for the second, *Harl.* 2759. Pighius, and before him Seb. Gryphius, also published *C. Titi Probi in Epitomen suam Præfatio;* but Pighius says that this heading is wanting in many MSS. Kempf only found it in one (Paris, 5851). The subscription in the Vatican *Codex* is the only real authority with respect to Probus, but how it got there, it is not easy to explain. Kempf (p. 58) conjectures that Probus may have combined a number of writers into one body, abridged by himself and others, and added to it the title above copied. This seems very improbable. In any case he says (p. 61) that this tenth book could not be by Valerius, for the composition is later than his age, perhaps of the fourth or fifth century. The corrector Rusticius Helpidius Domnulus, V.C. (Vir consularis), whose name is affixed at the end of the MS. of Paris and the Berne MS., is conjectured to be the same as the author of a poem edited by Fabricius, and who was physician to Theodoric the Great. It was therefore written about A.D. 500.

[12] *Add.* 19,835.

[13] *Opera Varia*, ed. by C. Le Villiers, Paris, 1608.

As to the *Cn.*, the origin of which I have traced above, there seems to be really no MS. authority for it; and Coler, who professes to have collated his text with the MS. of Daniel, must have omitted to *collate this particular passage*. Indeed Kempf[14] says, "*all the MSS. of Valerius* read *Lucius*." In all probability the prænomen *Cnæus* was taken from the *Chronicon* of Cassiodorus, who (as edited)[15] gives *Cn.* Piso. His statements are, however, considered of no value; in any case, his statement here could hardly be held against the authority of all the MSS. of Valerius; and the authority of the Maccabees, where the Consul is mentioned by his prænomen,[16] might still be adduced as another argument in favour of the prænomen of Calpurnius being *Lucius*.

Text of the Berne Fragment, with the portions wanting supplied in Italics from the epitome of Julius Paris, as edited by Mai.

In adbreviatore, qui et vetustus erat, quædam reperta sunt, quæ quoniam nostro deerant necessario supplevi.

[14] Ed. Val. p. 126, *note*. He, however, supposes that it is an error, and that we should read *Cnæus* as in the *Fasti*. What *Fasti?* The *Fasti Capitolini* are defective for B.C. 139, and only give the name of his fellow-consul, M. Popillius Lænas (*M. po*PI*llius*, see *Corpus Inscript. Lat. Vet.* ed. Mommsen, 1863, vol. i. p. 438; cf. p. 532).

[15] *Corpus Inscript. Lat. Vet.* vol. i. p. 533. Mommsen professes to have made his lists from two MSS., one at Paris (4860), written in the middle of the tenth century, and one at Munich (14631), eleventh century. A MS. of the eighth century is said to have been sent from Switzerland to Cuspinian at Vienna, but is now missing! (p. 485). There is, unfortunately, no MS. of the *Chronicon* in the British Museum.

[16] Λεύκιος ὕπατος Ῥωμαίων, 1 Maccab. xv. 16. He was consul in

Timasitheus Liparensis creteram,[17] quam Romani Pythio Apollini[18] miserant, interceptam a piratis, curavit Delphos perferendam.

+ Milesia Ceres Mileto ab Alexandro capta milites, qui templum spoliaturi irruperant, flamma objecta privavit oculis.

Prensa[19] mille navium[20] n[*u*]mer[*o Delum*] compulsi,[21] templo Apollinis reli[22][*giosas*] potius manus quam rapaces ad[*hibuerunt*]..

Athenienses Protagoram[23] phi[*losophum*] pepulerunt, . . .

* * * *

Diomedon, unus e[24] de[*cem ducibus*], quibus [*Argennusæ*

B.C. 139 with M. Popillius Lænas, and is stated to have written letters to King Ptolemy (Euergetes II., Physcon) and other kings and nations, requesting them to renew the old friendship and league with Simon Maccabæus. For an account of him see Smith's *Dict. of the Bible* and Kitto's *Biblical Cyclopædia*, new ed. s. v. *Lucius*.

[17] Creterram, *Par.*; corr. crateram, *Mai.* The words of Valerius, from which these are abbreviated, are, "In quam ne incideret Timasitheus, Liparitanorum princeps, consilio sibi pariter atque universæ patriæ utili providit exemplo. Excepta namque in freto a civibus suis piraticam exercentibus magni ponderis aurea cratera, quam Romani Pythio Apollini decimarum nomine dicaverant, incitato ad eam partiendam populo, ut comperit, eam Delphos perferendam curavit." (*Kempf.*) *Pighius*, *Coler*, and *Torrenius* give the last part of this sentence as, "Cratera incitatoque ad eam partiendam populo, ut comperit a Romanis Pythio Apollini decimarum nomine dicatam, manibus venundantium ereptam Deo Delphos perferendam curavit." *Aldus* gives the same from "cratera" to "dicatam," but omits from "manibus" to "Deo," inserting the word "eam" before "Delphos."

[18] Not Appollini, as *Kempf* (p. 79).

[19] Prænsæ, *Par.* (= Persæ).

[20] Navibus implevere Delum, *Nep.*; naves appulere Delum, *Mai.*

[21] Conpulsi, *Par.*; complexi, *add. Par.*

[22] Irreligiosas, *Coler.*

[23] Pythagoras philosophus ab Atheniensibus pulsus est, *Nep.*; Diagoram, *Ald.*

[24] Ex de[cem ducibus] qui [Arginusæ eadem pugna Atheniensibus] vict[oriam, sibi vero damnationem], *Torren.* "Arginusæ" is

eadem pugna] et vict[*oriam et damnationem*] p[*epererunt, cum ad jam meritum*][25] su[*pplicium duceretur, nihil aliud*] locut[*us est quam ut vota pro inco*]lumitate e[*xercitus ab ipso nun*]cupata solv[*erentur*].

DE SIMULAT[A RELIGIONE].[26]

Numa Pompil[*ius ut populum*] Romanum [*sacris obligaret vo*]lebat . . .

* * * *

. . . *uti p*]romissa maturaret.

[*Q. Sertorius per asperos L*]usitani[*æ colles cervam albam tr*]ahebat, [*ab ea se quænam aut agenda aut v*]it[*anda essent prædicans admon*]eri.

[*Minos, Cretensium rex, novo*[27] *a*]nno [*in quemdam*[28] *præaltum et*] vetusta reli[*gione consecratum spe*]cus[29] secedere [*solebat, et in eo mor*]atus tanquam[30] [*ab*[31] *Jove, quo se ortum*] ferebat, tra[32][*ditas leges perrog*]abat.

[*Pisistratus in reciperan*]da[33] tyrannide, [*quam amiserat simulatione r*]edu[*centis*] . . .

* * * *

. . . sortes[34] Fortunæ Prænestinæ adire. Auspiciis enim patriis non aligenigenis[35] rempublicam administrari judicabant oportere.[36]

omitted by *Aldus*, but was supplied by *Pighius*, and copied by *Coler*, who again omits to collate the MS. of Daniel.

[25] Jam ad meritum, *Ald.*; jam non ad meritum, *Coler*; jam ad immeritum, *Torren.*

[26] De religione simulata, *Torren.*; qui religionem simulaverunt, *Nep.*

[27] Nono quoque anno, *Ald.*, *Coler*, *Torren.*, *Kempf.*

[28] Quoddam, *Ald.*, *Coler.*

[29] Specum, *Par.*

[30] Tamquam, *Par.*

[31] A Jove, *Ald.*, *Coler*, *Torren.*

[32] Traditas sibi leges prærogabat, *Ald.*, *Coler*, *Torren.*

[33] Recuperanda, *Torren.*

[34] Sortis, *Par.*

[35] Alienigenis, *Par.*

[36] Oportere judicabant, *Torren.*

Gn.[37] Cornelius Hispalus,[38] prætor peregrinus, M. Pompilio[39] Lænate, L.[40] Calpurnio Cos., edicto Chaldeos[41] circa[42] decimum diem abire ex urbe atque Italia jussit, levibus et ineptis ingeniis fallaci siderum interpretati[*on*]e quæstuosam mendaciis su[*is ca*]lig[*in*]em injicientes.

[*Idem Judæos,*[43] *qui*] Sabazi[44] Jovis cultu[45] Romanos [*infic*]ere conati erant,[46] repete[*re do*]mos suas coegit.[47]

[*L. Æmilius Paulus, Cos.*,]cum senat[*us*] . . .

* * * *

[37] Cn., *Par.*; C., *Ald.*, *Coler*, *Torren.*

[38] Hippalus, *Nep.*; Hispallus, *Coler*, *Torren.*

[39] Popilio, *Coler*, *Torren.*

[40] Cn., *Pighius*, *Coler*, *Torrenius*, *Kappius*, but no MS. authority for it.

[41] Chaldæos, *Par.*, *Ald.*, *Coler*, *Torren.*

[42] Intra, *Nep.*; citra, *Kempf.*

[43] This word occurs previously in no printed edition. *Aldus* even omitted it, but perhaps by mistake. Can it have been in the Berne MS. (though there is barely room), and overlooked, with his usual inaccuracy, by *Coler? Mai* conjectures that *Sabazium* is for *Sabaoth*, the name of the true God among the Jews.

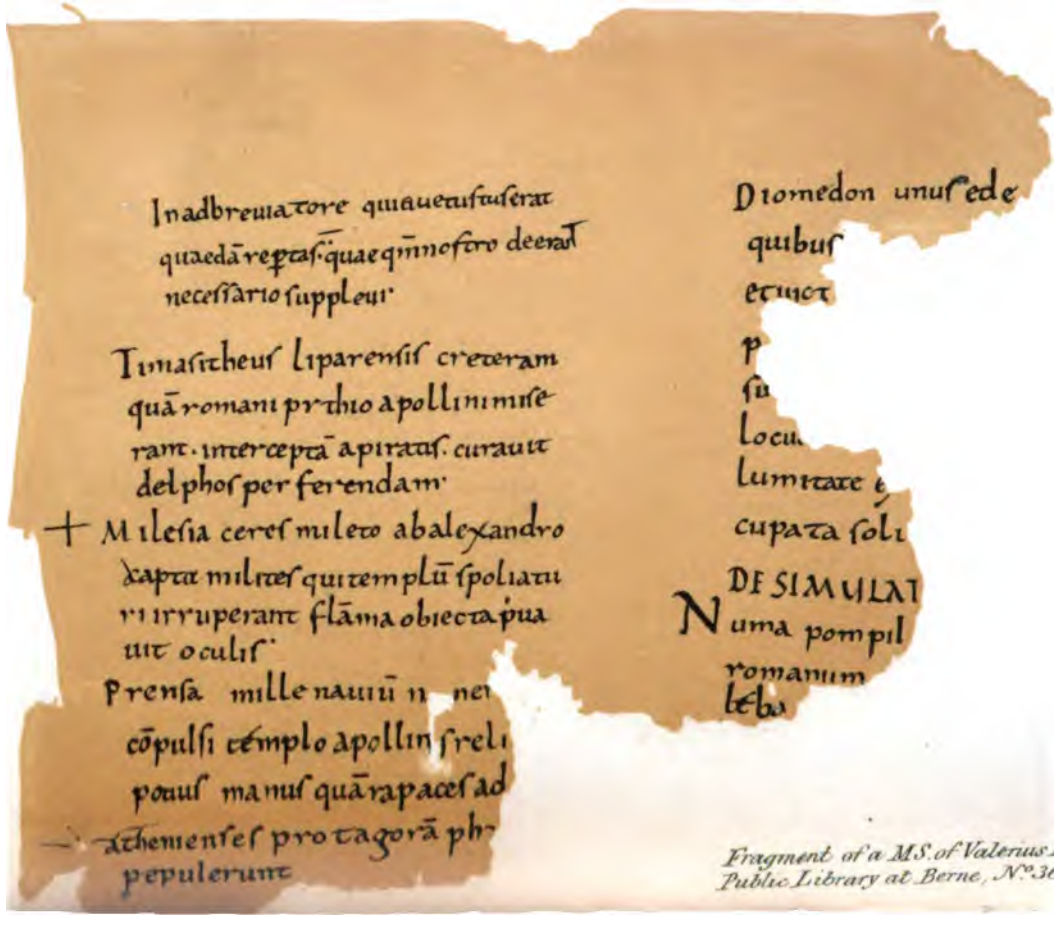
[44] Zabazi, *corr. Par.* In this fragment not *Sabati*, as *Kempf* (p. 126); Sabazii, *Ald.*, *Coler*, *Torren.*

[45] *Add*, sublato mores Romanos, etc., *Ald.*; simulato mores Romanos, etc., *Coler*, *Torren.*

[46] Sunt, *Torren.*

[47] Domos suas repetere coegit, *Torren.*

P



In adbreuiatore quia uetustus erat
quaedā reptas. quae q̄m nostro deerant
necessario suppleui.

Timasitheus liparensis creteram
quā romani prthio apollini mise
rant. interceptā a piratis. curauit
delphos perferendam.

+ Milesia ceres mileto ab alexandro
xapta milites qui templū spoliatu
ri irruperant flāma obiecta pua
uit oculis.

Prensa mille nauiū n ne
cōpulsi templo apollin s reli
potius manus quā rapaces ad
athenienses protagorā ph
pepulerunt

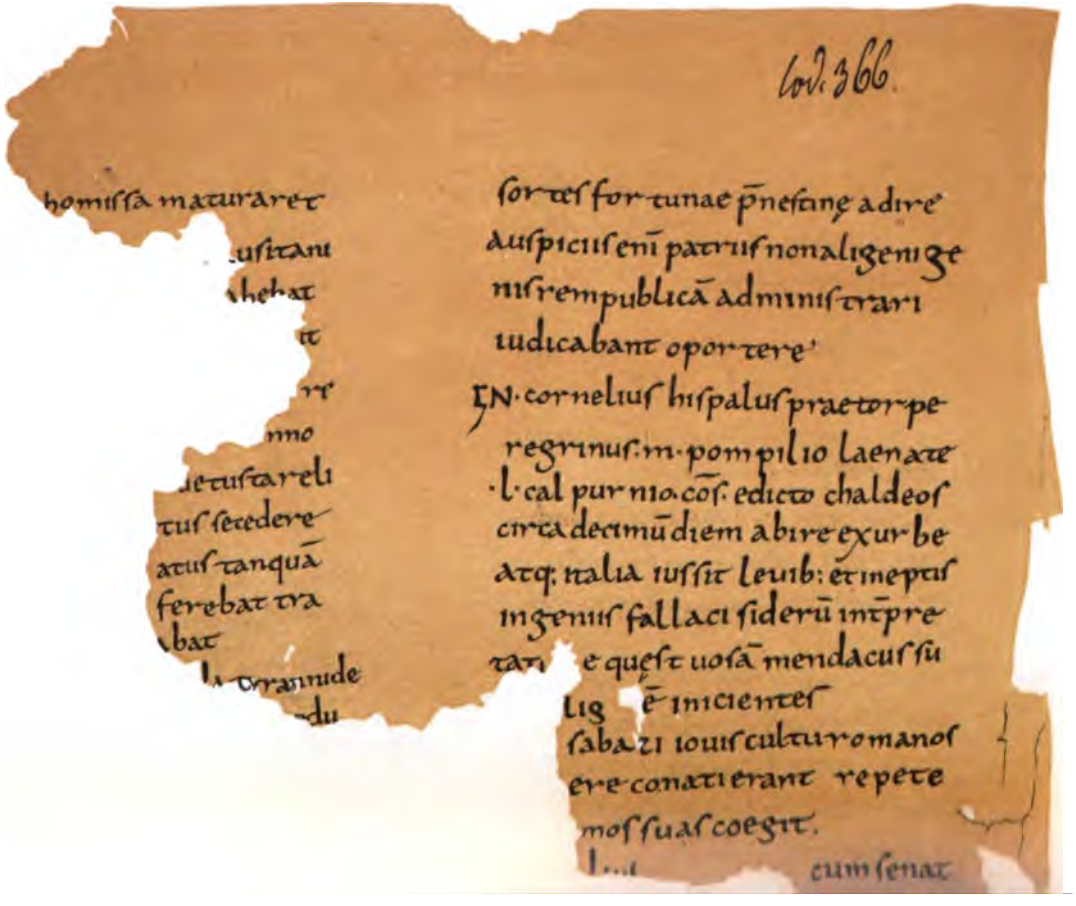
Diomedon unus ede
quibus
et uict
p
su
locu
lumitate
cupata soli

DE SIMULAT

Numa pompil
romanum
leba

Fragment of a MS. of Valerius Maximus in the Public Library at Berne, N°. 366. (IX - X. CENT.)

Pl. II.



Cod. 366.

homissa maturaret
usitani
hebat
it
re
nno
ietustareli
tus secedere
atus tanquā
ferebat tra
bat
la tyrannide
du

sortes fortunae p̄nestinę adire
auspiciis enī patriis non aligeni ge
nis rempublicā administrari
iudicabant oportere.
IN. cornelius hispalus praetor pe
regrinus. m. pompilio laenate
. l. cal pur nio. cōs. edicto chaldeos
circa decimū diem abire exurbe
atq; italia iussit leuib: et ineptis
ingeniis fallaci siderū intp̄re
tati e quęst uosā mendacus su
lig ē inicientes
sabazi iouis cultu romanos
ere conati erant repete
mos suas coegit.
l... cum senat

IX.—PAPERS CONTRIBUTED BY THE REV. MACKENZIE E. C. WALCOTT, M.A., PRÆCENTOR AND PREBENDARY OF CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.

(Read November 25th, 1863.)

THE following curious papers have been contributed by the Rev. Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, Præcentor of Chichester Cathedral, and M.R.S.L. It has been thought advisable to print these together, under one heading, differing though they do materially in their subject matter.

W. S. W. VAUX,
Hon. Sec. R.S.L.

The papers are—

I.—Letter from Lord Chancellor Jeffreys to John Walcott, Esq., of Walcot, Salop. [Walcott papers.]

II.—The Will and Inventory of Goods of W. Hyberdon, of Boxgrove, A.D. 1518. [Reg. Sherb. fo. cxxvi.]

III.—Classified List of Mediæval Sees. By M. E. C. Walcott, Præc. Cath. Chich.

The following letter by Judge Jefferies was addressed to one of my relatives.

Mr. John Walcott, of Walcot, Salop, lord of the hundred of Clun, was baptized at Lydbury June 24, 1624; High Sheriff of Salop, 1661; M.P. for Salop,

1687; Dep. Lieut. for Salop, 1673 and 1688; High Sheriff of Radnor, 1661; Burgess of Ludlow, 1681. In 1645 he was a prisoner of Sir Thomas Middleton, at Red Hill Castle. He was a Royal Commissioner, 25 Charles II., for raising a levy of money in Salop. He died in 1702. His third brother, Sir Thomas, of Bitterley Court and Bencher, 1671, and Lent Reader, 1677, of the Middle Temple; Serjeant-at-Law and M.P. for Ludlow, 1679–81; Recorder of Bewdley, 1671 (Nash's 'Worcestershire,' ii. 279); was knighted at Whitehall (Dugdale, Vis. Salop, pp. 38–9; Le Neve's Knights' Heralds' Coll. 281); and became Puisne Judge of the King's Bench, October 22, 1663; he died in Trinity Vacation, 1685 (see 'State Trials,' x. 151, 1198; 2 Shower, 434; Parl. Reg. 1741). The youngest brother, William, of the Middle Temple, 1663, was page of honour to Charles I. on the scaffold; and the cloak worn by the King on that occasion is preserved at Bitterley Court, and was exhibited by me at the Society of Antiquaries in 1861. A part of Lord Jefferies' house now forms the Chapel adjoining St. James's Park.

LETTER OF LORD JEFFREYS TO JOHN WALCOTT.

SIR,

His Majestie having been pleased to doe me the honour to make me his Lieutenant of the County of Salop; but his service requiring my attendance upon him here, whereby I am prevented from the happiness I proposed to myself of waiting upon you in person in the country, and therefore I am commanded to give you the trouble of this by my servant, who I have ordered to attend upon you for that purpose. I doubt not, Sir, you have perused and well considered his Majestie's late Gratious Declaration for Liberty of Con-

science, and thereby are fully satisfied of his Majestie's reale intentions to us, his uttmost endeavours to have the same establisht into a Law and for that purpose does very suddenly design to call a Parliament, to have the same effected wherein He doubts not to have ye concurrence of His Houses of Parliament in the carrying out of so good a work, which is of Publick Advantage to all his Kingdome, and in order thereunto has commanded me and the rest of his Lieutenants to propose to the Deputy-Lieutenants and Justices of ye Peace within our severall lieutenancies these questions following, which I begg leave to propound to you and desire your answer thereunto by this bearer or as soon after as possibly you can.

1st. If you shall be chosen Knight of the Shire or Burgess of any Town when the King shall think fitt to call a Parliament, whether you will be for taking off the Penall Laws and the Tests?

2nd. Whether you will assist and contribute to ye Election of such Members as shall be for the taking off the Penall Laws and Tests?

3rd. Whether you will support the said Declaration for Liberty of Conscience by living friendly with those of all persuasions as subjects of the same Prince and good Christians ought to doe?

Sir, His Majestie having so fully exprest his Royall Intentions in the said Declaration it would be impertinent in me to give you the trouble of any Discant or Comment upon the said questions. I cannott but humbly hope for a complyance in you to his Majestie's pleasure herein, who is allready sufficiently satisfied of your Loyall affection towards him with your true zeal for his service. I shall therefore give you no further trouble but to begg your pardon for this and to assure you that I am with all sincerity, Sir, y^r^ most faithfull friend and humble Servant,

JEFFREYS, C.

To John Walcott, Esq., this.

March 24th, '87.

From my house in Duke Street, Westminster.

Received this letter March ye 30th, '88, and returned the answer the 31st next following.

My Lord,

I have received y^r^ Lordship's letter, and in obedience to y^r^ Lordship's commands I humbly return this answer by y^t^ servant ye bearer, that I cannot in conscience comply with y^r^ Lordship's proposalls in taking off ye penall laws or tests. I shall always continue my allegiance to the King and live peaceably with my neighbours. My Lord, I am y^r^ Lordship's most humble and obedient servant,

J. W.

The Will and Inventory of Goods of H. Hyberdon, of Boxgrave. A.D. 1516.

To be buried in the parish church of Boxgrave on the south side; towards the reparacion xiij^s^ iiij^d^; to the mother church of Chichester xx^d^; to the high altar within the said parish church xxj^d^; to Maister Prior of Boxgrave with his consent for fetching of my body to funeracion vj^s^ viij^d^; to the church of Eartham vj^s^ viij^d^ to by a coue therewith, and the rent of the said coue to be divided in parts, one half unto the reparacions of the said churche, and the other half to the curet to pray for me in his bede roll. Withyn the saide churche . . . there be distributed and spent the day of my burying the sum of xj^s^, the day of my moneth mynde the sum of iiij^li^ xiij^s^ iiij^d^; immediately after my death there shall be provided an honest priest to pray for my soul . . . to continue for the space of iij yers, ij kyen for the mayntenance of an annuell obit, to be rented at the discrecion of the churche wardens for the most merite of my soull . . . whereof the curett to have viij^d^, and one other priest iiij^d^, the clarke ij^d^, the bedman j, for light ij^d^, for making the herse j^d^, and the residue generally to the reparacions of the saide churche. Unto my daughter Alys x^li^ to be paied at the day of her

marriage, or at the furthest when she shall come to the age of xviij yers . . . all my wife's apparell, a tablett of gold, a hope of golde, a ryng with a terrhes . . . to my iij yonger sons Roger, Edward, Thomas, every of them viij^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d} when they shall come to age and discrecion of xviij yers. To my brother Henry ij of my gownes furred and one doublet of saten. To Wm Bedill a doublet of fustian, a peticote, a payre of hosyn, a kendall cote, and vi^{s} viij^{d}. To J^{o} Hill doublett of chaucolett, my best hosyn, and his quarter's wages. To Wm Cartar a goune of violett lyned and vj^{s} viij^{d}. To my cousin Elizabeth a goune cloth of Frensh touny and x^{s}. My master my lorde have touards his kechyng ij fatt sters. My lord Materface my blacke nagge with sadell and bridell. Sir Thomas West the yonger, knight my grey geldyng. The Executors, Sir Thomas West, knt., and Maister John Dawbrey of Peterworth, esquire, to have above their expenses as executors either of them xx^{s}.

Inventory of Goods.

iiii Fetherbeds, iiij bolstars	xxxij^{s}	iiij^{d}
iiij payre of blankets	viij^{s}	
A counterpoynt of verdor[1]	v^{s}	iij^{d}
iij helings[2]	viij^{s}	
iij coverletts russett	iij^{s}	viij^{d}
A olde quylt and a olde blanket		iiij^{d}
ij mattares and ij bolstars	iiij^{s}	vij^{d}
vii pellows	iiij^{s}	iiij^{d}
A sparvar [bed canopy] of dornex [coarse damask]	viij^{s}	
Stayned [painted] cloths	ij^{s}	
A sparvar in the parlure with hangyngs . . .	xvi^{s}	

[1] A quilted covering,—a hanging representing trees rather than figures. (See Sussex Archæol. Soc. Publ. xii. 38.)

[2] In the inventory of Sele (Dallaway, vol. ii. p. ii. 229) occur notices of "blue helyng of say with a selour," "another helyng," etc., a coverlet.

iij testars at dyvers priees		ij^{s}	iiij^{d}
Oone payre of fine shets		viij^{s}	
viij payre of midill		xj^{s}	viij^{d}
xx case payre		xxvi^{s}	viij^{d}
xii pelowbers [pillowcases]			vij^{d}
	vij^{li}	iij^{s}	iiij^{d}
Item, a table-cloth of diaper		iij^{s}	iiij^{d}
iij playne		vj^{s}	iiij^{d}
iiij course		ij^{s}	
iiij towells of diaper		iij^{s}	iiij^{d}
vi napkyns of diaper			xvj^{d}
vi playne			xij^{d}
iij curtens of whyt			xviij^{d}
		xviij^{s}	vj^{d}
Hangyngs in the Hall		iij^{s}	iiij^{d}
A bancar [carpet for a seat]			viij^{d}
Hangings in the litte Parlure		iij^{s}	iiij^{d}
Hangyngs over the parlure			viij^{d}
		viij^{s}	

Plate.

One salt with a cover, parcell gilt, vij unces		xxj^{s}	
xiij spones of xij unces, after iij^{s} the unce		xxxvj^{s}	
A playne pece of x unces		xxx^{s}	
	iiij^{li}	vij^{s}	

Aparell.

Oon dublett of Wulstede		ij^{s}	viij^{d}
A cote of tawney		iiij^{s}	
A sleveless cote of tawney		ij^{s}	
		viij^{s}	viij^{d}

The Buttery.

A bason of pewter and ewar			xij

Oon bason.		
ij ewars of Iaten		viij^{d}
iij basons of pewter		viij^{d}
vj candelstiks	ij^{s}	viij^{d}
A chafyng dishe		viij^{d}
ij cangesse		xvj^{d}
	vi^{s}	viij^{d}

Kychen.

xv platers	vij^{s}	vj^{d}
x dyshes	ij^{s}	viij^{d}
xj yered [iron] dyshes		xviij^{d}
Oon charger		xij^{d}
A grete cawdnen [cawdeyernes (Suss. Arch. Soc. Publ. vii. 39) cauldron?]	v^{s}	
j pan	v^{s}	
ij ketells	iiij^{s}	
iij ketels, a chafler		xij^{d}
ij bells	ij^{s}	
A skemer, a ladle, a pappe pan		viij^{d}
ij frying pans		xij^{d}
A litte pan		ij^{d}
A pan		vj^{d}
A grete pott		vj^{d}
	iij^{s}	iij^{d}

iij other potts and possnett [porringer]	iij	iiij^{d}
iij trevetts		x^{d}
ij racks		xij^{d}
iij paire of pothoks		vj^{d}
i pothanger, i fyre yron		viij^{d}
iij broches [spits]	iij^{s}	iiij^{d}
ij andyrons		xvj^{d}
ij knyves		vj^{d}
A grete pare of potte hangyngs		xvj^{d}
	l^{s}	x^{d}

ii cupbords		vi^{s}	viij^{d}
iij new chayres			xij^{d}
ii chamber chayres			xiij^{d}
Oon rounde table			xj^{d}
iiij oxen	iii^{li}	iiij^{s}	iiij^{d}
iiij drovyng sterys		liii^{s}	iiij^{d}
ij hefars			
vj bollocks of oon yere		xxiiij^{s}	
xv kyen	vi^{li}	viii^{s}	
i bull			
v weners after iij^{s} the pece [for waggons?] (great oxen for her wayne, Suss. Arch. Publ. vii. 33)[3]		xv^{s}	
c ii x wethers xvi a pece	xiii^{li}		
cc viii ewes	vii^{li}	xvii^{s}	
xx iii lames afteer viij^{d}		lii^{s}	viij^{d}
xxiv kebars afteer xvj^{d} [refuse sheep taken out of the flock]		xxxii^{s}	
		xxvi^{s}	xij^{d}
iiij cart horses		xxxvj^{s}	vij^{d}
Harnes		ij	
Oon mare		x	
xxi hoggys		xxxj	vj^{d}
xii weners [for wains?]		viij	
		xlviij^{s}	viij^{d}

A new cart.
A toren cart, with apparell.[4]
ij longe carts.
ij cart laders.

[3] Viij wayninge calves. (Nichol's Illustr. 233).
[4] Two tornyd chares. (Nichol's Illustr. 120.)

iiij plowes.
ij culters.
ij sheres.
ij payre of start ropis [ropes attached to harrows].
vi plow chaynes.
iij yoks.
A gret euth.
iiij finall.
v negars [fire-dogs]
iiij wegs [wedges?].
ij axes with a hachet.
j sawe.
ij payre of pyncers.
j chesell.
A payr hynnes [collars for cart horses].
ij boshells.
A sede lepe [seed basket].
A dong hoke.
j pych of sholes [collar of wood for cattle? or pick and shovels? or scales?].
ij olde sadells.
ij bridells.
A panell [a treeless pad or pallet for riding on an ass].
iiij laders.
viii^{li} of olde yron . . . . . iiij^{d}

Mylke-House.

x chese mots.
x bolls.
A churne.
A chest presse.
A pothanger.
xiii tobbes.
iij stove, vi cheses.
iij quarts of butter.

Harness.

ij saletts [light helmets].

ii pair splents [little armour plates to protect the inside of the arm].
A pair of brigyns [pliable armour of iron sewn on quilted linen or leather] . . . . . vij^{s} iiij^{d}

ij prongs.
A hide lether.
ij nayle [8 lbs.] of hempe viij^{d} herefore the kill [kiln].
viii saks.
A payr of wull cards.
xxi^{li} of blew wull.
Oon todde of flesh wull.
A nayle blacke.[5]
ij nayle [8 lb.] yarn.
ii quarters whete.
xx quarters barleie.
x quarters of olde whet and newe.
vij quarters of barle afteer iij^{s} iiij^{d}.
iii quarters of otes.
Ffeches [vetches] ii lode.
xv quarters malt.
iij lode of hay.

A List of Mediæval Sees, Classified under their Latin Names.

The difficulty of identifying the ancient with the modern names of Episcopal Sees has been sensibly felt by all whose studies have lain among Mediæval writers, seals, or numismatics; and several authors of celebrity, for want of information on this head, have fallen into grave errors, and confounded at once the Sees and

[5] For a yerde of blacke to make Master Richard a payre of hose. (Arch. xxv. 510.)

places. Three years since I appended a glossary of this kind to my work on 'Church and Conventual Arrangement,' but I have now expanded it into a systematic form, founded on the researches of Frances, Cluverius, Lelewel, Fabricius, Spruner, Labbe, Beyerlinck, and other writers. In some cases I have endeavoured to indicate the country of the See, but in many instances the territorial limits have been so changed, that a single archbishopric once included suffragans now dismembered under different kingdoms. The result of my inquiries will, I hope, not prove unserviceable when it appears in the Journal of this Society.

England and Wales.

(Will. Malmesb. de Gestis Pontif.)

Cantuariensis v. Dorobernensis	Canterbury, AB. Prim. and Metrop.
Londinensis	London.
Wintonensis	Winchester.
Banchorensis	Bangor.
Bathoniensis	Bath.
Bristoliensis	Bristol.
Coventrensis	Coventry.
Eliensis	Ely.
Exoniensis	Exeter.
Cicestrensis	Chichester.
Glocestrensis	Gloucester.
Herefordensis	Hereford.
Lichesfeldensis	Lichfield.
Lincolniensis	Lincoln.
Landavensis	Llandaff.
Meneviensis	St. David's.
Norwicensis	Norwich.
Roffensis	Rochester.
Assavensis s. Llanuelensis	St. Asaph.

Petriburgensis	Peterborough.
Oxoniensis	Oxford.
Wellensis s. Fontanensis .	Wells.
Sarisburiensis	Salisbury.
Wigorniensis	Worcester.
Osneiensis	Osney.
Helmonensis, Helmehamensis	Elmham.
Domucensis	Dunwich.
Tetfordensis	Thetford.
Cridiensis	Crediton.
Cornubrensis	Cornwall.
Dorcestrensis	Dorchester, Oxon.
Schireburniensis	Sherborne.
Wiltunensis	Wilton.
Lindisfarnensis	Lindisfarne, Holy Isle.
Legescestrensis	Leicester.
Liudissensis	Lindisse or Sedriachester.
Castri Legionensis . . .	Caerleon.
Selesegiensis	Selsey.
Eboracensis	York, AB. Prim.
Dunelmensis	Durham.
Carliolensis	Carlisle.
[Cestrensis	Chester for Lichfield.]
Ripensis v. Herpensis . .	Ripon.
Hagustaldensis	Hexham.

Ireland.

(Cotton's Fasti; Leland's Coll. i. 130; Spruner, 33.)

Ardmachanus	Armagh, AB. Prim. 1151.
Clochorensis v. Glowhoriensis	Clogher.
Midensis	Meath.
Cluanensis	Clonmacnoise.
Brefiniensis s. Triburnensis .	Kilmore.
Ardachadensis	Ardagh.
Conorensis	Connor.
Dunensis	Down.

Drummorensis	Dromore.
Derensis	Derry.
Rathbotensis s. Rapotensis .	Raphoe.
Dublinensis	Dublin, AB. Prim, 1162,
Bistagnensis s. Insularum .	Glendalough.
Darensis	Kildare.
Ossoriensis	Ossory.
Fernensis	Ferns.
Leghlenensis s. Laginensis .	Leighlin.
Cassiliensis	Cashel, AB.
Laonensis	Killaloe.
Arthfertensis [s. Kerniæ Fabric. xiii. 44] . . .	Ardfert.
Lymbricensis	Limerick.
Clonensis	Cloyne.
Rossensis	Ross.
Fynnaborensis s. Fenaborensis	Kilfenora.
Corcagiensis	Cork.
Himelacensis	Emly.
Waterfordiensis	Waterford.
Lismorensis	Lismore.
Tuamensis	Tuam, AB,
Enachdunensis	Annaghdown,
Achadensis	Achonry.
Duacensis	Kilmacduagh,
Cluanfertensis	Clonfert.
Elfinensis	Elphin.
Achadoensis	Aghadoe.
Aladensis	Killala.
Maionensis	Mayo.

Scotland.

Andreopolitanus by Sixtus IV.	St. Andrew's, AB. Prim.
Dunckeldensis	Dunkeld.
Aberdonensis	Aberdeen.
Moraviensis	Moray.

Dumblanensis	Dunblane.
Brechinensis	Brechin.
Cathanensis	Caithness.
Orcadensis	Orkneys.
Glasguensis by Sixtus IV. .	Glasgow, AB.
Candidæ Casæ	Whithern or Galloway.
Lismorensis	Argyle.
Insularum	Sodor.
Rossensis	Ross.

Ostiensis	Ostia.
Velliternensis	Velletri.
Portuensis	Porto.
S. Rufinæ	S. Rufina.
Tusculanus	Frescati.
Sabinensis	Sabina.
Prænestinus	Palestrina.
Albanensis	Albano.
Tiburtinus	Tivoli.
Farfensis	Farfa.
Anagninus	Anagni.
Segninus	Segni.
Terentinus	Terentino.
Alatrinus	Alatri.
Verulanus	Veruli.
Soranus	Sora.
Fundanus	Fondi.
Caietanus	Gaeta.
Terracinensis	Terracina.
Subiacensis	Subiaco.
Hortanus	Orti.
Civitatis Castellanæ . . .	Civita Castellana.
Nepesinus	Nepi.
Sutrinus	Sutri.
Viterbiensis	Viterbo.
Toscanensis	Toscanella.
Volaterranus	Volterra.

Castrensis	Castro.
Civitatis Plebis	Città de la Piebe.
Montis Falixi	Monte Fiascone.
Cornetanus	Corneto.
Lucanus	Lucca.
Lunensis, Sarzanensis, . .	Luna and Sarzana.
Politianensis	Monte Pulciano.
Balneoregiensis	Bagnareal.
Orbevetanus	Orvieto.
Perusinus	Perugia.
Civitatis Castelli	Città di Castello,
Spoletanus	Spoleto.
Assisiensis	Assisi.
Fulginatensis	Foligno.
Nucerinus	Nocere.
Reatinus	Rieti.
Tudertinus	Todi.
Amerinus	Amelia.
Narniensis	Narni.
Interamnensis	Terni.
Camarinensis	Camerino.
Æsinus	Jesi.
Fanensis	Fano.
Auximanus	Osimo.
Asculanus	Ascoli.
Anconitanus	Ancona.
Lauretanus	Loretto.
Recanarensis	Recanate.
Pisensis	Pisa, AB.
Adiacensis	Ajaccio.
Aleriensis	Alteria.
Sagonensis	Sagonia.
Florentinus	Florence, AB.
Pesulanus	Fiesole.
Pistoriensis	Pistoia.
Corronensis	Cortona.

Aretinus	Arezzo.
Collensis	Colle.
Burgi S. Sepulchri	Borgo S. Sepolcro.
S. Miniatis	S. Miniato.
Senensis	Sienna, AB.
Suana	Suana.
Clusinus	Chiusi.
Grosseranus	Grosseto.
Massanus	Massa.
Ilcinensis	Montalcino.
Pientinus	Pienza.
Genuensis s. Januensis	Genoa, AB.
Bononiensis	Bobio.
Albinganensis	Albenga.
Naulensis	Noli.
Nebiensis	Nebbia.
Aprumiatensis	Brugnet.
Malianensis	Mauriano.
Acciensis	Acci.
Turinensis	Turin, AB.
Montis Regalis	Mendovi.
Cassalensis	Cassale.
Salutiarum	Saluzzo.
Fossanensis	Fossano.
Mediolanensis	Milan, AB.
Bergomensis	Bergamo.
Albensis	Alba.
Vercellensis	Vercelli.
Cremonensis	Cremona.
Saonensis	Savona.
Vintimilensis	Ventimiglio.
Aquensis	Acqui.
Brixiensis	Brescia.
Novariensis	Novara.
Astensis	Asti.

Laudensis	Lodi.
Alexandrinus	Alessandria.
Tortonensis	Tortona.
Ipporrigiensis	Ivrea.
Viglienavensis	Vigevano.
Papiensis	Pavia.
Firmanus (1595)	Fermo, AB.
Maceratensis	Macerata.
Tolentenus (1586) . . .	Tolentino.
Ripanensis (1571) . . .	Ripatransona.
Montis alti (1586). . . .	Montalto.
S. Severini (1586) . . .	Severino.
Urbinatensis	Urbino, AB.
Pisauriensis	Pesaro.
Eugubinus	Agubbio.
Forosemproniensis . . .	Fossombrono.
Senogalliensis	Sinigaglia.
Calliensis	Cagli.
Feretranus	Monte Feltro.
Urbaniensis (1585) . . .	Urbania.
Ravennatensis	Ravenna, AB.
Adriensis	Adria.
Comaclensis.	Comachio.
Foroliviensis	Forlì.
Foropopiliensis.	Forlimpopolo.
Cesenatensis	Cesena.
Sarsinatensis	Sarsima.
Faventinus	Faenza.
Britonoriensis	Bertinoro.
Ferrariensis	Ferrara.
Ariminensis	Rimini.
Imolensis	Imola.
Cerviensis	Cervia.
Galeacensis	Galiatas.

Bononiensis	Bologna (1586), AB.
Placentinus	Piacenza.
Parmensis	Parma.
Rhegiensis	Reggio.
Mutinensis	Modena.
Cremensis	Crema.
Burgi S. Domini	Borgo S. Domino.
Callaritanus (by Clement VIII.)	Cagliari, AB.
Sulcitanus	Solci.
Lessensis	Lessa.
Turritanus	Torre, AB.
Alguarensis	Alguer.
Bossenensis	Bosso or Bosi.
Phausinensis	Terranova.
Ampuriensis	Ampurias.
Arboriensis	Oristagni, AB.
Usselensis	Ales.
Aquilensis	Aquileia, Patriarchate.
Mantuanus	Mantua.
Comensis	Como.
Tridentinus	Trent.
Veronensis	Verona.
Patavinus	Padua.
Vicentinus	Vicenza.
Tarvisanus	Trevisi.
Concordiensis	Concordia.
Cenitensis	Ceneda.
Feltrensis	Feltro.
Bollunensis	Città de Belluno.
Polensis	Pola.
Parentinus	Parenzo.
Tergestinus	Trieste.
Justinopolitanus	Capo d'Istria.

Guastalensis	Guastala.
Corcyrensis	Corfu, AB.
Cephalaniensis	Cephalonia.
Zacynthiensis	Zante.

Cyprus.

Leucosiensis	Nicosia.
Fama Augusta	Famagosta.
Amathusiensis	Amathos.
Cerauniensis	Cerines.
Soliensis	Soli.
Carpariensis	Carpario.
Arzensis	Arzo.
Leucensis	Leuca.
Gradensis (1450)	Grado, Patriarchate.
Clediensis	Chioza.
Æmoniensis s. Civ. Novæ .	Cività Nova.
Torcellanus	Torcello.
Capruliensis	Caurli.
Mauranus	Murano.
Cretensis	Candia, AB.
Cancensis s. Argiensis . .	La Canea.
Retimensis	Rettimo.
Sittiensis	Sittia.
Hierapetrensis	Hierapetra.
Cheronensis	Cheronesso.
Mellipotensis	Molipotamo.
Archadiensis	Archadia.
Cissamonensis s. Sicchimensis	Sicchimo.
Neapolitanus	Naples, AB.
Puteolanus	Pozzuoli.
Nolanus	Nola.
Acerrarum	La Cerra.
Isclanus	Ischia.

Aversanus	Aversa.
Lachedonensis s. Alcedonensis	Lacedogna.
Lancianensis	Lanzano.
Larenensis	Larino.
Capuanus	Capua, AB.
Theanensis	Theano.
Caluensis	Calvi.
Casertanus	Caserta.
Caiacensis	Caiazzo.
Carinolensis	Carinola.
Iserniensis	Isernia.
Suessanus	Sessa.
Aquinatensis	Aquino.
Cassinensis	Monte Casino.
Salernitanus	Salerno, AB.
Campaniensis	Campagna.
Caputaquensis	Capaccio.
Policastrensis	Policastro.
Nerscanensis	Nuxo.
Arcenensis	Acerno.
Sarnensis	Sarno.
Marsicensis	Marsico.
Gavensis	La Cava.
Amalphitanus	Amalfi, AB.
Litterensis	Lettere.
Scalensis	Scala
Capritanus	Capri.
Minorensis	Minori.
Ravellensis	Ravello.
Surrentinus	Sorrento, AB.
Vicanensis	Vico Equense.
Massalubensis	Massa.
Castelli Maris	Castel à Mare.

Beneventanus	Benevento, AB.
Asculanus	Ascoli.
Thelesinus	Telese.
S. Agathæ Gothorum . .	S. Agatha.
Montis Viridis	Monte Verde.
Aliphanus	Alife.
Montis Marani	Monte Marano.
Avellinus	Avellino.
Frisentinus	Fricento.
Trivicanus	Trivico.
Arianensis	Ariano.
Boianensis	Boiano.
Bovinensis	Bovino.
Lesinensis	Lesina.
Tulturariensis	Voltorara.
Varinensis	Larino.
Thermularum	Termuli.
S. Severi	S. Severo.
Guardiensis	La Guardea Alferes.
Lucerinus	Lucera di Pagani.
Trorarius	Trora.

Lancianensis (by Pius IV.)	Lanciano, AB. Patriarchate.
Theatinus (1526)	Città di Chieta.
Ortonensis	Ortona.
Camplensis	Campli.
Civitatis Primæ	Città di Penna.
Ariensis	Atri.
Aquilanus	Aquila.
Valvensis	Valva.
Sulmonensis	Sulmona.
Aprutenus	Terano.
Civitatis Ducalis	Città Ducale.

Compsanus	Conza, AB.
Muranus	Muro.
Satrianensis	Satriano.

Campaniensis	Campania.
Laquedonensis	Lacedognia.
S. Angeli Lombardorum .	S. Angeli di Lombardi.
Bifaciensis	Bissaccia.
Acherontinus	Acerenza, AB.
Matheranensis	Matera.
Venusinus	Venosa.
Anglonensis s. Turcensis .	Anglona.
Potentinus	Potenza.
Gravinensis	Gravina.
Tricaricensis	Tricarico.
Tarentinus	Tarento, AB.
Montulensis	Montula.
Castellanatensis	Castellaneto.
Oritanus	Orta.
Brundusinus	Brindisi, AB.
Hostunensis	Ostuna.
Neritonensis	Nardo.
Monopolitanus	Monopoli.
Hydruntinus	Otranto, AB.
Castrensis	Castro.
Gallipotanus	Gallipoli.
Ugentinus	Ugento.
Lyciensis	Lecce.
Alessanensis	Alessano.
Barensis	Bari, AB.
Bituntinus	Bitonto.
Melphitensis	Malfetta.
Juvenacensis	Giovenazzo.
Rubensis	Runo.
Polignanensis	Polignano.
Minerbisiensis	Mondorvino.
Conversanus	Conversano.

Bitettensis	Bittetto.
Andriensis	Andri.
Vigiliensis	Bigeglia.
Tranensis	Trani, AB.
Montis Pilosi	Monte Piloso.
Rapollensis	Rapollo.
Sypontinus	Manfredonia, AB.
Vestanus	Veste.
Melphensis	Melfi.
Nazarenus (titular) in diocese of Trani	Nazareth, AB.
Rheginensis	Reggio, AB.
Neocastrensis	Nicastro.
Cathacensis	Catanzaro.
Cotrotensis	Cotrona.
Tropiensis	Tropia.
Oppidensis	Oppide.
Bovensis	Bove.
Hieracensis	Geraci.
Squilacensis	Squillace.
Castri Maris	Castel a mare.
Nicotorensis	Nicotera.
Cusentinus	Cosenza, AB.
Maturanensis	Martorana.
Cassanensis	Cassano.
Melitensis	Melito.
S. Marci	S. Marco, AB.
Rossanensis	Rossano.
Bisignanensis	Besignano, AB.
S. Severini	S. Severino.
Umbriaticensis	Umbriatico.
Strongulensis	Stongoli.

Insulanus	L'Isola.
Catiatensis	Cariati.
Bellicastrensis	Belcastro.
Panormitanus	Palermo, AB.
Agrigentinus	Girgenti.
Mazarensis	Mazara.
Melevitanus v. Meletensis .	Malta.
Montisrealis	Monreale, AB. (1183.)
Syracusanus	Syracuse.
Cataniensis	Catania.
Messanensis	Messina, AB.
Cephalucensis	Cephalonia.
Pactensis	Patti.
Liparensis	Lipari.
Antibarensis	Antivari, AB.
Stephanensis	Stephana.
Bondonensis	Bonda.
Albanensis	Albano.
Alexiensis	Alessio.
Scutarensis v. Scordensis .	Scutari.
Saparensis s. Sardunensis .	Sepata.
Prozrinensis	Prisceria.
Sardicensis	Soffia.
Buduarensis	Buda.
Culcinensis	Dulcigno.
Drivastrensis	Derivaste.
Suacinensis	Suacino.
Bullastrensis	Bolastro.
Sierbiensis	Serbia.
Ragusinus	Ragusa, AB.
Stagnensis	Stagno.
Mercanensis	Marcana.
Trebinensis v. Trebreniensis	Trebigne.

Rosonensis	Risano.
Corzolensis	Corzola.
Cattarensis	Cattaro.
Garzalensis	Gazzola.
Spalatrensis	Spalatro, AB.
Barensis	Lesina.
Traguriensis	Trau.
Sibenicensis	Sebenico.
Segniensis	Segna.
Scardonensis	Scardona.
Bosnensis	Cosna.
Samadiensis	Semederevo.
Modrissiensis	Modrussa.
Corbaviensis	Corbava.
Damnensis	Dumnoet.
Macorensis	Macarsa.
Jadrensis	Zara, AB.
Arbensis	Arbe.
Veglianensis	Veglia.
Auxarensis	Ossaro.
Nonensis	None.
Dinchiensis	Durazzo, AB.
Bendensis	Bender.
Crorensis	(Crojensis in Novo Epiro, Fabric. xiii. 44).
Lisiensis	Lissa.
Canoniensis v. Cunobiensis .	Canona.

Poland.

Gnesnensis	Geniezno, AB.
Vratislaviensis	Wroclaw.
Vradislaviensis	Wlocaw.
Lubussensis v. Lebusiensis .	Lubasa.
Vilnensis	Vilna.
Medinensis s. Mednicensis .	Zmudz.

Plocensis	Plock.
Cracoviensis	Cracow.
Prosnaniensis	Poznan.
Camanecensis	Kamcen.
Vilnensis	Vilenzks.
Vendensis	Widin.
Leopoliensis	Luvon or Lwow, AB. 1861.
Camenensis	Cammin.
Culmensis	Chelmno.
Varmiensis	Warmia.
Wlodomiciensis	Wlodzimirz.
Luceociensis	Lucko.
Polocensis	Polok.
Præmisliensis	Primisla or Pozomist.
Kiovensis	Kiow.
Chelmensis	Chelm.
Camenecensis	Kamienick.
Piscensis.	Pinsko.

Russia.

Rostoviensis	Rostow, AB.
Novogardiensis	Novogorod, AB.
Cortizensis	
Resaniensis	Resan.
Colomnensis	Colom.
Casaniensis	Casano.
Vologdensis	Volga.
Tueriensis	Tver.
Smolenciensis	Smolensko.

Bohemia.

Pragensis	Prague, AB. 1344.
Olonensis v. Olomucensis .	Olmütz.
Vratislaviensis	Breslau.

Hungary.

Strigonensis	Gran, AB. Primate.

Agriensis	Agria or Erla.
Nitriensis	Nitra.
Vaciensis	Vacz.
Laurinensis	Raab.
Quinque Ecclesiarum . .	Pets.
Vesprimiensis	Vesprin or Ursprin.
Colocensis	Colocza or Colotsa, AB.
Zabragiensis	Zabrag.
Vradiensis	Varad.
Chianadiensis	Chianad.
Sirmiensis	Szerem.
Bosniensis	Bosna.
Transylvaniæ s. Albæ Juliæ	Weissemburg.
Cibiniensis s. Hermanstadensis	Shern.
Trimiensis	Trimini.

Germany.

Moguntinus	Mayence, AB.
Eistatensis	Aichstet.
Herbipolensis	Wurtzburg.
Constantiensis	Cosnitz.
Curiensis	Cur.
Argentinensis	Strasburg.
Spirensis	Spires.
Wormatiensis	Worms.
Verdensis	Verdun.
Hildeshemensis	Hildesheim.
Paderbonensis	Paderborn.
Halbestadiensis	Halberstadt.
Augustanus	Augsburg.
Bambergensis	Bamberg.
Misnensis	Meissen.
Coloniensis	Cologne, AB.
Leodiensis	Liége.
Monasteriensis	Munster.

Mindensis	Minden.
Osnaburgensis	Osnaburg.
Bremensis	Bremen, AB.
Labacensis	Lambac, 1468.
Balduicensis	Bordwiss.
Selvicensis	Sleswick.
Rasebrugensis	Ratzemburg or Racesburg.
Lubicensis	Lubeck.
Culmensis	Culm.
Regensis s. Livoniensis . .	Riga.
Reualiensis	Revel.
Curiensis s. Garladensis . .	Gerlandt.
Oiselensis	Oesel.
Deptensis s. Topatensis . .	Dorpat.
Curomensis	Zwarin.
Magdeburgensis	Magdeburg, AB.
Havelburgensis	Havelberg.
Brandeburgensis	Brandenburg.
Merseburgensis	Mersaberg.
Ciczensis s. Naumburgensis .	Nuremberg.
Salseburgensis	Saltzburg (by Leo III.), AB.
Lavendrinus	Lavermonde.
Ratisponensis	Ratisbon.
Passaviensis	Passau.
Frizingensis	Freissingen.
Brizinensis	Brixen.
Gurgensis	Gurk, 1463.
Lavantinus	Lavantmutz, 1214.
Secoviensis	Seckau, 1214.
Chiemensis s. Kymensis . .	Chiemse, 1214.
Novæ Civitatis	Nieustadt, 1468.
Viennensis	Vienna.
Treverensis	Treves, AB.
Metensis	Metz.

Tullensis	Toul.
Verdunensis	Verdun.
Tarentasiensis	Tarentaise, AB.
Seduensis	Sedun.
Augustanus	Aosta.
Bisuntinus	Besançon, AB.
Basiliensis	Basle.
Lausanensis	Lausanne.
Bellicensis	Bellay.

France.

Lugdunensis	Lyons, AB.
Educensis s. Augustodunensis	Autun.
Matisconensis	Mâcon.
Cabillonensis	Châlons-sur-Saône.
Lingonensis	Langres.
Parisiensis	Paris, AB. 1622.
Carnotensis	Chartres.
Aurelianensis	Orleans.
Meldensis	Meaux.
Senonensis	Sens, AB.
Nivernensis	Nevers.
Autissidorensis	Auxerre.
Trecensis	Troyes.
Burdegalensis	Bordeaux, AB.
Pictaviensis	Poictiers.
Sanctonensis	Saincte.
Engolismensis	Angoulême.
Pebacoricensis	Perigueux.
Condanensis	Condon.
Malleacensis	Mallezec.
Agennensis	Agen.
Lucionensis	Luçon.

Sarlatensis	Sarlat.
Arelatensis	Arles, AB.
Massiliensis	Marseilles.
Arausicensis	Orange.
Tricastinensis	Tricastin.
Tolonensis	Toulon.
Aquensis	Aix, AB.
Aptensis	Apt.
Regensis	Riez.
Foro Juliensis	Frejus.
Vapincensis	Gap.
Sistariensis	Sisteron.
Viennensis	Vienne, AB.
Valentinus	Valence.
Vinariensis.	Vivarrais.
Diensis	Dié.
Gratianopolis	Grenoble.
Maurianensis	Maurienne.
Gabennensis s. Genevensis .	Geneva.
Ebredunensis	Embrun, AB.
Dignensis	Digne.
Niciensis	Nisse.
Grassensis s. Antinopolitanus	Grasse.
Glaudevensis	Claudesve.
Senetensis	Senez.
Venciensis	S. Pol de Vence.
Avenionensis	Avignon, AB.
Carpentoractensis	Carpentras.
Vasionensis	Vaison.
Cabellicensis s. Cabellionensis	Cavaillon.
Rhemensis	Rheims, AB.
Suessionensis	Soissons.

Cathaloneusis	Châlons-sur-Marne.
Silvanetensis	Senlis.
Tornacensis	Tournay.
Ambianensis	Amiens.
Morinensis	Terona.
Novionensis	Noyon.
Belluacensis	Beauvais.
Laudunensis	Laon.
Atrebatensis	Artois.
Rothamagensis	Rouen, AB.
Baiocensis	Bayeux.
Abrincensis	Avranches.
Ebriocensis	Evreux.
Sagiensis	Sais.
Lexoviensis	Lisieux.
Constantiensis	Coutances.
Turonensis	Tours, AB.
Cenomanensis	Mans.
Redonensis	Rennes.
Andegavensis	Angers.
Nannetensis	Nantes.
Corisopitensis	Cormorcailles.
Venetensis	Vennes.
Macloviensis	S. Malo.
Briocensis	S. Brieu.
Trecorensis	Trigeur.
Leonensis	S. Pol de Léon.
Dolensis	Dol.
Bituricensis	Bourges, AB.
Claromentensis	Clermont.
Ruthenensis	Rodez.
Cadurcensis	Cahors.
Lemovicensis	Limoges.
Mimatensis	Mende.
Albiensis	Alby.

Castrensis	Castres.
Vaotensis	Vauren.
Tutellensis	Tulles.
S. Flori	S. Fleur.
Aniciensis	Le Puy.
Auxitanus	Aux, AB.
Aquenensis	Aqs.
Lectoratensis	Letours.
Convenensis	S. Bertrand.
Conseranus	S. Leger.
Bigoricensis v. Tarviensis .	Tarbes.
Olorensis	Oleron.
Lascarensis	Lescar.
Vasatensis	Basas.
Baiovensis v. Lapurdencis .	Bayonne.
Adurensis	Aire.
Narbonensis	Narbonne, AB.
Carcassionensis	Carcassone.
Britercensis	Besiers.
Agathensis	Agde.
Ledovensis	Lodeve.
Nemausensis	Nismes.
Uticensis	Usez.
S. Pontii Tomeriarum . .	S. Pont.
Alectensis	Alex.
Montis Pepulani, 1536 . .	Montpelier.
Tholosanus	Toulouse, AB.
Mirapiscensis	Mirepoix.
Montalbiensis	Montauban.
Vaurensis	Vaure.
Rivensis	Rieux.
Lomberiensis	Lombet.
S. Pauli	S. Paul.
Appamiarum	Appames.

Spain.

Tarraconensis	Tarragona, AB.
Barcinonensis	Barcelona.
Gerundensis	Gerona.
Ilerdensis	Lerida.
Elnensis	Elna.
Vicensis	Vich.
Urgellensis	Urgell.
Dertusensis	Tortosa.
Solsonensis	Solsona.
Valentinus, 1492	Valencia, AB.
Segobricensis	Segorbe.
Oriolensis	Oreguela.
Maiorensis	Majorca.
Cæsaraugustanus (by John XXII.)	Saragossa, AB.
Oscensis	Heresca.
Jacensis	Iaca.
Terulensis	Teruel.
Tyrasonensis	Taragona.
Barbastrensis	Barbastro.
Albaracinensis	Albarracin.
Granatensis (by Alex. VI.) .	Granada, AB.
Malacitanus	Malaga.
Almeriensis	Almeria.
Hispalensis	Seville, AB.
Cadicensis	Cadiz.
Guadicensis	Guadix.
Canariensis	The Canaries.
Toletanus	Toledo, AB. Prim.
Cordubiensis	Cordova.
Segobiensis	Segovia.
Carthaginensis s. Murciensis	Cartagena or Murcia.

Murcensis	Murcia.
Saguntinus	Seguença.
Oxomensis v. Uxamensis .	Osma.
Conchensis v. Conquensis .	Cuenca.
Giennensis	Jaen.
Abulensis	Avila.
Vallisoletanus	Valladolid.
Burgensis (by Gregory XIII.)	Burgos, AB.
Pampilonensis	Pampeluna.
Calaguritanus	Calahorra.
Calceatensis	Calcada.
Palentinus	Palencia.
Compostellanus, 1124 . .	Compostella, AB.
Salamantinus	Salamanca.
Placentinus	Placentia.
Lercensis	Lergo.
Asturicensis	Asterga.
Zamotensis	Zamora, 1123.
Auriensis	Orense.
Pacensis	Tui.
Mondeniensis	Mondenedo.
Curiensis	Cerja.
Civitatensis	Ciudad Rodrigo.
Legionensis	Leon.
Ovetensis v. Poritoneniensis	Oviedo.
Septensis	Ceuta.

Portugal.

Bracarensis v. Emeritensis .	Braga, AB. Metrop.
Portugalensis	Oporto.
Visensis	Visen.
Concinbriensis	Coimbra.
Mirandensis, 1545 . . .	Miranda.
Ulixbonensis v. Olysiponensis, 1390	Lisbon, AB.

Egitanensis v. Igætidanus .	Guarda.
Albensis	Elvas.
Lamacensis	Lamego.
Leriensis	Leirca.
Portalegrensis	Portalegre.
Septensis (1475)	Ceuta.
Funchalensis	Funchal.
Angrensis	Angra.
Congrensis	Congo.
Capitis Viridis	Cape Verde.
S. Thomæ	St. Thomas.
Brasiliensis	Brazil.
Elborensis (Algarva by Paul III.)	Evora, AB.
Silvensis s. Faraonensis . .	Faro.
Tingitanus	Tangier.
Eluensis (by Pius V.) . .	Elvas.
Goensis (by Paul III.) . .	Goa, AB. Prim.
Coccinensis	Cochin China.
Malacensis	Malacca.
Sinensis	China.
Machiensis	Macao.
Japonensis (by Sixtus V.) .	Japan.
Malahanensis	Malaham.
Meliaporensis	Meleapor.
S. Thomæ	St. Thomas.
Angamalensis v. Granganorensis, AB.	[Malabar.]
Mexicanus, 1547	Mexico, AB.
Tlazcalensis s. Angelopolitanus	Tlazcala.
Mechoacanensis	Mechoacan.
Antiquerensis v. Guaiacensis	Antequere.
Guadalaxerensis	Guadalaxara.

Guatimalensis	Guatemala.
Jucatanensis	Yucatan.
Chiappensis	Chiapo.
Trixillensis	Truxillo.
Veræ Pacis	Vera Paz.
Nicaraguensis	Nicaragua.
Novæ Galliciæ	Guadalajara.
Novæ Calabriæ.	
Hondurensis	S. Salvador.
S. Dominici, 1545 . . .	S. Domingo, AB.
B. Joannis de Portu v. Portus Divitis	Porto Rico.
S. Jacobi in Cuba . . .	Santiago.
Venenzolanus v. Caraquensis	Venezuela.
Jamaicensis	Jamaica.
Cubrensis	Cuba.
Vegencis	Porto Vejo.
Limensis (by Paul III.), 1547	Lima, AB.
Cuscencis v. Cuzquensis . .	Cuzco.
Quitensis (by Paul III.) .	Quito.
Panamensis	Panama.
Chilensis	Chili.
Imperialis	Imperial Cividad.
Arequipensis v. Arepurpensis	Arequipa.
Guamanganensis	Guamanga.
Trugillensis	Truxillo.
S. Jacobi.	
S. Conceptionis	Conception.
Platensis s. Argentinus (by Paul V.)	La Plata, AB.
Pacensis	De la Paz.
Barracensis	Barranca.
S. Jacobi Esterensis . . .	Santiago.
Bonorum Aërum s. Fluminis Argentei	Rio de la Plata. Buenos Ayres.

Paraguanensis	Paraguay.
S. Fidei	S. Fé de Bogotá, AB.
Popayanensis	Popayan.
Carthaginensis	Cartagena.
S. Marthæ	S. Marta.
Manilianus, 1545	Manilla, AB.
Segoviæ Novæ	Luzon.
Nominis Jesu	Zebu.
Carcerensis v. Caurensis .	C. Vueva Carres.

Denmark.

Lundensis	Lund, AB. 1092; Primate 1159.
Viburgensis	Viborg.
Arosia	Aarhus.
Ripa	Ribe.
Othonium	Odensee.
Burglavensis	Aalborg.

Sweden.

Upsallensis	Upsala, AB. (by Eugenius III.), 1148.
Scarensis, 1026	Schara.
Lincopensis	Lincoping.
Stiruniensis	Strengnas.
Aboënsis	Abo.
Vellimensis	Vellimen.

Norway.

Nidriosiensis	Drontheim (by Eugenius III.), AB. 1148.
Bergensis	Bergen.
Stavagiensis	Stavengar.
Hamariensis v. Hamarcopiensis	Hammar.

Ansloensis	Ansloe.
Holamensis v. Hemetensis .	Holum.
Gronelandensis	Greenland.
Scalholtanus	Scalholt, Iceland.
Groenaladensis	Greenland.
Farensis	Faro Isles.

Belgium, Holland.

Cameracensis, 1558 . . .	Cambray, AB.
Atrebatensis	Arras.
Tornacensis	Tournay.
Namurcensis	Namur.
Audamarensis	St. Omer.
Gandavensis	Ghent.
Burgensis	Bruges.
Iprensis	Ypres.
Boscoducensis	Bois-le-duc.
Ruræmundensis	Ruremond.
Ultrajectensis	Utrecht, AB.
Harlemensis	Haarlem.
Daventriensis	Deventer.
Leovardiensis	Leuwarden.
Grœningensis	Middleburg.
Mechlinensis	Mechlin, AB. Prim.
Antwerpiensis	Antwerp.

Mr. Stubbs likewise mentions the following titular sees held by suffragans in England :—

Navatensis	Pavada.
Solubriensis	Selymbria [Thrace].
Tinensis	Tenos.
Sirmium	Cyrene [or Szerem].
Raonensis	Rheon [Athens].
Aviensis.	

Magnatiensis	[? Magnetensis, in Portugal].
Lycostomium.	
Aurensis	[? Auriensis, in Spain].
Recreensis.	
B. Mariæ de Rosis.	
Naturensis, in the province of Heraclea.	
Chrysopolis	[? Besançon, Fabric. xii. 38], or Naples.
Ayubonensis.	
Poletensis	[? Pulati.]
Lambergensis.	
Lambrensis.	
Cananagiensis.	
Prestinensis	[? Pristinensis, in Servia.]
Miliensis	[? Melito, or Militensis, in Calabria.]
Sevastopolis	[? Sebastopol, in Thrace.]
Pharensis	[? Phariensis, in Armenia.]
Ancoradensis.	
Soltaniensis, in Media.	
Surronensis.	
Arlatensis.	
Olensis	Holum.
Olenensis	[? Olence in Achaia, or Olovensis Oleron.]
Salonensis	[? in Achaia.]

MÉMOIRE SUR LA DÉCOUVERTE ET L'ANTIQUITÉ DU *CODEX SINAÏTICUS*.

PAR M. CONST. TISCHENDORF.

(Lu à la séance du 15 février 1865.)

Je ne saurais commencer ce discours, auquel le Conseil de la Société Royale de Littérature a bien voulu m'inviter, sans dire d'abord combien je suis heureux d'assister aujourd'hui à une réunion de cette illustre société qui, il y a cinq ans, me fit l'honneur de me nommer un de ses membres honoraires. Cette précieuse distinction me fut accordée à l'occasion de la découverte de la Bible du Sinaï; c'est pour moi une raison de plus de me féliciter d'avoir aujourd'hui à parler devant vous de cette même découverte.

Pendant que j'étais occupé à préparer ma première édition critique du Nouveau Testament grec en 1839 et 1840, je parvins à la conviction qu'il n'y avait rien de plus important à faire pour l'avancement de la Critique Sacrée que d'entreprendre des travaux nouveaux et consciencieux sur les plus anciens documents Bibliques. C'est par cette raison que je commençai dans l'automne de l'an 1840, sous les auspices du Gouvernement de Saxe, une série de voyages dont le but était de visiter toutes les bibliothèques riches en manuscrits

Cod. Sinaiticus.
II. Fragm. ligamenti Porfir

que possède l'Europe. Après avoir passé quatre ans dans ces recherches, fécondes en résultats importants, je résolus de parcourir aussi les couvents d'Orient, dont l'Europe a reçu en héritage les plus riches trésors de ses bibliothèques; je ne croyais pas impossible d'y découvrir encore quelques restes précieux.

Au mois d'avril 1844 je m'embarquai pour l'Égypte; le mois suivant j'allai au Mont Sinaï, pour visiter le couvent de Sainte-Catherine, qui, depuis sa fondation par l'empereur Justinien, vers A.D. 530 n'a souffert aucune dévastation. En parcourant la bibliothèque de ce couvent, j'y aperçus un gros panier, rempli de débris d'anciens manuscrits. J'en retirai, à ma grande surprise, une quantité de feuillets du plus grand format, contenant des fragments de l'Ancien Testament en Grec. Ayant examiné, en vue d'une nouvelle Paléographie grecque, tous les plus anciens manuscrits grecs de l'Europe, il me fut facile de reconnaître à première vue que ces fragments étaient de la plus haute antiquité. Comme ils se trouvaient dans un panier dont tout le contenu avait été deux fois mis au feu, à ce que me raconta le bibliothécaire qui m'accompagnait, j'obtins facilement que quelques-uns des fragments, consistant en cent trente feuilles, me fussent cédés. Mais quand plus tard je demandai le reste, je rencontrai des difficultés. J'en copiai alors une page, à quatre colonnes, contenant la fin du prophète Isaïe avec les premiers versets du prophète Jérémie, et, tout en me réservant le plaisir de revenir une autre fois au Mont Sinaï, je recommandai instamment de bien conserver tous les fragments qui restaient, (il s'y trouvait le texte de plusieurs prophètes, les livres des Maccabées, de Tobit et de Judith,) ainsi que tous les débris

semblables qu'on pourrait encore découvrir ; en effet un reste d'une ancienne reliure attaché à quelques feuilles m'avait fait supposer qu'il devait en rester encore d'autres fragments. A mon retour en Saxe je cédai à la bibliothèque de l'Université de Leipsic tous les manuscrits que j'avais rapportés de l'Orient, y compris les précieux restes Sinaïtiques, auxquels j'eus la satisfaction d'attacher le nom du Roi de Saxe, Frédéric-Auguste.[1] Je les publiai immédiatement, en donnant tout le texte de quarante-trois feuilles lithographié sur huit colonnes.[2]

Malgré toute la publicité que je donnai à ce trésor, je gardai le secret du lieu d'où il provenait : car je poursuivais activement les négociations entamées pour l'acquisition des autres fragments restés au couvent. J'en offris une somme considérable, en priant un ami influent au Caire de me servir d'intermédiaire. Mais il m'écrivit à ce sujet : " Depuis votre départ du couvent, on y sait bien qu'on possède un trésor. (Il est vrai que je n'avais su déguiser ce que je pensai du manuscrit.) Il serait inutile d'offrir une pareille somme. Plus vous offrirez, moins on cédera le MS." A la suite de ces renseignements je pris la résolution

[1] Un catalogue des autres MSS., dits Manuscripta Tischendorfiana, se trouve dans l'ouvrage : Anecdota sacra et profana ex oriente et occidente allata, sive Notitia codicum Græcorum, Arabicorum, Syriacorum, Copticorum, Hebraicorum, Æthiopicorum, Latinorum, cum excerptis multis maximam partem Græcis et 35 scripturarum antiquissimarum speciminibus. (1855.) Editio repetita pluribusque additamentis aucta. (1860.)

[2] L'ouvrage porte ce titre : Codex Friderico-Augustanus, sive Fragmenta Veteris Testamenti e codice Græco omnium qui in Europa supersunt facile antiquissimo. In oriente detexit, in patriam attulit, ad modum codicis edidit C. T. 1846.

de faire un second voyage en Orient, principalement dans le but de copier le manuscrit du Sinaï, dont je confiai alors le secret au ministre de Saxe, le Baron de Beust. Au commencement du mois de février 1853 je me trouvai pour la seconde fois au couvent de Sainte-Catherine. Mais ce fut en vain cette fois que je cherchai mon trésor ; il me fut même impossible d'en obtenir des renseignements. C'est ce qui me fit supposer qu'il était déjà parti du couvent pour quelque bibliothèque d'Europe. Bien que j'eusse manqué le principal but de mon voyage, je revins satisfait, emportant avec moi une riche collection d'anciens et importants MSS., parmi lesquels se trouvaient seize palimpsestes et six manuscrits coptes, grecs et hiéroglyphiques sur papyrus. L'année suivante, en publiant le premier volume de mes "Monumenta Sacra Inedita, Nova Collectio,"[3] je jugeai à propos d'éditer aussi le fragment d'Isaïe et de Jérémie, copié par moi en 1844 au couvent du Sinaï, pour déclarer à cette occasion que tous les autres fragments du même manuscrit, dont j'indiquai le contenu, dans quelque mains qu'ils fussent tombés depuis, avaient été aussi retirés par moi du malheureux panier et sauvés par mes soins pour la postérité.

Mais la Providence en avait disposé autrement. Tout occupé que j'étais alors de différentes publications, entr'autres de la septième édition du Nouveau Testament ("editio VII, critica major") qui réclamait de fortes études, l'idée de nouvelles recherches en Orient ne me quittait pas ; un pressentiment, dont je ne savais me rendre compte, m'entraînait de nouveau dans cette

[3] Trois volumes de cette collection furent publiés en 1855, 1857, 1860. Cinq autres volumes suivront incessamment.

direction. Plusieurs raisons me portèrent à proposer au Gouvernement Impérial de la Russie de me charger d'une mission scientifique en Orient, dont je présentai, par l'intermédiaire du Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Russie à Dresde, un plan détaillé à M. de Noroff, alors Ministre de l'Instruction publique en Russie et avantageusement connu par ses propres travaux scientifiques. Presque deux années, pendant lesquelles j'étais parvenu à achever la septième édition du Nouveau Testament, s'étaient écoulées, lorsque Sa Majesté Impériale Alexandre II, grâce à l'entremise de l'Impératrice Marie, me chargea de la mission que j'avais proposée.

Ce fut dans les premiers jours de l'an 1859 que je quittai Leipsic pour l'Égypte. Le dernier jour de janvier je saluai pour la troisième fois le couvent de Sainte-Catherine, au pied du Mont Sinaï. Le digne supérieur du couvent, Dionyse, touché de la mission qui m'amenait, m'accueillit en disant: Dieu veuille que vous trouviez de nouvelles colonnes pour soutenir la Vérité Divine! Je fis des recherches dans les différentes bibliothèques du couvent; elles furent couronnées d'heureux résultats, sans que je pusse toutefois rencontrer les précieuses feuilles de 1844. Le 4 février je fis avec l'Économe du couvent une promenade dans les environs. Notre entretien roulait beaucoup sur les LXX, dont j'avais apporté plusieurs exemplaires aux Frères Sinaïtes, ainsi que du Nouveau Testament. Quand nous rentrâmes au couvent, l'Économe me pria de prendre quelques raffraîchissements dans sa cellule. J'y étais entré et prenais un verre de liqueur, lorsque l'Économe alla dans un coin de sa cellule et avec ces mots: "J'ai aussi là un exemplaire des LXX," en rapporta un objet enveloppé d'un drap, qu'il plaça

devant moi sur la table. J'ouvre le drap et vois devant moi la Bible du Sinaï. Mais c'était bien plus que les feuilles retirées autrefois par moi du panier; en feuilletant je m'aperçus tout de suite qu'il s'y trouvait même le Nouveau Testament tout entier.[4] Je pus à peine maîtriser la plus profonde émotion; je demandai la permission de porter tout le paquet dans ma chambre. Quand je m'y trouvai seul, j'eus peine à croire que ce qui se passait était bien réel; je tenais dans mes mains la moitié de l'Ancien Testament, le Nouveau Testament complet, enrichi encore de l'épître de S. Barnabé et de fragments du Pasteur d'Hermas. Tous mes rêves les plus hardis étaient dépassés; j'avais la certitude d'avoir trouvé le plus important manuscrit du monde chrétien, une véritable "colonne pour soutenir la Vérité Divine." Il était passé huit heures du soir; une lampe à deux petites flammes éclairait ma chambre; quoiqu'il fit assez froid, il avait même gelé dans la matinée, il n'y avait aucun moyen de chauffage. Me trouvant cependant dans l'impossibilité de me coucher ou de dormir, je me mis à copier l'épître de S. Barnabé, dont toute la première partie, perdue jusqu'alors en Grec, n'était connue que par un manuscrit latin très-fautif. J'étais certain qu'il me faudrait copier tout le manuscrit, si je ne pouvais obtenir l'original. A peine fit-il jour que j'appelai l'Économe chez moi. Le Supérieur s'étant rendu deux jours auparavant au Caire pour l'élection d'un nouvel Archevêque, le manus-

[4] L'augmentation de mes feuilles avait eu lieu bientôt après mon départ du couvent en 1844. On avait trouvé les autres fragments dans une autre bibliothèque du couvent; et il était impossible de ne pas reconnaître qu'ils provenaient de ce même manuscrit, dont les restes avaient été par moi si chaleureusement recommandés au couvent.

crit ne pouvait m'être confié tout de suite ; je m'empressai donc de partir pour le Caire pour y rejoindre le Supérieur Dionyse avec ses collègues. J'arrivai au Caire le 13 septembre ; les Supérieurs que j'y trouvai réunis accueillirent ma demande si favorablement, qu'ils envoyèrent le jour même un de leurs Cheiks Bédouins pour rapporter le manuscrit. Le 24 février ils vinrent chez moi avec le manuscrit, dont, sans perdre un seul jour, je commençai la copie. Ce travail était énorme ; il s'agissait de 110,000 lignes avec une infinité d'anciennes corrections dans le texte primitif. Pendant que j'y travaillais, je tâchai de gagner les Supérieurs à l'idée de faire hommage de l'original à l'Empereur Alexandre II, comme patron et soutien de la Foi Orthodoxe. Un jour un jeune voyageur anglais, auquel quelque personne de ma connaissance avait communiqué ma découverte, alla au couvent pour voir le manuscrit. Non content de le voir, il fit même des offres pour l'acheter. A mon retour le lendemain, on me raconta ce qui s'était passé. "Eh bien," demandai-je, "qu'avez-vous répondu à ces offres ?" "Nous aimons mieux," dirent-ils, "en faire hommage à l'Empereur que de le vendre pour de l'or Anglais." Je ne manquai pas de faire connaître à S.M. l'Empereur Alexandre ce noble trait de dévouement pour lui des Frères Sinaïtes.

Mais à cette époque les affaires de la confrérie s'embrouillaient ; tous les députés des différents couvents des Sinaïtes avaient fait à l'unanimité l'élection d'un nouvel Archevêque ; le Patriarche de Jérusalem s'y opposait et refusait de le consacrer, comme c'était depuis longtemps l'usage. Ils esperaient que dans trois mois tout serait arrangé et qu'alors le nouvel Archevêque pour-

rait disposer du manuscrit en ma faveur. J'allai donc à Jérusalem, où j'entrai au même moment que le Grand-Duc Constantin, qui prit le plus vif intérêt à mes recherches. De Jérusalem j'allai à Smyrne et à l'île de Patmos ; puis je revins au Caire. A ma grande surprise les affaires n'avaient fait que se compliquer ; l'opposition du Patriarche à l'élection de l'Archevêque restait inébranlable.

Je résolus d'aller à Constantinople pour appuyer les intérêts du couvent auprès de l'Ambassadeur Russe. Le Prince Lobanoff témoigna une vive sympathie pour mon affaire ; mais les obstacles étaient plus forts que toute intercession. La Porte, bien que pleinement convaincue des droits du couvent, auxquels le Patriarche portait une grave atteinte, croyait de son devoir de laisser à l'Église la décision des affaires de l'Église. Après cinq semaines d'inutiles efforts, il devint évident que le seul moyen d'arriver au but, était d'aller engager l'Archevêque à se rendre lui-même à Constantinople pour demander la reconnaissance des droits des Sinaïtes au saint Synode, qui devait se composer des Patriarches, Archevêques et Évêques présents à Constantinople. Ce fut avec cette proposition que je partis de Constantinople. Je proposai en même temps au couvent de me céder provisoirement le manuscrit pour le transporter sans retard à Saint-Pétersbourg, afin d'en pouvoir exécuter l'édition la plus correcte. Le 27 septembre j'étais de retour au Caire ; le 28 septembre, au matin, les supérieurs et frères, après m'avoir exprimé tous leurs remercîments, accédèrent à mes propositions et avec une confiance touchante placèrent la Bible du Sinaï dans mes mains.[5]

[5] De son côté, l'Archevêque obtint en effet sa consécration au mois de décembre par le saint Synode. Le Patriarche de Jérusalem resta seul en opposition.

Je partis pour l'Europe par le premier bateau du Lloyd d'Autriche; après avoir passé par la Saxe j'arrivai au mois de novembre à Saint-Pétersbourg, où l'Empereur et l'Impératrice daignèrent me recevoir avec la plus grande bienveillance. Une exposition de la Bible du Sinaï et de tous les précieux manuscrits rapportés par moi[6] eut lieu pendant quinze jours dans les salles de la Bibliothèque Impériale; le Grand-Duc Constantin et son auguste épouse s'y rendirent le premier jour. L'Empereur chargea son Ministre de l'Instruction publique, M. de Kovalevsky, de s'entendre avec moi pour la publication de la Bible du Sinaï. Je rédigeai un mémoire à cet effet; l'Empereur approuva celle de mes propositions à laquelle j'attachai le plus d'importance. Ne pouvant consentir à me fixer à Saint-Pétersbourg, j'emportai, lors de mon départ à Noël, une partie du manuscrit à Leipsic, pour y préparer immédiatement les caractères qui devaient servir à l'impression ou plutôt à la reproduction de l'original. De retour à Saint-Pétersbourg, au mois de mars 1860, je proposai encore au Gouvernement de l'Empereur que l'ouvrage parût à l'occasion du Jubilé millénaire de la Russie. L'Empereur approuva pleinement cette idée. Je travaillai donc de toutes mes forces pour pouvoir compléter jusqu'à l'an du Jubilé 1862 ce grand ouvrage, qui aurait pu occuper bien des années.

Malgré la hâte que nécessitait un terme aussi court,

[6] Cette collection se composait de 12 Palimpsestes, 20 MSS. Grecs en lettres onciales et 18 en lettres minuscules, 9 MSS. Syriaques, 11 MSS. Coptes, 7 MSS. Arabes et un MS. Turc, 9 MSS. Hébreux et 2 Samaritains, 11 MSS. Abyssiniens, 5 Arméniens et quelques fragments Slavons. Elle renfermait aussi plusieurs Antiquités Égyptiennes et Grecques; de plus un grand Papyrus en Hiéroglyphes et un Papyrus Grec sur le Philosophe Secundus.

le résultat dépassa toutes les tentatives précédentes, la typographie n'a jamais produit—sans même excepter le Manuscrit Alexandrin publié par M. Baber sous les auspices de Georges III[7]—d'imitation aussi scrupuleuse d'un ancien original. Je ne me suis pas contenté d'imiter par deux alphabets, taillés d'après des épreuves photographiques, les différentes écritures du manuscrit, mais j'y ai ajouté des formes particulières pour toutes les variétés qui s'y présentent, de sorte qu'il y a jusqu'à six, sept, huit formes différentes pour la même lettre ; les rapprochements de quelques lettres y sont exprimés, aussi bien que les distances d'une lettre à l'autre : je fis exécuter pour cela deux à trois cent mille lignes fines de métal, destinées à être intercalées partout d'après la mesure des intervalles. De même tous les signes et toutes les arabesques qui se trouvent dans le manuscrit, ont été exactement reproduits.

En outre, afin de mettre à même tous les savants de contrôler l'exactitude de l'imitation typographique, afin de faire connaître toutes les particularités paléographiques de l'original, les nuances d'écriture qui résultent de ce que quatre calligraphes se sont distribué la copie de cette Bible, de même que les écritures des anciens correcteurs, qui en plus de douze mille passages ont changé le texte primitif, et de plus pour mettre sous les yeux des savants beaucoup de passages d'une importance spéciale, j'ai ajouté au texte dix-neuf feuilles photographiées et lithographiées. Enfin, pour faciliter la comparaison des écritures Sinaïtiques avec d'autres écritures Grecques de la plus haute anti-

[7] J'ai parlé longuement de ce travail, exécuté de 1814 à 1828, dans les Prolégomènes de mes édd. des LXX. (Ed. III, Lipsiæ, 1860.) Les frais de la publication se sont élevés à 30,000 livres sterling.

quité, j'ai donné, d'après mes propres collections entreprises depuis 1840, deux tables lithographiques, représentant trente-six manuscrits, à partir des écritures sur papyrus d'Herculanum. Des Prolégomènes étendus sur toutes les questions importantes que soulève ce manuscrit unique à tant d'égards, remplissent le premier volume de l'ouvrage ; ils sont suivis d'un commentaire sur quinze mille passages, dans lequel sont indiquées ou expliquées les corrections provenant de tant de mains différentes.

Vers la fin du mois d'octobre je me mis en route pour Saint-Pétersbourg, suivi de tous les 325 exemplaires de l'édition, pesant chacun trente-trois livres. Le 10 novembre j'eus l'honneur de présenter l'ouvrage à Leurs Majestés Impériales, qui daignèrent lui faire un accueil gracieux. Le Ministère de l'Instruction publique était passé alors depuis quelques mois aux mains de M. de Golovnine ; sur sa proposition la destination exclusive de l'ouvrage à des présents Impériaux fut modifiée, en tant que 225 exemplaires furent réservés à l'Empereur et 100 me furent donnés à moi-même, afin que les bibliothèques qui n'en recevraient pas d'exemplaire de la libéralité de l'Empereur pussent en faire l'acquisition par la voie de la librairie. Toutefois les donations, que j'avais proposées dans une liste dont j'avais été chargé auparavant, ont été approuvées et exécutées pour la plupart en faveur des Universités et grandes bibliothèques d'Europe.

Après ce rapport sur la découverte et l'édition de la Bible du Sinaï,[8] que j'ai tâché de ne pas rendre trop

[8] La partie du manuscrit qui contient le Nouveau Testament, y compris l'épître de S. Barnabé et les fragments du Pasteur d'Hermas, fut publié séparément à Pâques 1863. Cette édition, tout en repro-

étendu, permettez-moi, Messieurs, de vous présenter quelques remarques sur l'antiquité et l'importance de ce manuscrit.

Il est inutile de chercher au couvent même des renseignements sur l'âge du manuscrit. Comment un manuscrit dont presque toute la première moitié a péri et dont des restes aussi considérables ont échappé de si près au feu, pourrait-il avoir gardé une place dans les annales, dans les traditions du couvent? Mais il y a un fait qui prouve évidemment qu'il a appartenu depuis bien des siècles au couvent de Sainte-Catherine: c'est que quelques restes mutilés du manuscrit, fragments des livres de Moïse, ont été retirés en 1861 par l'archimandrite Porfiri d'anciennes reliures d'autres manuscrits du couvent des Sinaïtes.[9] Vous avez, Messieurs, ces reliques sous les yeux; l'archimandrite Porfiri a bien voulu me les envoyer à ma demande.[10]

duisant le texte page pour page, ligne pour ligne, tel qu'il se trouve dans l'original, était destinée à l'usage commun des philologues et des théologiens. Tous les 1,000 exemplaires de cette édition ayant été épuisés en peu de mois, je fis paraître vers la fin de l'an 1864 une nouvelle édition du Nouveau Testament, portant ce titre: Novum Testamentum Græce. Ex Sinaitico codice omnium antiquissimo Vaticana itemque Elzeviriana lectione notata edidit C.T. Cum tabula.

[9] Il y a beaucoup de restes des plus anciens manuscrits qui sont parvenus jusqu'à nous par suite de ce travail des relieurs du Moyen-Age. J'ai eu moi-même le bonheur d'en trouver plusieurs de cette sorte du Sixième et du Septième Siècle.

[10] L'Archimandrite Porfiri a visité, à deux reprises, le couvent de Sainte-Catherine: en 1845 (l'année après ma découverte) et en 1850, et il avait eu connaissance pendant ce séjour de la Bible du Sinaï. Il en a donné même quelques notices dans un ouvrage Russe, publié à Saint-Pétersbourg 1856. Au mois de septembre 1859 le Prince Lobanoff, dont j'étais alors l'hôte à Bujukdéré, me communiqua le passage de cet ouvrage qui se rapporte au manuscrit du Sinaï. J'en ai rendu compte dans mes différentes éditions du texte Sinaïtique

Mais pour établir la date du manuscrit, nous n'avons qu'à consulter la paléographie et l'histoire du Texte Sacré. Toutes les deux concourent à démontrer que le manuscrit du Sinaï doit être regardé comme le plus ancien de tous les manuscrits grecs sur parchemin que nous connaissions, et qu'il remonte très-probablement à l'époque d'Eusèbe (mort en 340). Occupons-nous en premier lieu de l'écriture. L'onciale du texte Sinaïtique se distingue par une pureté et simplicité extrême ; on n'y remarque pas la moindre altération du véritable type oncial carré et rond, bien qu'il y ait peu de lignes qui ne présentent à la fin des lettres contractées ou de forme amincie. La même pureté de l'onciale se remarque aussi dans la Bible du Vatican et dans l'Octateuque de Sarravius. On la retrouve encore à peu d'exceptions près dans quelques autres de

Voy. N. T. ex Sinaitico codice, etc. page xiv. "Licet autem ille per totum librum suum multis modis virum se doctissimum peritissimumque probaverit, neque codicem rem pretiosam esse ignoraverit, tamen quæ de scriptura notavit, de ætate, de textu, in errore versantur pleraque, neque magis sensit, ut de reliquis taceam, quantum litteris Christianis incrementum adlatura essent sola folia extrema quattuordecim, quibus tota Barnabæ epistula cum Pastoris fragmentis continetur. Quæ quidem non impediunt quominus gaudeamus quod doctus Archimandrita eiusdem gentis, ad quam nostra opera tantus rei Christianæ thesaurus pervenit, primus de eo et quidem patrio sermone suo commentatus est." Un officier Anglais a eu aussi la satisfaction de voir le manuscrit pendant qu'il était encore au couvent. Voy. Tregelles : Additions to the Fourth Volume of the Introduction to the Holy Scriptures by the Rev. T. H. Horne, p. 775 : "A little later (after Porfiri), perhaps, Major Macdonald described a very ancient MS. which he had seen at Mount Sinai, containing the New Testament in early uncial characters, which he stated distinctly to be attributed to the fourth century. Major Macdonald also mentioned the manner in which the monks destroyed by fire ancient MSS."

nos plus anciens manuscrits ; mais elle fait défaut, par suite du mélange, bien rare il est vrai, de formes altérées, même dans le manuscrit Alexandrin de Londres, dans l'un des deux Évangiles Palimpsestes de Wolfenbüttel, dans la Genèse de Vienne, dans l'un des deux MSS. de Dioscoride à Vienne (du commencement du sixième siècle). Pour le manuscrit Sinaïtique l'argument fondé sur le caractère primitif de l'écriture onciale se présente avec d'autant plus de force qu'il n'y a pas eu moins de quatre calligraphes qui se sont distribué la copie de cette Bible, sans qu'aucun d'eux se soit éloigné du type essentiel de cette écriture.[11]

[11] Pour renseignements plus explicites sur les particularités de l'écriture, je dois renvoyer les lecteurs aux Prolégomènes de mes éditions du manuscrit et aux vingt-et-une tables qui font un des ornements de la grande édition Impériale. Montfaucon, qu'on aime à regarder comme autorité pour la détermination de l'âge des manuscrits grecs, n'avait vu pour sa paléographie que vingt à trente manuscrits onciaux. J'ai eu le bonheur d'en examiner de deux à trois cents et de m'en occuper pendant vingt-cinq années en vue d'une nouvelle Paléographie grecque. Toutefois il est intéressant de voir que Montfaucon regardait le MS. de Sarravius comme le plus ancien de tous ; et ce manuscrit (publié par moi dans le troisième volume des "Monumenta Sacra inedita, 1860") est en effet un des deux qui se rapprochent le plus du manuscrit Sinaïtique. C'est encore cette expérience pratique de la paléographie grecque qui, au mois de janvier 1856, me fit découvrir à première vue la fraude des palimpsestes de Simonides, qui avaient trompé tant de savants distingués. Voir : Enthüllungen über den Simonides-Dindorfschen Uranios. Zweite zu einem Geschichtsabriss über Simonides, den Hermastext und das Leipzig-Berliner Palimpsest erweiterte sowie mit Berichten und paläographischen Erläuterungen Prof. Tischendorfs und anderer vermehrte Auflage. Von Alex. Lycurgos. Leipzig, 1856. Si l'on avait connu ce petit livre en Angleterre, lorsque le fameux artiste lança dans le *Guardian* du 3 sept. 1862 sa sotte fable relative au manuscrit du Sinaï, on n'aurait probablement pas eu la patience de s'en occuper un seul moment.

Le manuscrit du Sinaï ne connaît pas encore l'usage des lettres initiales, bien qu'il se trouve dans tous nos autres MSS. de la plus haute antiquité,[12] excepté les papyrus, la Bible du Vatican et l'Octateuque de Sarravius.

La ponctuation y est très-simple et très-rare. Il y a des colonnes entières du texte qui n'ont pas un seul point; voyez par exemple les premières feuilles du Codex Frid.-August., qui n'ont pas subi d'autres corrections que celles du premier correcteur; il n'y a que quelques feuilles du Nouveau Testament qui présentent quelques exceptions à cette règle. Mais dans une infinité de passages la ponctuation a été ajoutée par des mains postérieures.

Le texte de chaque page, à l'exception des livres écrits d'après le plus ancien usage en vers, est divisé en quatre colonnes. Il n'y a pas d'autre exemple de cet arrangement; dans la Bible du Vatican et dans quelques autres manuscrits le texte est divisé en trois colonnes. La disposition du manuscrit du Sinaï nous rappelle les rouleaux de papyrus, dont on s'est servi généralement jusqu'au Quatrième Siècle.[13] Ce fut, sans doute, un de ces rouleaux de papyrus qui servit de modèle aux calligraphes du manuscrit Sinaïtique. Ce qui montre que l'original a été copié par eux ligne pour ligne; c'est qu'en plusieurs endroits ils ont omis exactement une de ces lignes ou même deux ou trois.[14]

[12] Quant à quelques fragments de peu d'étendue, le jugement n'est pas parfaitement sûr.

[13] S. Jérôme, ép. 34 (141), nous rapporte qu'on restaura de son temps la bibliothèque de Pamphile à Césarée, en remplaçant le papyrus par le parchemin.

[14] Voyez des exemples dans les Prolégomènes du Nov. Test. ex Sinaitico codice, etc., p. lvii.

Les lettres qui servent à marquer les cahiers du MS. (*quaterniones*) portent l'empreinte de l'écriture grecque des papyrus. Contrairement à l'usage grec, deux consonnes ne se trouvent jamais en tête de la ligne, excepté $\theta\mu$, ce qui s'accorde parfaitement avec l'usage des papyrus Coptes.

La haute antiquité du manuscrit se trouve confirmée par le grand nombre des correcteurs successifs, dont les dix premiers se servent encore de l'écriture onciale; un onzième au XIIme siècle n'a ajouté que quelques corrections en lettres minuscules. Parmi ces correcteurs il y en a un de la fin du huitième ou du commencement du neuvième siècle, qui a restauré sur beaucoup de pages molles l'écriture effacée. La date de cette ancienne restauration n'admet guère de doute ; en effet le restaurateur a ajouté des notes Grecques et Arabes, dont les premières s'accordent parfaitement avec les écritures de l'époque que nous venons d'indiquer, à laquelle l'écriture Arabe se prête également bien. Un autre correcteur du Septième Siècle a eu l'avantage de corriger les livres d'Esra et d'Esther d'après un manuscrit qui avait passé par les mains de Pamphile le martyr.[15]

[15] La note du manuscrit du Sinaï relative à l'exemplaire de Pamphile est très-curieuse; mais c'est évidemment par erreur qu'elle a fait mettre en doute la date du Codex Sinaiticus, que nous rapportons à la première moitié du Quatrième Siècle. La note dit que le manuscrit du Sinaï fut collationné avec un très-ancien manuscrit corrigé par la main de Pamphile, et que ce très-ancien manuscrit, commençant par le premier livre des Rois et finissant avec Esther, portait cette note de la main de Pamphile le martyr: " Collationné et corrigé d'après les Hexaples d'Origène corrigés par lui-même ; Antonin le confesseur a collationné ; moi Pamphile j'ai corrigé le texte en prison par la grande grâce de Dieu ; et ce n'est pas trop de dire

Aux titres paléographiques proprement dits se joignent d'autres particularités qui caractérisent le manus-

qu'il serait difficile de trouver une copie semblable à celle-ci." Après cette citation de la note de Pamphile, celle du manuscrit du Sinaï continue ainsi: Ce très-ancien manuscrit différait de celui-ci pour quelques (le mot "quelques" est introduit par correction; il y avait d'abord τα pour τινα) noms propres (? κυρια ονοματα). Pour pouvoir mettre cette note en opposition avec la date que nous assignons au manuscrit, il faudrait établir, d'un côté qu'elle remonte à l'époque, ou presque à l'époque, du MS. même, et de l'autre que le MS. de Pamphile avait été écrit dans le temps même où il fut corrigé par lui. Or la première assertion est inadmissible. Il y a une différence immense entre l'écriture du texte du Sinaï et celle de la note ainsi que des nombreuses annotations de deux mains différentes dans les livres d'Esra et d'Esther, auxquelles elle se rapporte. Ces trois écritures postérieures n'offrent plus une seule lettre onciale pure; elles portent tout à fait le caractère de l'onciale altérée, dont les premières traces ne remontent qu'au Sixième Siècle. Sans compter les différentes mains qui ont travaillé presque à la même époque à la confection et à la première annotation du manuscrit, il n'y a pas moins de quatre des correcteurs qui sont antérieurs à la collation avec l'exemplaire de Pamphile. Parmi ces quatre il y en a un qui a ajouté dans les parties revues par lui une quantité d'accents et d'esprits. De plus les mêmes correcteurs (le cinquième et le sixième du manuscrit) qui ont collationné le MS. de Pamphile, ont introduit dans quelques milliers de passages du Nouveau Testament une rédaction toute différente qui s'accorde généralement avec le Texte Byzantin. Tous ces faits nous portent à croire que l'auteur de la note en question n'est pas antérieur au Septième Siècle.

Reste le fait qu'il qualifie l'exemplaire de Pamphile de très-ancien. En supposant que cet exemplaire eût été écrit à l'époque même où il fut corrigé par Pamphile, il en résulterait seulement qu'au septième siècle cet exemplaire, écrit très-probablement sur papyrus et portant la note de la main de Pamphile, parut à l'auteur de la note beaucoup plus ancien que le manuscrit du Sinaï, dont les pages fortes sont encore aujourd'hui—1,200 ans après la note du Septième Siècle—dans un excellent état de conservation. Mais les expressions de Pamphile font remonter l'origine de son exemplaire à une époque bien plus ancienne; il paraît même antérieur au travail d'Origène; Pamphile

crit du Sinaï comme manuscrit Biblique de la plus haute antiquité. Telles sont les inscriptions et les souscriptions des différents livres du Nouveau Testament, qui sont de la plus grande simplicité.[16] Telle est encore l'absence des chapitres des Évangiles, qui manquent également dans le MS. du Vatican, tandis qu'ils se trouvent dans le MS. Alexandrin, dans le Palimpseste de Paris, etc.[17]

et Antonin n'ont fait que le collationner et corriger d'après les Hexaples (le Grec porte: μετελημφθη και διορθωθη προς τα εξαπλα—remarquez bien qu'il est dit προς τα, non pas εκ ou απο των—Ωριγενους υπ' αυτου διορθωμενα, ce qui se trouve répété plus explicitement dans les mots qui suivent: Αντωνινος ομολογητης αντεβαλεν, Παμφιλος διορθωσε το τευχος). La remarque de Pamphile qu'il ne serait pas facile de trouver un exemplaire pareil, rend très-probable que ce fut la bonté du manuscrit qui l'engagea à y faire rentrer son propre travail.

Dans les Prolégomènes du Nov. Test. ex Sinait. Cod. p. lxiii., mes explications sur cette question se terminent par les mots suivants: "Subscriptiones illæ revera cum sententia nostra pugnarent si ab ipso codicis Sinaitici scriptore vel eadem certe cum eo ætate additæ essent. In hac opinione is erat qui primus illis ad nos refutandos usus est. Errore vero patefacto, quo nihil evidentius esse potest, iisdem ad mentes perturbandas abuti inane prorsus ac frustra est."

[16] Il n'en est plus de même dans le MS. alexandrin, où par exemple la première Épître de S. Timothée porte la souscription: προς Τιμοθεον α' εγραφη απο Λαοδικειας, la deuxième Épître aux Thessaloniens: προς Θεσσ. β' εγραφη απο Αθηνων, les Actes des Apôtres: πραξεις των αγιων αποστολων. (Les MSS. du Sinaï et du Vatican: πραξεις αποστολων. Le titre dans le MS. du Sinaï n'est que πραξεις, dans le MS. du Vatican πραξεις αποστολων.)

[17] Les sections d'Ammonius et les Canons d'Eusèbe sont probablement postérieures. Les chiffres sont mis avec négligence et manquent complétement pour la plus grande partie de l'Évangile de S. Luc. Mais on pourrait admettre, sans porter atteinte à l'antiquité du manuscrit, qu'elles y ont été notées dès l'origine. En effet il n'est pas douteux qu'Eusèbe n'ait introduit ces chiffres dans les cinquante exemplaires qu'il fut chargé de procurer en 331 pour l'Empereur

Le canon du Nouveau Testament à l'époque où fut écrit le MS. Sinaïtique, comprenait l'Épître de S. Barnabé et le Pasteur d'Hermas. Eusèbe nous rapporte en effet que de son temps beaucoup d'Églises admettaient encore ces deux ouvrages dans le Canon, ce qui avait eu lieu depuis la fin du Second Siècle. Ces mêmes ouvrages se trouvent également au nombre des Livres Canoniques dans le vieux catalogue du Codex Claromontanus, dont la rédaction paraît remonter au Troisième Siècle. Ce catalogue de même qu'Eusèbe y ajoute encore l'Apocalypse de S. Pierre et les Actes de S. Paul. Or il est fort probable que ces deux ouvrages ont aussi tenu place dans le MS. du Sinaï, l'un entre l'Épître de S. Barnabé et le Pasteur, où il manque six des huit feuillets qui forment un cahier (*quaternio*), l'autre après le Pasteur, dont la dernière partie a péri avec ce qui suivait. C'est en 364, au Concile de Laodicée, que l'Église se prononça pour la première fois contre la Canonicité de ces ouvrages. On peut bien retrouver dans un MS. Biblique postérieur à cette décision de l'Église quelques-uns des anciens Antilégomènes, comme le prouve l'exemple du Codex Alexandrinus, à la fin duquel se trouvent les deux Épîtres de Clément ; mais un manuscrit, qui s'accorde à cet égard avec l'usage de l'époque d'Eusèbe, a droit, à défaut de preuve du contraire, à être rapporté à cette époque.

Constantin. Quand Épiphane écrivait l'Ancoratus, il les regardait comme généralement adoptés, et Jérôme (avant la fin du Quatrième Siècle) les a même placés dans la Vulgate. Le MS. du Vatican présente une autre distribution du texte, qui se retrouve dans le MS. palimpseste de S. Luc du Huitième Siècle, appartenant à la bibliothèque de la British and Foreign Bible Society et publié par M. Tregelles.

C'est en dernier lieu dans le texte même de notre manuscrit que nous trouvons des preuves qu'il a été écrit au milieu du Quatrième Siècle.

Les onze derniers versets de l'Évangile de S. Marc étaient omis à l'époque d'Eusèbe et de S. Jérôme dans presque tous les manuscrits grecs corrects (*τὰ γοῦν ἀκριβῆ τῶν ἀντιγράφων . . . σχεδὸν ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις*: Euseb. ad Marin., "omnes Græciæ libri pæne:" Hieron. ad Hedib.). Nous possédons aujourd'hui encore plus de cinq censt manuscrits grecs, qui tous contiennent les onze derniers versets de S. Marc; il n'y a que le MS. du Sinaï et celui du Vatican qui soient d'accord avec les manuscrits d'Eusèbe pour les omettre.

Au commencement de l'Épître aux Éphésiens les manuscrits grecs, les anciennes versions et les Pères de l'Église s'accordent à présenter ces mots: "aux saints qui sont à Éphèse" (*τοις αγιοις τοις ουσιν εν Εφεσω*). S. Jérôme ne connaît aucune variante, de sorte qu'il ne comprend pas même le Commentaire d'Origène qui présuppose l'absence des mots: "à Éphèse." Origène, de son côté, ne trouve pas dans ses manuscrits les mots: "à Éphèse," non plus que Marcion; et S. Basile, au milieu du quatrième siècle, dit expressément qu'il a trouvé *d'anciens* manuscrits qui ne les contenaient pas. Or le MS. du Sinaï et celui du Vatican s'accordent seuls sur ce point avec les *anciens* manuscrits de Basile.[18]

Matth. XIII, 35, les manuscrits portaient au Troisième Siècle à l'époque de Porphyre, "par le Prophète Isaïe;"[19] la même leçon est constatée par les Homélies

[18] C'est-là l'argument principal dont Léonard Hug s'est servi pour prouver l'âge du MS. Vatican.

[19] Voyez Hieron. Breviar. in Psalm. LXVII: Denique et impius ille

de Clément et par Eusèbe. Cette leçon, qui contient une erreur de fait, se retrouve dans le MS. du Sinaï, ainsi que dans cinq manuscrits en lettres minuscules dont le texte est des plus remarquables, tandis qu'elle a disparu (Hier.: "quod quia minime inveniebatur in Isaia, arbitror postea a prudentibus viris esse sublatum") dans tous les autres manuscrits onciaux et dans tous les autres documents qui sont parvenus jusqu'à nous.

S. Ambroise nous apprend que beaucoup de manuscrits grecs de son temps ("plerique Græci") Luc VII, 35 portaient: "la sagesse est justifiée par ses œuvres" (*εργων*) au lieu de: "par ses enfants" (*τεκνων*). Aujourd'hui il n'y a que le MS. du Sinaï qui s'accorde avec les manuscrits de S. Ambroise.

Beaucoup d'autres leçons prouvent avec la même évidence que le MS. du Sinaï répond au caractère des manuscrits en usage au Quatrième Siècle. Nous sommes donc bien fondés à nous servir de ce fait pour appuyer les autres arguments en faveur de l'antiquité du MS. du Sinaï. Il est d'une évidence incontestable que tous les arguments que la paléographie et la critique du texte puissent fournir, concourent de la manière la plus frappante à en prouver la haute antiquité. Il n'y a pas de manuscrit, pas même celui du Vatican, qui réunisse autant de preuves.

Mais nous avons encore à compléter nos observations sur le texte de notre manuscrit. Les exemples

Porphyrius proponit adversum nos hoc ipsum et dicit: Evangelista vester Matthæus tam imperitus fuit ut diceret: "quod scriptum est per Isaiam prophetam: Aperiam," etc. Tout ce passage est longuement discuté dans notre huitième édition du N. T. fascic. I, p. 75.

que nous venons de donner sont bien insuffisants pour en faire connaître le caractère général. Rien n'est plus propre à en faire apprécier la valeur toute spéciale que l'accord frappant qu'il présente avec le plus ancien texte Italique, qui remonte au milieu du Deuxième Siècle. Cet accord, qui ne se retrouve aujourd'hui dans aucun autre manuscrit purement grec, ainsi qu'une foule de leçons reconnues par les plus anciens Pères et interprètes du Second et du Troisième Siècle, nous amène à la conclusion que le manuscrit du Sinaï renferme un des textes les plus répandus au Second Siècle. Les calligraphes Alexandrins, par leur ignorance du Grec, ont servi à conserver presque intact le texte qu'ils trouvaient dans les manuscrits antérieurs à leur époque. C'est à ce titre que le manuscrit du Sinaï va constituer une nouvelle ère pour la critique du texte Apostolique. Il nous servira à rétablir le texte du Second Siècle, tel qu'il était en usage dans bien des Églises de ce temps.[20]

[20] Nous renvoyons tous ceux qui s'intéressent à suivre l'influence du manuscrit du Sinaï sur le travail de la critique, à notre huitième édition ("octava critica major") du Nouveau Testament, dont le premier fascicule vient de paraître. Mais nous nous empressons de donner tout de suite une petite liste des passages des Évangiles, où l'authenticité du texte Sinaïtique nous paraît évidente, bien que tous les autres documents lui soient opposés ou qu'il ne soit confirmé que par un très-petit nombre d'autorités. Matth. III, 14, ο δε (sine Ιωαννης) διεκωλυεν αυτον, Sinaiticus a prima manu cum solo codice Vaticano: III, 16, ανεωχθησαν (Vat. ηνεωχθ.) sine αυτω, Sinaiticus cum codice Vaticano, interpretibus Sahidico, Syro Curetoni, Toletano, Irenæo ex codd. (Latinis) omnibus et Hilario. Ibidem πνευμα Θεου, pro το πν. του Θε., Sinaiticus cum Vaticano solo: V, 28, επιθυμησαι sine αυτην vel αυτης, Sinaiticus cum minusculorum codicum uno, Clemente, Origene, aliis: VI, 33, την βασιλειαν sine additamento, Sinaiticus cum Italæ codd. duobus, Speculo (Au-

Nous ne sommes pas d'avis qu'il faille pour cette restauration se passer des autres documents d'une haute

gustini), Eusebio et Pseudathanasio: VII, 13, omittit η πυλη Sinaiticus cum Clemente, Origene et codd. Italæ antiquissimis: VII, 18 bis ενεγκειν pro ποιειν, Sinaiticus cum (Vat. priore tantum loco) Heracleone, Origene, Dialogo contra Marcionitas: VIII, 12, εξελευσονται pro εκβληθησονται, Sinaiticus cum Italæ codd. plerisque, Syro Curetoni et Peschittho, Heracleone et Irenæo: XI, 8, εξηλθατε; ανθρωπον ιδειν εν etc., pro εξηλθ. ιδειν; ανθρωπον εν etc., Sinaiticus solus. Ibidem εν τοις οικοις των βασιλεων sine εισιν, Sinaiticus a prima manu cum Vaticano solo: XIX, 18, ποιας; φησιν pro λεγει αυτω ποιας, Sinaiticus cum solo codice L. Parisiensi: XXII, 39, δευτερα ομοια pro δευτερα δε ομοια (Vaticanus δευτερα ομοιως), Sinaiticus solus: Marc. VII, 3, πυκνα pro πυγμη, Sinaiticus cum Copto, Syro posteriore, Gotho et Latinis aliquot: VIII, 7, και ευλογησας αυτα παρεθηκεν pro και ταυτα ευλογησας ειπεν παρατιθεναι και αυτα (quæ verba modis duodecim fluctuant!), Sinaiticus solus. Luc. II, 15, ελαλουν προς αυτον λεγοντες, pro ειπον προς αυτον, Sinaiticus solus (item Vatic. omisso λεγοντες): XXIV, 51, διεστη απ αυτων, omissis verbis και ανεφερετο εις τον ουρανον, Sinaiticus cum Cantabrigiensi, Italæ codd. antiquissimis et Augustino: Joh. I, 4, ζωη εστιν, pro ζωη ην, Sinaiticus cum Cantabrigiensi, codicibus apud Origenem, Valentinianis apud Irenæum, Naassenis apud Hippolytum, item interpretibus aliquot: II, 3, και οινον ουκ ειχον οτι συνετελεσθη ο οινος του γαμου. ειτα λεγει, pro και υστερησαντος οινου λεγει, Sinaiticus cum Latinis codd. veterrimis, Æthiope et Syro posteriore in margine: III, 5, την βασιλειαν των ουρανων pro τ. β. του Θεου, Sinaiticus cum minusculis aliquot, Docetis apud Hippolytum, Justino, Origene, (ex interprete), aliis: V, 2, το λεγομενον, pro η επιλεγομενη, Sinaiticus solus: VI, 51 (ο αρτος præcedit), ον εγω δωσω υπερ της του κοσμου ζωης η σαρξ μου εστιν, Sinaiticus cum Tertulliano et Speculo (Augustini), pro ον εγω δωσω η σαρξ μου εστιν την εγω δωσω (hæc verba την εγω δωσω plures codd. antiquissimi omittunt) υπερ της του κοσμου ζωης: VII, 8, ουκ αναβαινω, pro ουπω αναβ., Sinaiticus cum Cantabrigiensi, minusculis sex, interpretibus multis et Porphyrio (teste Hieronymo): VII, 39, πνευμα sine αγιον aut δεδομενον, Sinaiticus cum K. T. minusculis duobus, Origene quater, aliis: VII, 22, ο Μωυσης pro δια τουτο Μωυσης, Sinaiticus solus: VII, 50, ειπεν δε

antiquité ; ils nous aideront au contraire, tout en confirmant l'autorité du texte Sinaïtique, à le purifier de nombreuses licences de copiste, provenant de l'usage des deux premiers Siècles. Mais nous sommes pleinement convaincu que la Providence, en transmettant de nos jours au Monde Chrétien ce trésor, caché pendant tant de siècles au pied du Mont Sinaï, a voulu que nous fassions dans l'histoire critique du Texte Sacré un pas immense vers la vérité.

CONSTANTIN TISCHENDORF.

Nous ajoutons à ce discours deux fac-similes de l'original. L'un (II.) représente un des restes retirés en 1861 par l'Archimandrite Porfiri de la vieille reliure d'un autre manuscrit grec du couvent de Sainte-Catherine. Le texte appartient au livre des Nombres.

Νικοδημος προς αυτους, omissis verbis quæ mire fluctuant et ex XIX, 39, huc illata sunt, ο ελθων προς αυτον προτερον, Sinaiticus solus. (Il va sans dire que le fameux passage de la femme adultère manque complétement dans le MS. du Sinaï. Il ne se trouve dans aucune de mes éditions critiques du Nouv. Test. depuis 1840.) XIII, 10, ουκ εχει χρειαν νυψασθαι sine additamento, Sinaiticus cum Italæ codicibus paucis et Origene sexies : XIX, 38, ηλθον ουν και ηραν αυτον, pro ηλθεν ουν και ηρε το σωμα του Ιησου (Vat. αυτου pro του Ιησου), Sinaiticus cum Latinis antiquissimis, Sahidico et Syro Hierosolymitano : XXI, 25, omittit versum Sinaiticus a prima manu solus.

Voyez le v. chap. vers 26–30. L'autre fac-simile (I) est pris de la fin du livre d'Esther, qui est suivie de la note du Septième Siècle relative à l'exemplaire de Pamphile le Martyr. Voici le texte entier de cette curieuse note (voyez la traduction plus haut, page 16), dont le fac-simile ne contient que la première partie :

αντεβληθη προς παλαιω
τατον λιαν αντιγραφον
δεδιορθωμενον χειρι
του αγιου μαρτυρος παμ
φιλου· προς δε τω[1] τελει
του αυτου παλαιωτατου
βιβλιου οπερ αρχην μεν
ειχεν απο της πρωτης
των βασιλειων· εις δε
την εσθηρ ελληγεν· τοι
αυτη τις εν πλατει ἰδιο[2]
χειρος υποσημειωσις[3] του
αυτου μαρτυρος υπεκειτο
εχουσα ουτως :
μετελημφθη και διορ
θωθη προς τα εξαπλα
ωριγενους υπ αυτου δι
ορθωμενα· αντωνινος
ομολογητης αντεβαλε̄·
παμφιλος διορθωσα το
τευχος εν τη φυλακη·
δια την του θῡ πολλη̄
και χαριν και πλατυσμο̄·
και ειγε μη βαρυ ειπεῑ
τουτω τω αντιγραφω
παραπλησιον[4] ευρειν

[1] ω ex ο correctum est.
[2] ο ex ω correctum est.
[3] -μειωσις ex -μωσις correctum est.
[4] -σιον correctum est ex -σιων.

αντιγραφον ου ραδιον > —
>>>—>>>—>>>—
διεφωνη[5] δε το αυτο
παλαιωτατον βιβλιο
προς τοδε το τευχος
εις τινα[6] κυρια ονοματα
>>>—>>>—>>>—

[5] Sic.

[6] τινα manu posteriore ex τα factum est.

ASSYRIAN TRANSLATIONS.

BY H. F. TALBOT, V.P.R.S.L.

(Read June 7th, 1865.)

A BATTLE SCENE, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

I WILL here consider a short inscription which is f
on a great battle scene between Ashurbanipal
Tivumman, king of the Susians, which adorns th
lery of the British Museum, and which, it is h
probable, has preserved to us a real anecdote of
battle.

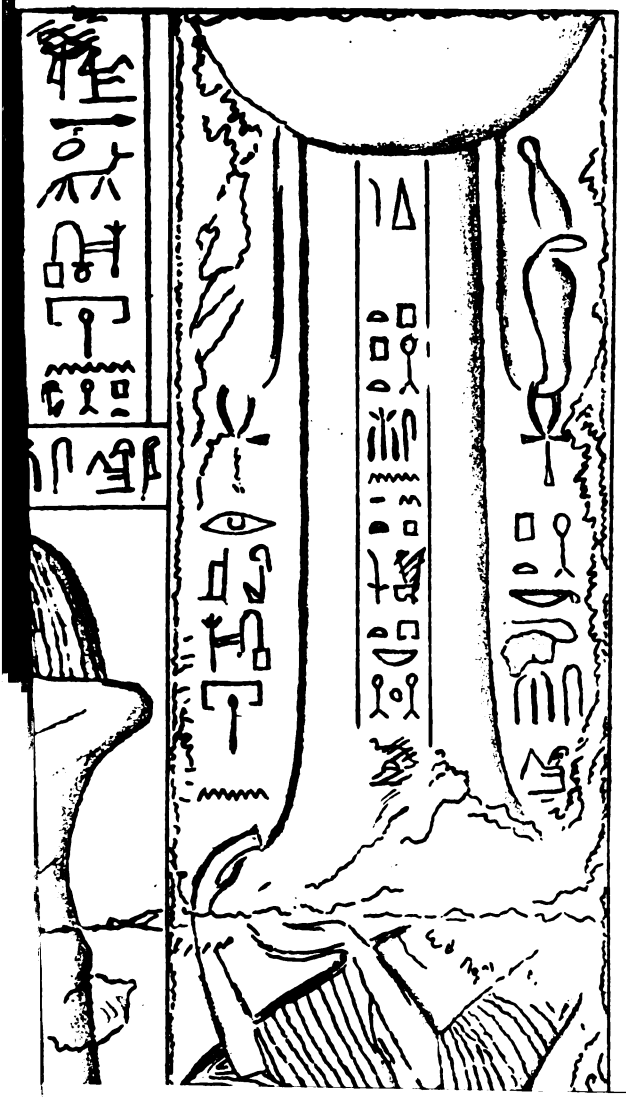
The king of the Susians is drawing his bow, and
the same time arresting a spear which an Assyria
warrior is aiming at him. By his side kneels Tarit
his son, who has just been struck by an arrow in this
which was perhaps his first and last battle.

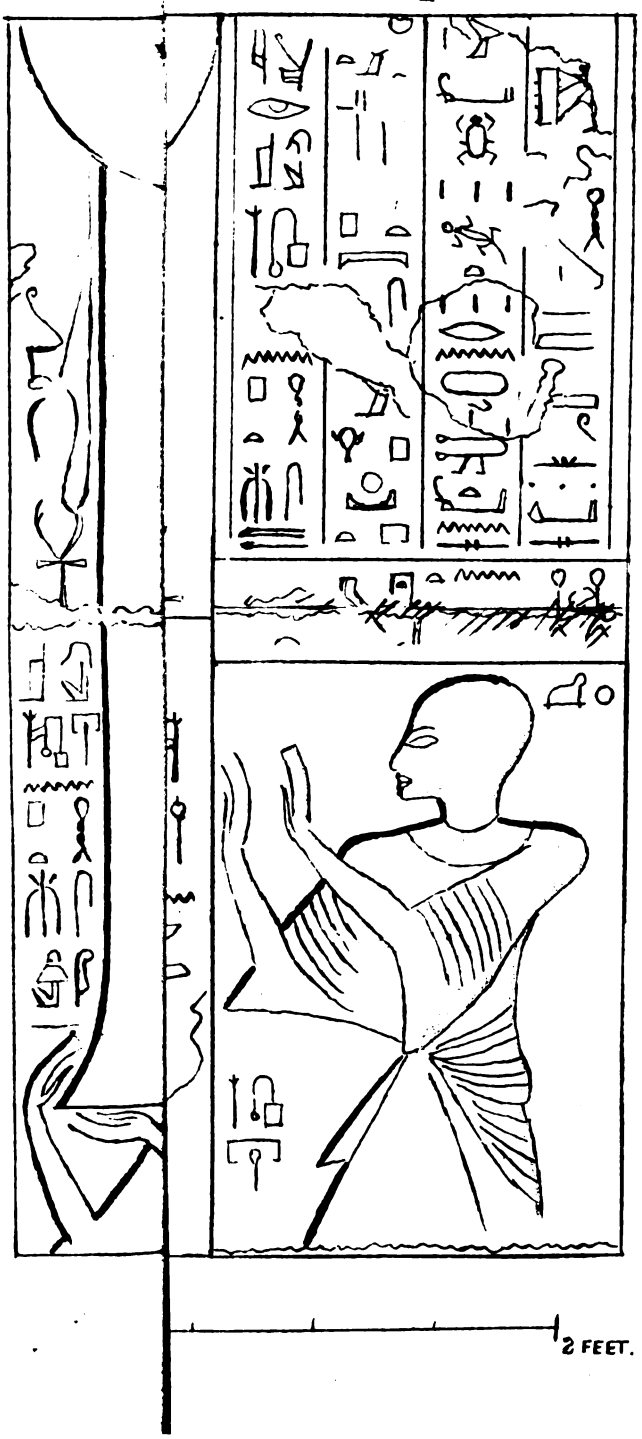
Over their heads is this short inscription:—

Tivumman as miyuk bilemi	Tivumman with a stern reproof
ana tar-su ikbu	said to his son,
Ssulie kim!	"Never mind the arrow!"

From which it appears that the youth had uttered a cry of pain.

When I first noticed this inscription, now several





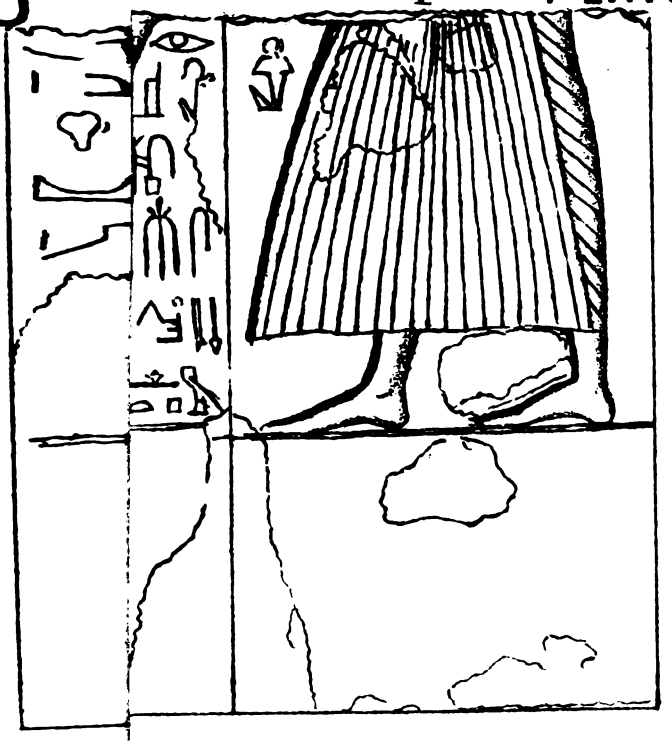
2 FEET.

C

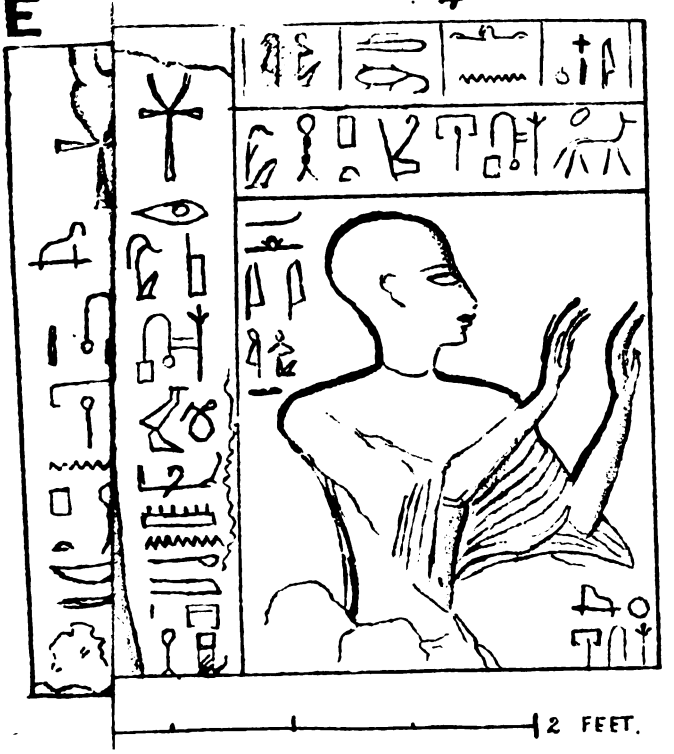
4 PLATE III.

PLATE IV.

D



E



years ago, I was greatly in doubt what the king's speech, of two words only, could possibly import. But we now see that it is in all probability the brief record of a warlike exclamation, which must have been heard by many of the surrounding combatants, and which appeared to King Ashurbanipal too remarkable to be lost.

The word *ssulie* is the Heb. סלה contempsit, sprevit, vilipendit, etc. etc.

Miyuk, reproachful; a participial adjective from the Hebrew verb יכח, in Aphel אוכח, increpavit, reprehendit, corripuit, castigavit. (Buxtorf, p. 950.)

Gesenius quotes the substantive מוכיח, reprehensor.

Bilemi is a command, or something said with firmness or severity. The word occurs frequently. Its root is probably the Hebrew בלם. We find in Buxtorf apparently the word itself, בלימה, dominium quo subditi constringuntur et coercentur ut sint obedientes.

In an inscription of Darius we find *Bilemi altakaṇ*, I gave a command; I made a decree. We must not, however, suppose that the Susian king spoke in the Assyrian language. His words, of course, have been translated by the sculptor of the bas-relief.

In another part of this large sculptured slab we find the tragical conclusion of the battle. Assyrian soldiers are there represented as slaying King Tivumman with a mace, and cutting off the head of the youthful Tariti. This apparent difference in their fate was, however, adopted on artistic grounds, to avoid monotony; for Tivumman's head was cut off afterwards, and borne swiftly in a chariot from the field of battle, to be sent to Nineveh. It is remarkable that the king is very plainly dressed, while his son wears a royal garment, with a handsome fringe to it. This again is surely

the representation of an actual fact, for in a fancy picture it would not have been so represented.

Over this tragical scene is written an inscription of six lines :—

1. Tivumman sar Nuvaki sha as takhazi danni	Tivumman, king of the Susians, who in a great battle
2. ilkhutsu, Tariti tarsu zakru	was overthrown, and Tariti his gallant son
3. (. . .) tzu izbatu, ana batzu arkunish	fled for their lives, and into a marsh, for a long distance
4. innabtu, ikhlubu kireb kishti.	they escaped; and hid themselves among the thorns.
5. As mati Ashur u Ishtar halul sunuti,	But by the grace of Ashur and Ishtar I discovered them,
6. reshdu-sun kutsi mikhrat akhati.	and I cut off their heads by the side of one another.

Ilkhutsu, he was overthrown or utterly defeated: from the Heb. לחץ, *lakhats*, afflixit, etc. etc. The first syllable is *eli*, which sometimes sounded *il*, as in the phrase, *il* sha as tami pani—*more* than in former days.

Zakru is a doubtful reading, the word being much defaced on the stone. The epithet *zakru* is applied to Belibus in Bellino, line 14, where he is called *miranu zakru*, a gallant young man.

Line 3, " they fled for their lives." In another part of the sculpture their flight is represented. The king is running fast, and dragging his wounded son by the arm.

The first sign in line 3 I am rather doubtful of. It has two small vertical strokes added, which usually denotes some members of the human body, as the two eyes, ears, hands, feet, etc. Here it may mean the legs.

They took to their legs (we should say their heels).

Izbatu frequently means "they took."

The sense appears to be that they fled for their lives.

Batzu, a marsh; Heb. בצה and בץ. This word is well known from the inscription of Esarhaddon, and his campaign in the marsh country of Lower Chaldæa.

Arkunish, to a great distance; from the Chald. *arka*, ארכה, longitudo, which is from the root ארך, longus. Assyrian adverbs generally end in *ish*, but sometimes in *nish*, as *abubish* and *abubanish*.

Ikhlubu, they hid themselves. From the Heb. חלף.

Kishti, thorns; from the Heb. קוצים, *kutzim*, thorns, Ex. xxii. 6. From the root קצה, to cut. This explanation of the passage, that the defeated monarch and his son hid themselves among the thorns, is entirely due to Dr. Hincks, who published it some years ago.

As mati Ashur appears to me to mean *nutu divino*; from the Heb. verb מוט, *nutare*. Therefore, *as mati Ashur* would be "by the grace, or gracious consent, of Ashur." Compare the Homeric *νευσε Κρονιων*. But since the preposition *as* is frequently exchanged for *in*, of the same meaning, perhaps it had sometimes the phonetic value of *in*. In that case, line 5 would commence *inuti Ashur*, by the grace of Ashur. Heb. חן, gratia.

Halul, I discovered; Heb. חלל, aperuit; from root חל, aperuit; whence חלון, a window.

Reshdu, their heads. This word is defaced, but may be traced with certainty.

Kutsi, I cut off; Heb. קצה, to cut off.

Mikhrat akhati, by the side of one another. This translation also is due to Dr. Hincks.

THE INSCRIPTION OF KHAMMURABI.

Khammurabi was one of the kings of the Proto-Chaldæan dynasty. He reigned at a very early epoch, the date of which cannot as yet be exactly determined. His tablets are written in a non-Semitic language, which has been called the Accadian or Proto-Chaldæan. Of this, only a small part has hitherto been deciphered. But, by a fortunate discovery, a tablet of this king has recently come to light, written in the Babylonian language; and though somewhat archaic in its idiom, yet, on the whole, wonderfully resembling what was spoken many centuries, or perhaps a thousand years afterwards.

I attempted a version of this remarkable inscription in the 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society' (vol. xx. p. 445), accompanied by some very brief notes. But since my translation was published, I have received a copy of M. Ménant's work, 'Inscriptions de Hammourabi, roi de Babylone, traduites et publiées avec un commentaire à l'appui, par M. Joachim Ménant' (Paris, 1863). This work is accompanied by facsimiles of the inscriptions, on consulting which I see that some of the complicated hieratic signs have not exactly the form which I supposed, and therefore my transliteration requires in some places to be amended. M. Ménant's commentary throws consi-

derable light upon the inscription, and moreover Mr. Norris has had the goodness to give me his opinion respecting several passages, which has tended much to elucidate them. I am therefore now enabled to offer a considerably amended translation, and I believe there are at present very few words or phrases which remain doubtful. Mr. Norris thinks that the final *im*, which is frequent in this inscription, expresses in all cases what Oppert calls the *mimmation*, and that it was an archaic form of speech, afterwards disused. I have followed him in this suggestion, which seems to have much to recommend it.

I think the inscription may be read nearly as follows. The general sense of it remains the same; the alterations only affect some of the subordinate phrases.

Column I.

1. Khammurabi	Khammurabi
2. sar dalu	the exalted king,
3. sar Babilu	the king of Babylon,
4. sar mustishimi	the king renowned
5. kibrati arbaim	throughout the world.

Observations.

Dalu may be the Chald. דל, *elevatus* (Schindler, 389), *e. g.* in Isaiah xxxviii. 14, elevati sunt (דלו) oculi mei ad excelsum.

Mustishimi may be an *ishtaphel* participle, from שמע, renown.

Line 5 means literally "the four regions," which I think signify the four cardinal points, *i. e.* the whole world.

6. Kasit saniti	Conqueror of the enemies
7. Marduk;	of Marduk;
8. ship mutib	the king closely united
9. libbi-su anaku.	to his heart, am I.

In line 8, M. Ménant reads *rihu*, king, because the symbol is so explained on a tablet. This is not very material; *rihu* is Semitic (רעה, rexit), while probably *ship* is its equivalent in the Proto-Chaldæan language.

10. Ninu Il u Bel	The favour of God and Bel
11. nisi Sumirim	the people of Sumir
12. u Akkadim	and Accad
13. ana bellim iddinunu;	gave unto my government:—
14. Tsirra zina	Their celestial weapons
15. ana gati-ya	unto my hand
16. umallu.	they gave.

It is not at all unusual to find *Il* placed by itself, as in line 10, denoting the Supreme Being. Thus, we find persons spoken of as "serving God and the King."

Line 14 speaks of "their celestial weapons:" among these were "the sceptre of justice," which Nebo gave to every good king, etc. etc.

17. Nahar Khammurabi	The river Khammurab
18. nukhu's nisi	(as the people call it)
19. babilat mie kanik	a canal of mingled waters

20.	ana nisi Sumirim	for the people of Sumir
21.	u Akkadim	and Accad
22.	lu-akhri.	I dug.

The only difficulty of this passage lies in the expression *nukhu's nisi*. M. Ménant translates it *bonheur des hommes*. In order to support this, he quotes the tablet of Hamadan, in which the following phrase occurs in praise of Oromasdes:—*sha gabbi nukhsu ana nisi iddinnu*, "who gives every kind of prosperity to men."

The word *nukhsu* also means *prosperity* in this inscription of Khammurabi, Col. II. line 7.

But to this translation I object, that many passages prove that *nukhsu* signifies *sunshine*, and that it only means *prosperity* by a metaphor. Now such a metaphor would be entirely misplaced if applied to a *canal*. To call a canal "the sunshine of men" would be quite a solecism. Moreover, I think that the termination *khus* cannot be that of a noun substantive in the accusative case, answering to *felicitatem*.

Now we find here and there in the inscriptions, and on the whole pretty frequently, after an unusual word the parenthetic phrase "as they say," or "as they call it."

Here such a parenthesis seems very appropriate. The King says, "I dug the canal *called* Khammurabi river." The very circumstance of its bearing his own name, rendered some such remark requisite.

When the pronoun *su* follows a verb ending in *u*, it very frequently drops its vowel and coalesces with the verb; thus, for example, *amnu*, I counted, makes *amnús*, I counted *it*. This form I generally write

amnu's. This contraction arises from *su* being an enclitic, and having no accent of its own, in fact merging in the verb when persons were speaking rapidly.

These remarks having been premised, I translate *nukhu's nisi*, "men call it" or "so men call it." And since my translation was first printed, I have found two examples of the verb *nukha*, to declare. The first of them is in an inscription of Esarhaddon, published in the British Museum volume, pl. 50, Col. II. l. 15, *shurrish libba-su inukhu*, "He clearly declared his will." The other example is from the same inscription, Col. III. 6, *ana nukhi libbi iluti-ka rabti*, "by the declared will of thy great divinity;" where *nukhu* is an adjective.

23. Kishadi-sha kilalin	Its banks, which had fallen in,
24. ana mirishim lutir,	in my piety I restored;
25. karie ashnan	new supporting walls (or embankments)
26. lu-astappak,	I heaped up:
27. mie daruti	perennial waters
28. ana nisi Sumirim	for the people of Sumir
29. u Akkadim	and Accad
30. lu-askun.	I provided.

Ana mirishim appears to mean *piously*. I have succeeded in finding the phrase again, on the reverse of Sargina's slabs, where he says: The worship of the Queen of Heaven *in my piety* I restored (*in mirishi-ya ushatiru*) more grandly than in the days of any former king.

Column II.

1. Nisi Sumirim	The people of Sumir

2. u Akkadim	and Accad
3. kali-sun (. . .) apkhati	all of them, in general assemblies
4. lu-pakhir.	I passed in review.

It seems plain that the king is speaking of a *πανηγυρις*, or general assembly; but several words are doubtful.

In line 3 I read *kali-sun*, and not *nisi-sun*, because the phrase *nisi . . . kali-sun upakhir* is so commonly found in other inscriptions, but never, as I believe, *nisi . . . nisi-sun*, etc., which seems a solecism. Then, the first sign is frequently used for *kal*, Heb. כל, omnis, in this very phrase; and the last sign, is often used for *li*.

The fifth sign in this line, according to M. Ménant, occurs nowhere else. I suspect that it means a general assembly.

Apkhati refers most probably to a national census or enumeration of the people. This will appear from the following remarks:—

פקד signifies in Hebrew *lustravit; censuit populum.* Those who came to the census were called the *pakudim* פקודים (Gesen. 835). *E. g.* Saul, יפקד (numeravit) populum. פקדו, (numerate) populum, ut sciam numerum populi. These examples are from the book of Samuel.

5. Mirita u maskita	Sights and shows
6. lu-askun sinasim.	I ordained every year.

As the Hebrew adverb, יומם, *yomim*, means "every day," I conjecture that *sinasim* may mean "every

year," from שנה, a year,—unless it be rather the Hebrew שנתים, *sinatim*, "every second year" (Gesenius, *biennium*).

7. in nukhsim u kanik	In prosperity and in adversity
8. lu-eri sinati;	I watched over them;
9. subat nikhiti	And in peaceful dwellings
10. lu-shasib sinati.	I caused them to dwell.

Here we have the word *nukhsu*, prosperity, as in the tablet of Hamadan already quoted. *Kanik* appears to be adversity or humiliation, from Heb. כנע, humilis fuit, fractus est, depressus est animus, etc., in which word the final ע may have had the force of *ghain*.

Eri, I watched over. This verb appears to be the Heb. ער, *vigilavit* (a remark which I owe to Mr. Norris). *E. g.* in Cant. v. 2, "I sleep, but my heart wakes," ער.

Nikhiti, tranquil, peaceful, Heb. נחת, *quies;* from root נחת, quiescere. This explanation is due to M. Ménant, p. 56. A very similar passage occurs in Tiglath Pileser, Col. VII. 33 (see the British Museum volume, pl. 15), where he says that he loved the assemblies of his people: *Ammat nisi-ya ukhib;* where *ammat* is from the Heb. עם, *congregavit*, and as a substantive *populus;* and *ukhib*, from the verb חבב, amavit. And he then adds, that he caused them to dwell in peaceful dwellings, *supta nikhita ushasib sunuti;* which four words are found in our present inscription, *subat nikhiti lu-shasib sinati.*

So great a resemblance might lead one to the supposition that Khammurabi was contemporary with

Tiglath Pileser. In that case his epoch would be about B. C. 1120.

11. ninumi-su	by his favour (viz. that of Marduk, see line 17)
12. Khammurabi	Khammurabi
13. sar dalu	the exalted king
14. migir il rabrab anaku.	the worshipper of the supreme deity, I am.

Let me explain briefly why I cannot concur with Ménant and Oppert, who render *ninumi* by "nous disons ceci;" nor with other inquirers, who render it "see now!" It is evident that "nous disons" might commence any subject, and might be followed by any manner of sentence; and as *ninumi* occurs frequently, we should assuredly find various phrases following it. But, in point of fact, it is always followed by the name of some deity who has honoured or befriended the king who speaks. On the other hand, I believe that my explanation of *ninu* (favour) suits every passage in which the word occurs, besides which, there is a verb *uninu*, "I showed him favour or grace."

15. in emukin	According to the omens
16. gashrati	astrological
17. sha Marduk iddinam	which Marduk gave to me,
19. Kar tsiram	a lofty Citadel
19. in ebiri rabuti	on a high mound of earth
20. sha risha-sun	whose summits
21. kima ssatuim elia	rose up like mountains,
22. in resh nahal Khammurabi	on the bank of Khammurabi river

23. nukhu's nisi	(as people call it)
24. lu-ebus.	I built.

Gashrati, astrological. From the Chaldee *gazrin*, גזרין, astrologi: aruspices. This phrase, *emukin gashrati*, is found also in Sargon's inscriptions.

Ebiri. Heb. עפר, terra; argilla; agger (Gesenius). Hence it signified a mound of clay.

Ssatuim may be a plural noun. Ménant translates "comme une montagne." A similar passage occurs in the Phillipps cylinder, where the summits of the Imgur Bel temple at Babylon are said to be *kima ssatu.*

25. Kar suati	That Citadel
26. Kar ummu banitti	"the citadel of the mother who bore me
27. abim alidi-ya	"and the father who begot me"
28. ana sumbu lu-abbi.	conjointly I named.

In line 27, Ménant places the word *pi* after *abim.* But as this troubles the sense, and as he says (p. 63) that in this portion of the inscription "*le texte est de plus en plus altéré,*" I understand that the word *pi* is merely conjectural, especially as the sign *um*, which is immediately over it, is, he says, entirely effaced.

In line 28, I believe I have made an important amelioration. The king says, I gave to the citadel a double name: I called it "the fortress of my mother" and "of my father," *ana sumbu*, conjointly. This word occurs on the cylinder of Sargina, where that monarch explains his name to mean "the guardian king," and says, "quod nomen *conjunxerunt* mecum Dii magni:" *sumu-ya, sha* SUMBU *inni Ili Rabi.*

29. in Ri ummu banit	in the holy name of Ri, the mother who bore me,
30. abim pi alidi-ya	and of the father who begot me,
31. in kibrati	during long ages
32. lu-shaib !	may it last !

The construction of lines 29, 30, is *in pi Ri ummu*, etc. (in nomine matris meæ Ri, etc.).

The difficulties which M. Ménant encounters in this final passage, disappear completely the moment it is understood that the king is not speaking of his real father and mother, but of the god Marduk and the goddess Ri, whom he calls his father and mother, according to a fantastic custom of which the inscriptions offer many examples. Thus Ashurbanipal calls Nebo and Tasmita his father and mother, by whom he was educated (see Oppert, ' Expédition Scientifique en Mésopotamie'). In the inscription of Khammurabi, which Ménant calls No. 2, which is in the Proto-Chaldæan language, the chief objects of the king's worship are still Marduk and Ri; see especially lines 1, 12, 14.

Therefore the translation of the whole will stand as follows:—

Column I.

Khammurabi the exalted king, the king of Babylon, the king renowned throughout the world: Conqueror of the enemies of Marduk; and the King closely united to his heart, am I. The favour of God and Bel gave the people of Sumir and Accad unto my government. Their celestial weapons unto my hand they gave. The river Khammurabi (as the people call it), a canal

of mingled waters, I dug for the people of Sumir and Accad. Its banks, which had fallen in, in my piety I restored: new supporting walls I heaped up, and perennial waters for the people of Sumir and Accad I provided.

Column II.

The people of Sumir and Accad, all of them, in general assemblies I passed in review. Sights and shows I ordained every year. In prosperity and in adversity I watched over them, and in peaceful dwellings I caused them to dwell.

By the favour of Marduk, I am Khammurabi the exalted king, the worshipper of the supreme deity.

According to the prosperous omens which Marduk gave to me, I built a lofty Citadel on a high mound of earth whose towers rose up like mountains, on the bank of Khammurabi river (as the people call it). That Citadel I named "the fortress of Ri-Marduk," thus uniting the names of the Mother who bore me, and the Father who begot me. In the holy name of Ri, the mother who bore me, and of the father who begot me, during long ages may it last!

A CLAY TABLET IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

I propose here to translate a portion of the Tablet marked 162, and also 130 *a* and *b*. It will give some idea of the singular things contained in these ancient records, many of which we may hope will become intelligible as Science advances.

The object or purport of the present tablet is very doubtful for more than one reason. In the first place, I have not seen the original tablet, but only a photograph of it kindly presented by the Trustees; and though one half of the tablet is given with sufficient clearness to be in general easily legible, the reverse half is considerably out of focus, so that a haze envelops the writing. If I should have an opportunity at a future time of inspecting the original tablet, and any further details are found to be legible, I will lay before the Society an additional note respecting them.

Another cause of the obscurity of this tablet is, that the commencement of it is fractured and lost, so that the reader finds himself launched at once *in medias res*, without knowing what may have preceded. As far as I can conjecture the purport of the tablet, it is this:—Some queen or princess, probably the queen of Ashurbanipal, desired to borrow the ancient jewels of the goddess Ishtar, but with what view I know not. However that may be, it appears that on this occasion there was a very solemn religious ceremony, which is described with the utmost precision in seven clauses of six lines each. On the other side of the tablet we find that the jewels were faithfully restored, with equal solemnity; and this second ceremony is also described in seven clauses.

There is a passage in the inscription of Nebuchadnezzar (Phillips cylinder, col. 2, l. 50) which throws some light on the subject of this tablet. I have translated it in the Transactions of this Society. It states that some one, probably some former monarch, had taken the jewels of Ishtar and had omitted to restore them. Nebuchadnezzar repaired this neglect of his

6. Kasit saniti	Conqueror of the enemies
7. Marduk;	of Marduk;
8. ship mutib	the king closely united
9. libbi-su anaku.	to his heart, am I.

In line 8, M. Ménant reads *rihu*, king, because the symbol is so explained on a tablet. This is not very material; *rihu* is Semitic (רעה, rexit), while probably *ship* is its equivalent in the Proto-Chaldæan language.

10. Ninu Il u Bel	The favour of God and Bel
11. nisi Sumirim	the people of Sumir
12. u Akkadim	and Accad
13. ana bellim iddinunu;	gave unto my government:—
14. Tsirra zina	Their celestial weapons
15. ana gati-ya	unto my hand
16. umallu.	they gave.

It is not at all unusual to find *Il* placed by itself, as in line 10, denoting the Supreme Being. Thus, we find persons spoken of as "serving God and the King."

Line 14 speaks of "their celestial weapons:" among these were "the sceptre of justice," which Nebo gave to every good king, etc. etc.

17. Nahar Khammurabi	The river Khammurab
18. nukhu's nisi	(as the people call it)
19. babilat mie kanik	a canal of mingled waters

20. ana nisi Sumirim	for the people of Sumir
21. u Akkadim	and Accad
22. lu-akhri.	I dug.

The only difficulty of this passage lies in the expression *nukhu's nisi*. M. Ménant translates it *bonheur des hommes*. In order to support this, he quotes the tablet of Hamadan, in which the following phrase occurs in praise of Oromasdes:—*sha gabbi nukhsu ana nisi iddinnu*, "who gives every kind of prosperity to men."

The word *nukhsu* also means *prosperity* in this inscription of Khammurabi, Col. II. line 7.

But to this translation I object, that many passages prove that *nukhsu* signifies *sunshine*, and that it only means *prosperity* by a metaphor. Now such a metaphor would be entirely misplaced if applied to a *canal*. To call a canal "the sunshine of men" would be quite a solecism. Moreover, I think that the termination *khus* cannot be that of a noun substantive in the accusative case, answering to *felicitatem*.

Now we find here and there in the inscriptions, and on the whole pretty frequently, after an unusual word the parenthetic phrase "as they say," or "as they call it."

Here such a parenthesis seems very appropriate. The King says, "I dug the canal *called* Khammurabi river." The very circumstance of its bearing his own name, rendered some such remark requisite.

When the pronoun *su* follows a verb ending in *u*, it very frequently drops its vowel and coalesces with the verb; thus, for example, *amnu*, I counted, makes *amnús*, I counted *it*. This form I generally write

3. the right hand of the priest replaced
4. that great Ruby upon my head.
5. Swear by the deity of the Queen of the Earth
6. to restore again her jewels!

Clause 2.

1. The second time I deprived her of an ornament
2. came off the earrings of her ears:
3. the right hand of the priest replaced
4. those earrings in my ears.
5. Swear by the deity of the Queen of the Earth
6. to restore again her jewels!

Clause 3.

1. The third time I deprived her of an ornament
2. came off the jewelled necklace of her neck:
3. the right hand of the priest replaced
4. that jewelled necklace on my neck.
5. Swear by the deity of the Queen of the Earth
6. to restore again her jewels.

Clause 4.

1. The fourth time I deprived her of an ornament
2. came off the small lovely gems of her eyebrows.
3. the right hand of the priest replaced
4. those lovely gems on my eyebrows,
5. Swear by the deity of the Queen of the Earth
6. to restore again her jewels!

Clause 5.

1. The fifth time I deprived her of an ornament
2. came off the precious *mibu* stones of her girdle
3. the right hand of the priest replaced
4. those precious *mibu* stones on my girdle.

5. Swear by the deity of the Queen of the Earth
6. to restore again her jewels !

Clause 6.

1. The sixth time I deprived her of an ôrnâment
2. came off the gold circlets from her hands and feet :
3. the right hand of the priest replaced
4. those gold circlets on my hands and feet.
5. Swear by the deity of the Queen of the Earth
6. to restore again her jewels !

Clause 7.

1. The seventh time I deprived her of an ornament
2. came off the sparkling gems behind her neck :
3. the right hand of the priest replaced
4. those sparkling gems behind my neck.
5. Swear by the deity of the Queen of the Earth
6. to restore again her jewels !

If we now turn to the opposite side of the tablet, we shall find that the borrower restored the ornaments, and what is very remarkable, she took great care to restore them in *exactly the reverse order*. That is to say, she first restored the ornament which she had borrowed the last; and so on. The passage stands as follows, just the conclusion of it being broken off, which I have supplied within brackets.

Clause 1.

1. I adan ushatzi simat tir-si
2. subibulti sha tsuri-sha.

Clause 2.

1. II adan ushatzi simat tir-si
2. shamir idi-sha u ratti-sha.

Clause 3.

1. III adan ushatzi simat tir-si
2. mibu taktu sha kabalti sha.

Clause 4.

1. IV adan ushatzi simat tir-si
2. dudinati sha gab-sha.

Clause 5.

1. V adan ushatzi simat tir-si
2. abni birakhi sha tik-sha.

Clause 6.

1. VI adan ushatzi simat tir-si
2. inzabati sha [uznu-sha].

Clause 7.

1. VII adan ushatzi simat tir-si
2. haguraba [sha reshdu-sha].

Translation.

Clause 1.

1. The first time I took off one of her ornaments
2. it was the sparkling jewel behind her neck.

Clause 2.

1. The second time I took off one of her ornaments
2. it was the diamonds of her hands and feet.

Clause 3.

1. The third time I took off one of her ornaments
2. it was the precious *mibu* stones of her girdle.

Clause 4.

1. The fourth time I took off one of her ornaments
2. it was the small lovely gems of her eyebrows.

Clause 5.

1. The fifth time I took off one of her ornaments
2. it was the jewelled necklace of her neck.

Clause 6.

1. The sixth time I took off one of her ornaments
2. it was the earrings of her ears.

Clause 7.

1. The seventh time I took off one of her ornaments
2. it was the great jewel of her head.

Observations.

In these texts there are several unusual words and phrases, which I shall endeavour briefly to explain: beginning with those in Clause 1.

Adan, a time, is the Chald. עדן, tempus.

Ushaal-ksi, orbavi eam, I deprived her of (something) is the Heb. שכל, orbavit. The addition of the feminine pronoun *si* to the verb in this manner, is frequent.

Mamutsi, wealth, is the Heb. מאמצים, wealth; which is used in the Book of Job (see Gesenius). The word occurs in Tiglath Pileser's inscription, Col. V. 14, where it is applied, as here, to the wealth of a god. In that passage it is written *mamit*. Tiglath Pileser dedicates the whole of the spoil to remain for ever in the temple, *mamit ili rabi*, as the property of the great gods. Perhaps on the clay tablet we should read *mamtu-si*; her wealth.

Ittabul is the *t* conjugation of the verb *nabal*, נבל, cecidit, decidit (Buxt.); it may be translated fell off, or came off.

Mir, some jewel, which I take to be a ruby. *Mir* for *emir;* so named from חמר, red.

Ammini, the right hand. Heb. ימין, manus dextra.

Nigab I have conjecturally translated "a priest." It has before it the sign which means *rank* or *class*, or *profession*. But I do not find it in Hebrew. Perhaps the word is *nigam*, for *b* and *m* are nearly the same in Assyrian. In that case I would compare it to the Heb. *nigan*, נגן, a musician. For these people are mentioned in the earlier part of the inscription as if they were musicians. What is said is very obscure, indeed partly effaced or broken: it is, however, nearly as follows:—

1. Alik nigam pitash li baba(ti)
2. uppitsi-u kima panni labiru(ti)
3. illik nigam iptash li baba(ti).

Which I think may be translated:—

1. Go, musician! and beat the drum,
2. and strike it as in former times.
3. The musician went, and beat the drum.

Babat I take to mean a drum, from the root בוב, vacuus.

Pitash is from the root פטש, malleus, any instrument for striking, for instance a drumstick. The verb פטש means *malleo percussit*. Hence Gesenius derives *πατασσω*.

Uppitsi may be from the verb נפץ, whence we find the derived word מפץ, malleus. The agreement of the two words *pitash* and *uppitsi*, both signifying *malleo percussit*, is remarkable. Nevertheless the second line, *uppitsi-u kima panni labiruti*, may imply something very

different from what I have given. It may mean, "take a pledge (or an oath) from her (*uppit-si*) as in former times." For it appears from the sequel that an oath was administered. If this view of the line can be taken, *uppit* may stand for the Hebrew עבט, which certainly bears a sense very suitable to this passage, namely, pignus dedit pro mutuo, and also, pignore dato mutuum accepit, according to Gesenius. Buxtorf has, mutuatus est dato pignore, and pigneratus est. The Hiphil, הֶעֱבִיט, has the same meaning, and comes nearer in sound to *uppit*.

The line *illik nigam iptash*, etc. is followed by a line which says that the *nigam* administered an oath by the deity, *shabi bilti*, etc., but I cannot understand it. It seems to imply, "may ruin befall thee, unless," etc. etc. Then follows the sevenfold delivery of the jewels. From what precedes, I conclude that the *nigam* was a musician, but he must have had some priestly authority; and therefore, for the present, the word may be translated "priest." The text continues thus: *Ammini nigab*, the right hand of the priest, *tatbul*, replaced or gave. This verb is in the third person, feminine gender, being governed by ימין, the right hand, which Gesenius says is usually, though not always, feminine. So in Latin, *dextra*. The verb *tabul* is the *t* conjugation of the Hebrew יבל, one of the senses of which is to give: tulit, obtulit ut munera (Ges.).

Sabi, swear! This is the Hebrew שבע, juravit.

Bilti, deity.

Nin, divine queen; divine ruler. This word is frequently used, and applied indiscriminately to both gods and goddesses. Also in the Proto-Chaldean inscriptions; and it interchanges with *Il*, a god.

Kiti, of the earth.

Kiham, to restore again. *Kiham*, as an adverb, signifies *again*. This meaning was first discovered by Dr. Hincks, who obligingly communicated it to me.

It will be observed how well this clears up the meaning of the clause which recurs so often in the Behistun inscription. *Darius sar kiham igabbi*; Darius the king says *again*. It also occurs in the inscription of Nabonidus, Col. II. 55, *Kiham ikbuni umma:* Again they said thus, ("we have searched for it and we cannot find it"). See also Col. II. 34.

Panni, or *pannini*, in Hebrew written sometimes פנים, sometimes פנינים, were some kind of jewels. Some render it *pearls*, but others consider it to be of a red colour, *pyropus*, garnet. Gesenius proposes *red coral;* but the general sense of *jewels* is much more probable, which would include all these varieties of colour.

Inzabati, earrings. The Hebrew word is נזם, inauris, an earring. But *b* and *m* are nearly the same in Assyrian.

Birakhi, some bright jewels, called in Hebrew ברקי. But the proper meaning of ברק is *fulgur*, and the precious stones were so named because they emitted bright flashes of light by reflection.

Tik, the neck. So in the phrase often used by the Assyrian kings, *kabits tik aibi-su*, treading upon the necks of his enemies.

Dudinati. These jewels evidently took their name from דוד, *dud*, to love. They were small, since they were placed on the eyebrow.

Gaba, the eyebrow. Hebrew גב, supercilium.

Mibu. This precious stone is also named in the

great E. I. H. inscription, Col. VIII. 11. That passage mentions precious stones, and adds: *Mibu sumu-su sukuru;* their name is the costly *mibu.*

Kabalti, the midde; *i. e.* the girdle.

Kharri were gold rings; both bracelets and anklets had that name. Noblemen and officers wore them even on the field of battle, so that after a victory Sennacherib cut off great numbers of them from the hands and feet of the slain.

Subibulti, sparklers. These gems were probably diamonds. The name is a diminutive (implying that they were small and beautiful), from שביב, scintilla, or flamma, according to Buxtorf and Gesenius.

Tzuri, the back of the neck. This is the Hebrew צור, *tzur*, collum, also written צואר. That it was the back of the neck is evident from the passages, where it is said to bear a burden or a yoke, Deut. xxviii. 48, etc. So in the Michaux inscription, Col. IV. 6: "May the gods impose grievous burdens upon his neck!" (*tzuri-su.*) The following remarks apply to the passage on the other side of the tablet.

Ushatzi, I left off, or I took off. It is the Hebrew שיצא, finivit, which Gesenius affirms to be the *shaphel* of יצא, while other lexicons make it an independent root. That Gesenius is right is proved clearly by the bilingual tablets in the British Museum, which render יצא by the Proto-Chaldæan *utdu*, and *ushatzi*, or שיצא, by *tutan-utdu*, a causative conjugation of the same root.

Simat, royal ornaments, is a frequent word.

Tir seems to be the Hebrew מדהר, splendor, majestas. From this root I think we may derive *tiara.*

Shamir, diamonds. שמיר, adamas; lapis durissi-

mus (Buxtorf). These gems must have been set in the golden bracelets and anklets (*kharri*) previously mentioned.

Haguraba is named instead of *emir rabu*, which I translated the great Ruby. *Hagur* seems to be simply *hagar*, the stone.

There is not much more in this well-preserved tablet which is intelligible to me. In one place a peculiar symbol is repeated five times, and each time is followed by the name of some part of the body, viz. the eyes; the side (*akhi*); the feet; the mouth (*pibbi*, Chald. פּם); and the head. Hence, I think that this peculiar symbol is a *determinative* of all members of the human body. There is much mention of *Arubnaki*, one of the principal gods of Assyria, whom I am disposed to identify with Oceanus. It seems that his statue had been left in some neglected place, for we find that a command is given: *Arubnaki suza!* bring forth Arubnaki! *as guza khurassi*[1] *susib!* seat him on a golden throne!

This injunction was accordingly obeyed, as we are told in the following words:—*Arubnaki ushaza*, he brought forth Arubnaki; *as guza khurassi ushasib*, and seated him on a golden throne. The verbs *ushaza* and *ushasib* are very common, but the imperatives *suza* and *susib* are interesting. After this follows apparently a similar injunction concerning the statue of "the goddess of the waters," whom we may reasonably suppose to have been the wife of Oceanus, answering to the Τηθυς of the Greeks. But the words are partially fractured, and not intelligible. I can only see that

[1] This word is destroyed, but I have restored it from the corresponding clause, which is preserved entire.

the command *la tsulukh!* is followed by the performance *la itslukh.*

Additional Remarks.

I should have mentioned that a previous line also contains an injunction and its fulfilment. It is very obscure, and stands as follows: putting A and B for the two divine names which are of doubtful pronunciation.

Ilu (A) *igabbi ana ilu* (B), (the god A said to the god B) *alik ilu* (B) *makhash haikal Gina.* (Go! god B, and sanctify the temple of Gina.) Then follows *illik ilu* (B), *imkhash haikal Gina* (the god B went, and sanctified the temple of Gina). I translate *makhash* "sanctify," from its resemblance to the word *makhash* or *makhaz*, a temple, or temple-palace, or holy city, which is a very frequent word. After this follows another injunction and its fulfilment: *Zahin!* adorn or embellish! (the stone statues of the gods); and the corresponding line says, *uzahin*, he did adorn (the statues of the gods). The verb *zahin*, to adorn a temple, occurs several times in Nebuchadnezzar's inscriptions. The gods are here called *ilu*, with a plural sign added: the *Elohim* of the more ancient Hebrews. The sign for "*stone*" precedes, which shows that the *statues* of the gods are spoken of. Exactly the same phrase occurs in the Esarhaddon inscription, Col. V. 18, where the kinds of stone whereof the statues were made are specified, as *alabaster*, etc. etc.

Immediately after this follows the line,—"Bring forth Arubnaki," etc. etc., which I have already given.

THE SIEGE OF MADAKTA.

The historical inscriptions in the Assyrian language which are found in our museums, are for the most part abridgments made from much more voluminous records. These fuller annals of the kings' reigns were probably written on papyrus, and therefore they have not reached our times. The scribes selected, according to their judgment, more or less of these records, and inscribed them on terra-cotta cylinders, of a convenient size for reading and for storing in the libraries of the richer and more intelligent classes of society.

When two inscriptions written by different scribes record the same events, it sometimes happens that they throw great light upon each other; because though they intend to express the same general meaning, they employ different words. And it may happen, that where the one uses obscure and unusual phrase, the other writes simply, and therefore his text serves as a commentary upon that of the other.

As an example of this, I propose to give the account of the siege of Madakta by Sennacherib, as presented by two different narrators. It is very short, but has not hitherto been correctly translated.

Sennacherib was at war with Shadu-Nakunda, king of the Susians. He invaded Susiana and committed great ravages. He plundered and burnt thirty-four of their principal cities, those lying on the western side of Susiana.

"*The smoke of their burning, like a mighty cloud, obscured the face of high heaven.*"

The king of the Susians took alarm, and consulted, rather ignobly, his personal safety by a rapid flight

to the mountains, leaving a body of troops to defend Madakta, his capital. Sennacherib soon invested the city, and his scouts espying an undefended angle of the citadel, the troops assaulted it, and so captured the city. Such is the account given, as I understand it, of this military exploit. The weak point in the acropolis was probably neglected because it was deemed inaccessible; but the Assyrian soldiers appear to have been remarkably active, like the modern Zouaves. They are repeatedly said in the inscriptions to have assaulted towns perched on lofty crags, "which even birds could hardly reach." And see the prophet Joel (chapters 1 and 2) where they are compared to locusts. "They shall run like mighty men; they shall climb the wall like men of war . . . they shall run to and fro in the city; they shall run upon the wall; they shall climb up upon the houses; they shall enter in at the windows like a thief."

The city of Madakta has been well identified by Sir H. Rawlinson with Badaca of Diodorus, a city twenty-five miles N.W. of Susa.

Of the two accounts which I propose to compare, that marked A is found in Taylor's cylinder (B. M. pl. xl. l. 69); and that marked B in the Constantinople inscription (B. M. pl. xliii. l. 39).

A.

Ishmiu kishitti iri-su Shadu-Nakundu Elamu imkutsu khattu:	Hearing of the capture of his cities, Shadu-Nakundu the Elamite was struck with terror.
Sitti iri-su ana dannati usharib:	The best warriors of his cities he left as a guard:

Suhu ir Madakti ir sarti-su etzibu,

But he himself escaped from Madakta, his capital city,

ana ir Khaidala sha kireb shaddie tsiruti itzabit kharranu.

and marched straight to the city of Khaidala, which is seated among high mountains.

Ana ir Madakti ir sarti-su alaku akbi.

Then I gave command to advance and attack Madakta, his capital city.

Arki ta khirinti na-dannu .

At the time of year when the days are of excessive heat,

eruba-amma.

I arrived before it.

Shagabtu mahattu ushashnin

I assaulted a ruinous part of the Acropolis

Ha ilu ! sha ha ilu !

with shouts of victory,

u raggu nakhali natakhu shaddie adura.

and I flung the bodies of the slain down the rugged ravines (or water-courses) of the hill.

The account given by B is in the following words:—

Sar Nuva-ki kashat iri-su ishmiu, imkutsu khatu.

The king of Susiana hearing of the capture of his cities, was struck with terror.

Sitti nisi mat-su ana dannati ushali.

The best warriors among the men of his land he left as a guard.

Suhu ir Madaktu ir sarti-su etzibu

But he himself escaped from Madakta, his capital city,

ana ir Khaidala sha kireb shaddie ishtakan khani-su.	and pitched his camp at the city of Khaidala, which is among the mountains.
Ana ir Madakti ir sarti-su alaku akbi.	Then I gave command to advance and attack Madakta, his capital city.
Arki Ab kutsu dannu iksuda-amma.	In the month of Ab (or July), a time of great heat, I arrived there.
Shagabtu la zitzitu illiku.	[*My soldiers*] attacked a pinnacle of the rock which was not fortified.
Raggu nakalli natakhu shadi adura.	And I flung the bodies of the slain down the rugged ravines of the hill.

Both the copies A and B have *imkutsu khattu*, he was struck with terror: from the Hebrew מחץ, percussit, and חת, terror; but B expresses the Hebrew ח in the latter word by the sign , which usually stands for *pa*. This *polyphony* is one of the chief difficulties of the Assyrian language. This cuneiform sign also very frequently expresses the Hebrew ח in the name of the Khatti, or Syrians (in Hebrew חתי). Again, it is used for ח, in the word *khani*, a camp, to which we shall come presently.

The account in A goes on to say, that the king left choice troops (*sitti*), to guard the city. This word is usually written *sittati*. It occurs very frequently. "He left," is expressed in A by *usharib*, in B by *ushali*. These words, however, appear to be the same, and to be forms of the Hebrew *shar*, שאר, reliquit. A little further on, A has *itzabit kharranu*, he marched

straight away (to Khaidala), where B has *ishtakan khani-su*, he pitched his camp (at that city).

Itzabit is from Hebrew *tsaba*, צבא, to march (said of an army). *Khani* is the Hebrew חנה, *khana*, a camp, for which they also use *makhana*. I have already remarked that in the word *khani*, the Hebrew ח is expressed by I have thus given three examples of this usage: others occur here and there in the inscriptions, but not often.

Alaku akbi, i. e. *akbi*, I commanded; *alaku!* advance!

Arki generally means "a month," but it may also be translated "time of year."

In A it is called *ta*, the day (or the time), *khirinti nadannu*, of excessive heat: from Hebrew חרון, *khirun*, great heat; æstus, ardor (Buxtorf): and *dannu*, to make great or powerful.

In B it is called the month of Ab, which Buxtorf says is July. *Khutsu dannu*, *i. e.* (tempus) æstatis magnæ, from קיץ, æstas (Buxtorf). The accounts therefore agree, though the words differ. This month is called on the tablet of Seleucus, in the British Museum, *utzu dannu*, which seems the same, only omitting the initial aspirate.

A then has, *eruba*, I arrived there, or I reached the place. This verb is very common in the Annals of Ashurakhbal. For this, B substitutes *iksuda*, I arrived.

Now, if we turn to the Behistun inscription, line 66, we find this verb. It is there said, "I sent troops to assist Hystaspes. After these troops had *reached* Hystaspes (*iksudu*), he advanced," etc. etc. So Rawlinson translates the passage (postea quod copiæ ad Hystaspem *accedissent*).

Then A says, *ushashnin*, I assaulted, or rather, I

caused to be assaulted; the *sha* conjugation of *shanan* to attack. Of this verb we also find the *t* conjugation *ashtanan*, I fought; as well as the simple form, e. g. *ishananu*, they fought (B. M. pl. xvii. line 1).

A continues, I assaulted, *shagabtu*, the height or summit, or pinnacle. This is the Hebrew שגב, *shagab* (Ges. 956), which he renders altus fuit; sublimis fuit; and, therefore, tutum fecit (aliquem) ab hoste. And the derived word *mashgab* משגב, he renders, locus editus, rupes, refugium et securitatem præbens: inde dicitur de ipso *refugio*, Psalm ix. 10, etc. I think all this is nearly expressed by the single word *acropolis*.

According to A, the *shagabtu* was *mahattu*, or overthrown and ruined. This is a participle from the Hebrew עות, *subvertit*, of which the participle מעות, *perversus*, is found in Eccles. i. 15 (see Buxtorf).

But according to B, the *shagabtu* was *la zitzitu*, not fortified. It probably once had been so, but was now in a ruinous condition. This word *zitz* is very frequent in Assyrian; it means to set up a thing firmly and strongly. It is the Hebrew עזז *aziz*, roboravit, from the root עז, *fortis*, and as a substantive, *robur*.

When a king has engraved a tablet, recording his glories, he almost always says, *ushaziz*, I caused it to be fixed up firmly (adding the name of some public place).

Illiku, they attacked; *i. e.* my soldiers attacked; from *alak*, to attack, Hebrew הלך.

Ha ilu! sha ha ilu! This, I think, is the battle-cry of Sennacherib's soldiers, 'Hurrah! in the name of the gods!' B omits it, but it adds to the spirit of the description.

Raggu, the corpses of the slain; from the Hebrew

רקק, otherwise רק, to smite. This word is very frequent in the inscription of Tiglath Pileser, and it also occurs in plate xxxiv. of the British Museum inscriptions, line 29, which was written several centuries later. The phrase is *rak mata kuradi-sun*, the dead bodies of their soldiers.

Nakhali in A, *nakalli* in B, is the Hebrew נחל *nakhal*, a mountain torrent, generally dry in the summer; hence, a *ravine*.

Natakhu, broken, precipitous; from the Hebrew נתק, rupit: and נתח has the same meaning.

Shaddi, lofty; from שד, excelsus,

Adura, I hurled them down. The root is the Hebrew *dur*, דור, or דדר, in orbem egit; cursu citato egit.

FRAGMENT CONCERNING A WAR IN SYRIA.

In the annals of Esarhaddon, of which I gave a translation in the Transactions of this Society, there is a passage (col. iii. 19) which stands as follows:—

19. Arka Hazael shimut ubil-su,[2]	After (*the death?*) of Hazael,
20. Iahu-luhu bal-su	Iahu-luhu his son
21. As guza-su ushasibu.	I placed upon his throne.

It then goes on to say:—

"I fixed the amount of his tribute, which was more than his father paid."

[2] The tablet K 110 explains *shimut-su* by *dim*, rest or sleep, which is the Heb דם, otherwise דום, *quievit*.

In looking over the photographs made in the British Museum, I have found, very unexpectedly, a continuation of this history. It occurs on a tablet marked K 30. I am not certain whether it relates the annals of Esarhaddon or of his son Ashurbanipal, but I think more probably the latter.

In that case, the events related are probably twenty years later than those in Esarhaddon's tablet.

The name of the son of Hazael is changed from Iahu-luhu to Iahu-tahu. I am therefore doubtful whether it means the same individual. Probably it may be his brother, another son of Hazael; because the account begins by his performing homage, which looks like the commencement of a reign.

The following is my translation of the tablet, in which some inaccuracies must be excused, as I have not seen the original, but only the photograph:—

1. Iahu-tahu bal Hazael	Iahu-tahu, son of Hazael,
2. sar mati kizakkhu-su epish arduti-ya.	the king of the land, had bound himself to do homage to me.

Kizakkhu is probably the Heb. חזק, he bound; *su*, himself.

3. ash su ili-su . . . . nu-ya issu-su,	(holding) in his hand his gods, (*unto my majesty ?*) he brought them.

Compare the "suppliant king," in Esarhaddon, col. iii. 7, bringing his gods in his hand to Esarhaddon's presence.

4. Imkhar annima, utsala sarruti.	He gave them to me and he supplicated my majesty.
5. Sumi ili rabi ushasdir-su.	I inscribed upon them the names of the great gods:

viz. those of the Assyrian gods. This is what Esarhaddon did on a similar occasion (col. iii. 11, of his inscription).

Imkhar is from Heb. מכר *makar*, tradidit.

6. ilu Hadar-samain utaru attan-su.	and then I gave him back his deity, called Hadar-samain.

So Esarhaddon graciously returned his gods to the suppliant king, after he had placed holy names upon them (col. iii. 12).

The name Hadar-samain is very indistinct. I think it may be the name of some Syrian god, meaning "Glory of the Heavens," אדר שמים, probably some image of the Sun.

7. Arkanu edi-ya ikhdi as mashapti la (. . . .)	After my departure he was deceived by false astrological predictions

Edi-ya, my departure. Gesenius says: עדה, *discessit*. Vox propriè Chaldaica.

The rest of the line is nearly illegible. If *ikhdi* is right, it may be from אחד, a Chald. form of אחז, *cepit*, so that *ikhdi* would mean *captus est*, he was deceived. *Mashapti*, prediction; from אשף, astrologus, a Chaldæan word. *La*, not; followed by a word quite effaced, which probably meant "true."

8. Itsla *suthut?* — To throw off (*the yoke?*)
šelluti-ya. — of my majesty.

This is written in a larger hand by the scribe, with more space between the letters, as if he was impressed by the audacity of the act which he recorded, a resolve to rebel against so great a monarch.

Itsla, from צלל, to shake off; generally to shake off a yoke from the neck. This word is frequent in the inscriptions. The next word may be *suthut*, but it is almost illegible. It has the sign for *wood* prefixed to it, and therefore may mean "a yoke:" compare the phrase *isuthu abshani*.

9. Ana . . . . ya nir-su
ibrutzu. — On the . . . . he broke off his allegiance.

Ibrutzu, from פרץ, *rupit*. The middle of the line is nearly destroyed.

10. Ikla tamarti. — And he refused to pay tribute.

Again, a larger writing is employed, as if for emphasis.

11. Nisi mat Aribi
itti-su ushabuliku. — The tribes of the Arabians he caused to revolt along with him.

The word *ushabuliku* is important. It is generally shortened to *usbuliku* or *vasbuliku*, as in B. M. xxxii. 41, *mat usbuliku*, "he caused the land to rebel." The root is *buluk*, to rebel, which is not found in Hebrew in that form; but I think that it is closely related to the Heb. פלג, to split or divide. In fact, *schism* and *rebellion* are nearly the same. We often meet with such phrases as *ibbuluk*, he rebelled; *iblaku*, they re-

belled; *in bulukti-su rabti*, during his great rebellion, etc. This verb in the causative conjugation becomes *shabuluk*, to cause to rebel; whence the word in the text, *ushabuliku*.

12. Ikhtanap (. . .) khubut Martu-ki. — And he profaned the finest (*temples*?) of Syria.

This line is obscure, owing to the loss of a word, which I think may have meant *temples*.

Ikhtanap seems to be the *t* conjugation of the Heb. verb *khanap*, חנף, profanare.

Khubut, the finest or choicest: from root חב, dilexit, amavit; it implies preference and excellence.

The land of Martu is Phœnicia or western Syria.

13. Ummani-ya sha as mitsir mat-su ashli
14. umahira tsirussu. — My army, which I had sent to guard the country, I sent rapidly against him.

Mitsir I consider to be a verbal substantive, from the Heb. נצר, *natsir*, custodire. It will therefore mean *custodia*.

Ashli, I sent; from שלח, *misit*.

Umahira, from Heb. מהר, *mahir*, festinavit.

Tsir, against, is frequent, *e. g.* I marched against Maniah (*tsir Maniah*), B. M. xl. 2.

15. Sisi-sun ishkunu. Nisi mat Aribi
16. mala itbuni, urasibu. as esku. — They destroyed his army. The Arabian tribes who had risen up against me, they put to the sword.

Ishkunu, they (viz. my soldiers) destroyed.

Mala. This word occurs here and there, in the sense of the relative *qui, quæ, quod*. In the Michaux and other similar inscriptions, we find *ili rabi mala in*

nari anni, the great gods *who* are named on this tablet. Perhaps this word *mala* is connected with *ma* (quod), which occurs on the tablets in such phrases as *quod* rex mihi jussit, id feci. This is the Chaldee מה, qui, quæ, quod. According to Buxtorf and Gesenius, אל or אלה or אלין, signifies hi, illi, isti; or hæ, illæ, istæ, but always in the plural. It is possible that the Assyrian *mala* may be formed of מה and אל coalesced.

Itbuni. This word is very frequent, especially in the phrase *ana gabi-ya itbuni*, they advanced against my majesty. In the singular it is, *ana gabi-ya itba*, he advanced against my majesty.

Urasibu as esku is a very common phrase.

17. Bit gabir, mutari mushabi-sun	A great Building, which was their house of assembly and their *palace?*

This line is found, word for word, in Sennacherib's inscription, B. M. xxxvii. 76.

18. bil ushakhit-zu, ibkidu ana ashut.	(my soldiers) polluted and then condemned it to the flames.

The first word *bil* is of doubtful meaning, perhaps it is related to בלל, maculavit, inquinavit, so that the sense may be that they profaned the building and then destroyed it.

Ushakhit, from שחת, perdidit, corrupit.

Ibkidu, they condemned. Heb. פקד, punivit. In Assyrian, *pakit* means *judex*.

The word for *fire* or *flames* is the usual symbol.

19. ga, tsieni, pardi?, nisi zakus	The oxen, sheep, mules, and people chained together,

20. asib kitu ishluluni as la (mini). — who inhabited the land, they carried off as a spoil, in great numbers.

Ga or *gai* (oxen) is not, as I think, the Indo-Germanic or Sanskrit word *ga*, although it has accidentally the same meaning. The Assyrian *gai* seems plainly derived from the verb געה or געא, *mugiit*, to low or bellow.

Zakus is a doubtful word, and broken at the end. It is probably "chained," from the Hebrew זקים, catenæ, compedes. For, so in Lord Aberdeen's inscription of Esarhaddon, chained gangs of people dwelling in the land (*shabati nisi asib girbi su*) are carried off for punishment.

21. sikhib mati kala mu ana . . . . — The spoil of the land of every description unto . . .

Sikhib, spoil, from Heb. סחב, rapuit.

Kala mu means, I think, "of every denomination." The phrase occurs in the name of Esarhaddon's palace, *Haikal pakidat kala mu*, "Palace of protection of every kind," *i. e.* where every useful thing was stored up, protected, encouraged (see B. M. pl. xlvii. col. vi. 26, of Esarhaddon's inscription).

Mu is a Proto-Chaldæan word, meaning "a name," but I think it was adopted into the Assyrian language like many others.

The fractured state of the tablet makes the rest of the history unintelligible; I will therefore only add a connected translation of the portion which has been preserved.

"Iahu-tahu, the son of Hazael, the king of the country, had promised to do homage to me. He came unto

my majesty, holding his gods in his hand. He gave them unto me, and he supplicated my majesty. I inscribed upon them the names of the great gods of Assyria, and then I gave him back his deity, called Hadar-Samain. But after my departure he was deceived by false astrological predictions, which told him to throw off the yoke of my majesty. On the .... he broke off his allegiance; and he refused to pay tribute. The tribes of the Arabians he caused to revolt along with him, and he profaned the finest temples of Syria. My army, which I had sent to guard the country, destroyed his army. The Arabian tribes who had risen up against me they put to the sword. A great building, which was their House of Assembly and their Palace, my soldiers polluted and then condemned it to the flames. The oxen, sheep, mules, and the inhabitants of the land, chained together, they carried off in great numbers; and they took the spoil of the land of every description."

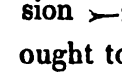
This is all that remains of the Syrian war. In another part of the tablet the king says:—"The written records of my name and my heroic deeds which I performed in foreign lands by the help of Ashur, the Moon, the Sun, Bel, Nebo, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninev, and Acherib, I made sculptured tablets of them, to preserve their memory unto future times."

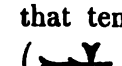
The last line is *ashkun dananu lizak(ri) . . . ana akhrat tami.*

Lizakri: to preserve the memory of it: from *zakar*, זכר, recordatus est, meminit; and as a subst. *memoria.*

Dananu is an image, or picture, or sculptured tablet.

Thus in the Esarhaddon inscription, col. iii. 10,

Danan Ashur is Ashur's image. I think that the expression  , *ilu dan*, which frequently occurs, ought to be translated "a divine image," or the *statue* of some god. Take, for example, the following passage from the Annals of Ashurakhbal, B. M. xxiii. 132:—

"I built a new fortress in Calah city. Within its precinct I built a temple to Ninev, my lord. When that temple of Ninev was finished, I made a statue () of his great divinity, and I raised it up (*elu*) on a pedestal (*dumuk*) of white marble and gold, and I gave it to his great divinity in the city of Calah."

I have translated *kuri* stone, "white marble," because חור, in Hebrew, means *white*.

As to the origin of this sense of *dan* (which is quite different from the word *dan*, fortis), I think it is the Assyrian form of the Syriac *dam*, דם, which means resemblance or similitude. Such changes of final *m* into final *n* are frequent. A remarkable one is found in the E. I. H. inscription (B. M. lxiii. 26), where we read, "I have not built another city so splendidly, *kirbi mati tan*, throughout the whole country," where *tan* is an Assyrian form of the Hebrew *tam*, תם, *integer*, entire.

The Reverse of the tablet is greatly defaced. It relates to a war against a chief called Dunanu, king of the Bulu, who dwelt in the city of Shapi-Bel, situate between two rivers, and trusted for aid to the king of the Susians,—and refused to bow down before me. Nevertheless, he and his brothers were captured alive in the battle; the Assyrian army swept over the land of Bulu like a whirlwind (*kima im kabitti*) and carried off his wife, sons, daughters, men-servants, and women-servants.

In this inscription *bigæ*, or two-horse chariots, are spoken of. They are called *rakabi tsibitti niri*, chariots of double yoke. The city of Shapi-Bel is named in other inscriptions.

As an Appendix to this brief account of a Syrian war, I will add some remarks upon the name of Iahu-luhu, the son of Hazael, the king against whom it was waged. This name probably means "Jah is with him," or "*Iαω* is with him," in Hebrew letters יהלו, or יהולו. The name is not Assyrian, but Hebrew. The Assyrian form would be Iahu-itti-su. This king's name is very similar in meaning to that of the king of Hamath conquered by Sargon, Iahu-biadi, or "*Iαω* is with me," in Hebrew letters יהבידי, for Gesenius explains that בידי, which is literally "in manu meâ," is a Hebrew phrase signifying *mecum*.

There can be no doubt as to the meaning of Iahu, for in some of Sargon's inscriptions it has *the divine sign* prefixed, and in one of them (B. M. 36, 25) the name of Iahu-biadi is changed to Ilu-biadi, showing plainly that Iahu meant "god" in the Syrian language, which was expressed by *ilu* in the Assyrian. Gesenius remarks that though יה is frequent in Hebrew, as, for example, הללו יה and ביה שמו (Jah est nomen ejus), yet יהו is only found at the beginning or end of proper names. He then goes on to observe (s. v. יהוה) that the true ancient pronunciation of the holy name יהוה was *Iαω*, and he produces several passages of ancient authors in confirmation of this. Diod. i. 94, says, *ἱστορουσι . . . τους νομους διδοναι . . . παρα δε τους Ιουδαιους Μωσην τον ΙΑΩ επικαλουμενον θεον.*

Hesych. v. *Οζειας*; interp. ad Clem. Alex. Strom. v. p. 666, *καλουσι δε αυτο . . . Ιουδαιοι δε ΙΑΩ.* But

in Strom. v. 562, *IAOT* (יהוה). Gesenius then adds the testimony of the Gnostic gems, which give abundant examples of the name *Iαω*. Nevertheless the proofs which I have offered from the Assyrian sculptures of the seventh century before Christ appear more convincing still, and seem to leave no doubt about it. We may also add the name of Hezekiah, which is written in Assyrian Hazak-iahu (B. M. pl. xxxviii. and xxxix.).

ON INEFFABLE NAMES.

The annals of Ashurakhbal, lithographed in plates xvii. to xxvi. of the British Museum volume of inscriptions, commence with an invocation to the god Ninev, the Assyrian Hercules, who was reputed to have been the founder of Nineveh. This invocation contains many mystical titles hard to be understood, and which will probably require much study before their meaning is well ascertained. But among them there is one which appears perfectly clear, and which, in my opinion, is very important. I shall make it the subject of the present notice. It occurs in pl. xvii. line 8.

Ninev . . . sha as lishan ilu sum-su iluti mamma la buluka ishtila. "Ninev . . . whose divine name, by which he is called *in the language of the gods*, no one must lightly pronounce in vain."

This passage throws a flood of light upon many others, in which the "unspoken name" is alluded to more briefly.

The attention of scholars, and indeed of all readers of Homer, has long been drawn to those marvellous

lines in which he tells us that the gods conversed in a language of their own, quite different from that of mortal men. Thus he says of the river Xanthus,—

τον Ξανθον καλεουσι θεοι, ανδρες δε Σκαμανδρον.

And of a certain monument or lofty mound near Troy,—

"*Men* indeed call it Βατιεια; but *the Gods* the tomb of Myrinna."

Αθανατοι δε τε σημα πολυσκαρθμοιο Μυριννης.

And it has been doubted whether this bold fiction was the invention of Homer himself, or was handed down to him from his predecessors? But the very firmness of his assertion respecting the language of the gods, as a simple fact, shows that he only spoke out the general belief.

And we now see that an Assyrian monarch (who may well have been Homer's contemporary) affirms the same belief in express terms: "In the language of the gods," he says, "Ninev had a *divine* name." This adjective "divine" I have transcribed by *iluti* (of divinity), because I am not clear how it was pronounced. The *pronunciation* however is of little moment, compared with the *meaning* of the term.

Mamma or *mamman* is a word which occurs frequently, and signifies *none* or *no one*.

Buluk is the Heb. בלק, vanus, vacuus, inanis. I have rendered it "in vain."

Ishtila, he may slight, contemn, make light of, treat lightly, is the *t* conjugation of the Heb. סלה, vilipendit, elevavit, *i. e.* contempsit (levia enim parvi sunt momenti, says Gesenius).

I will now pass on to some other passages which lead to the same conclusions.

Neriglissar's inscription, col. ii. 31 (see B. M. pl. lxvii.).

31. Marduk bel rabu, bel ilu rabbu,	O Marduk, great lord, lord of the great gods!
32. Nur ilu abbima!	Light of the gods! my father!
33. in kibiti-ka tsirti sha la nakari	In thy celestial name which is never pronounced aloud,
34. Bit ebus, lala-su lusbu!	I have built this temple; may its glory endure!

The Assyrian term for "speaking aloud" is *kara*. This is the Heb. קרא, clamavit, vel nominavit. From hence comes the Niphal or passive form *nakara*, to be spoken aloud; to be openly named.

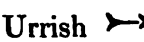
Still more emphatic is the language addressed to Marduk in an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, col. ii. 27; see B. M. pl. 52.

27. In pi-ka illu sha la nakari	In thy divine name which is not spoken aloud,
28. ibaraku tami-ya	may my days be blessed
29. kini littuti.	with a beloved offspring.
30. In kibiti-ka tsirti sha la subielu,	In thy celestial name which is not even whispered,
31. etc. etc. etc.	may, etc. etc.

Subielu is probably from the Semitic *subul*, סבל, efflare.

We have seen that Ninev was not the *celestial* name of that deity. What then was his celestial name? This seems to have varied according to the traditions of various countries or of different temples in the same country. In B. M. pl. xvii. 2, it is expressed by

a symbol, which, for the present, I will render "Hercules."

Urrish  At the first he was called
ṭtik malik ilu. *Hercules* in the speech of the gods.

Urrish, (at first) might be a derivative from *ur*, which is used for early morning, *oriens*. But the grammatical tablet 156 *a*, seems to give this word as one of the derivatives from the root *rish* (first; or head), which etymology, if correct, would explain why a deity is sometimes called *urrish ilu*, first of the gods.

Itik, he was called; from נתק, locutus est (Schindler).

Malik seems put for *as mali* (in the speech); from מלה, sermo. But the syntax of words ending in *k*, is not yet well understood, such as *kayanak*, *labatlak*, *pitlukak*, etc.

Two lines after this, we read concerning Ninev:—

Sha la enu kibitaka-su reshdan nisi. Whom men do not call by his *real* name.

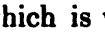
Enu, they speak; they call; is the Heb. ענה, *enah*, to speak.

Kibitak, a name, is an *emphatic* form of the usual *kibita*. It occurs also as *kibituk*, e. g. Kibituk-ka, riminu Marduk, bit ebus. In thy name, O supreme Marduk, I have built this house.

The next line (B. M. xvii. 5) is one of much interest. Ninev is there called—

Shib sha la uttakkaru zigir shipti-su, itik rapsu Rub-Mi-Ilu mutallu shemesh (. . .)

The King whom men call not by his royal name nor by his great title, "Chief of a hundred gods." And mystically he is the Meridian Sun.

The first word in this sentence is generally to be read *ru*, but sometimes *shib*, as in *shibta*, a dwelling, (the same as *subat*) which is written  *ta*.

Shib or *ship* frequently signifies a king, whence *shipti*, royalty. But if preferred, the word may be read as *Ru*, and viewed as being the Heb. רעה, rex, pastor, ποιμην λαων.

Uttakkaru, they speak aloud, points to a root *nakar*.

Itik is a word we have considered before. Here it seems to mean *nomen*, *appellatio*.

Rapsu, magnus: e. g. *rapsu nagu*, regio magna.

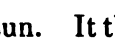
Mutallu appears to mean, mystically called; darkly called; from the Arabic, עטל, caliginosum esse. Gesenius remarks that this verb compounded with עף, a bird, gives עטלף, vespertilio (quasi avis volans in caligine), which is found in Hebrew. The word *mutallu* is also found in B. M. xxvii. 7, where "Nebo of the golden sceptre" is called by the simple epithet of *ilu mutallu*, "the mysterious god."

The Sun in the South cannot at present be transliterated, because the South is expressed by a symbol which has not yet been read phonetically.

"Chief of a hundred gods." The inscription of Pul (B. M. xxxv. line 3) gives this great title to Nebo, but in a slightly altered form, Rub-Mi-Shalliklati, which may mean Chief of a hundred angels, for the word may mean *nuntius*, αγγελος, from the root שלח, misit. And it is there said that this was Nebo's *celestial* name (kibit-su makhrat; from *makhar*, cælestis, vel sublimis).

But it seems singular that Ninev or Nebo should rule over a hundred, or any other *limited* number, of inferior deities or angels. I therefore remark that *mi* (which usually signifies a hundred) is also explained

in the Syllabary, No. 110, by *kalu* and *kulu*, that is to say, *all* [the Hebrew כל]. If we adopt that meaning, the title will import "Lord of *all* the angels."

The inscription of the king whom Rawlinson calls Shamas Phul (B. M. pl. xxxii.) again invokes Ninev, and calls him the Meridian Sun, and *mumahir gimri*, inspector of all things, which is a well-known title of the sun. It then adds, *mutalli*  "mystically called (*Hercules*):" *sha la immakharu dannut-su reshdan Arubnaki al malli ilu*, "whose real name they do not receive (*do not know?*) Arubnaki, in the language of the gods."

This name Arubnaki was evidently very holy, and probably very ancient. It is however by no means exclusively attributed to Ninev. Other gods appear to claim it. I doubt if the last phrase, *al malli ilu*, is correctly translated, because the Heb. preposition אל is very unusual in Assyrian.

Otherwise it would suit well enough, as אל has sometimes the sense of *in;* e. g. אל לבו, in animo, אל השמים, in cœlo (Gesen.).

On the Obelisk, l. 8, the Sun is called *mumahir gimri*, "Viewer of all," and also has the same great title that Ninev has, Rub Mi Ilu.

But of all these passages the one which I quoted first is the clearest; "Ninev . . . whose divine name, by which he is called in the language of the gods, no one must lightly pronounce in vain."

This prohibition bears a certain similitude to the third commandment of the Jewish Decalogue, "Thou shalt not take his name in vain."

But before going further, let us inquire what was the precise meaning of that commandment?

Modern churches understand it as forbidding the vice of profane swearing, and of all light or disrespectful mention of the name of the Deity. But the Jews, heavy and grievous as their faults were in other respects, were entirely free, so far as is known, from the vice of profane swearing: which is indeed unfortunately more prevalent in modern times than it ever was in *any* ancient nation. The ancient Jews themselves gave a very different interpretation to the third Commandment. They understood it as a prohibition to pronounce aloud (even with all solemnity) the Sacred Name Jehovah, or rather another name of which we have lost the true pronunciation, and therefore represent it by the name Jehovah. This command could not be *literally* obeyed by Christian churches, and they have therefore given to it an interpretation which entirely fulfils its *spirit* though not its letter.

Gesenius informs us that the ancient Jews, in reading the Scriptures, whenever the Holy Name occurred substituted for it the word Adonai (the Lord): or if they pronounced the Sacred name, they disguised it by changing its vowels, and using instead the vowels of the word Adonai. He says (under the word יהוה) that they did this, either following an old superstition or deceived by a false interpretation of Exodus xx. 7. But what reason is there to suppose that they were deceived? They doubtless knew from the tradition of their fathers the true meaning of the prohibition contained in that chapter.

Now it is impossible to suppose that the religious doctrines of the Jews had any influence upon the minds of the distant Assyrians. Their religious sys-

tems were too different: the Jews were Monotheists, the Assyrians Polytheists.

The Jews abhorred the worship of images; the Assyrians and Babylonians adored them. The Assyrians therefore must have received this belief, that the greatest of the gods had awful names which men dare not pronounce, from primæval or patriarchal times. And if so, it must have prevailed in other countries likewise. In fact the Egyptians held the same belief.

In the Todtenbuch, ch. 31, we read, "speak not the name of the great god," and, doubtless, it would be easy to accumulate examples. I could wish therefore that the learned Hebraists of the present day, the followers of Gesenius, would reconsider his opinion, that the ancient Israelites were *falsâ interpretatione seducti.*

The passages which I have quoted from the sculptures are accompanied by many other remarkable phrases, which, when they come to be interpreted, will perhaps throw considerable light upon the religious systems of the East.

FURTHER REMARKS ON AN INSCRIPTION OF ESARHADDON.

I have given a translation, in Vol. VIII. Part 1 of the Transactions, of an inscription in the British Museum, presented by Lord Aberdeen.

I find that I mistook the grammatical construction

of a passage in the first column, and the correction of this greatly clears up the meaning. I annex an amended translation of the passage in question.

"Before my time, during the lifetime of the late King [Sennacherib], there was an outbreak of bands of wicked men living within the holy city. They had no reverence for the gods.[3] Into the holy temples, the palace-dwellings of the great gods, they broke with violence. The gold and precious stones they dispersed into the land of the Susians, and melted it down for gain. The great chief of the gods, Marduk himself, they stripped of his golden crown . . . (*the rest of this column is lost*).[4]

I believe the grammatical construction to be as follows:—

Vallanu-ya, before me: *as bul sar makhrie*, in the life of the late king: *itpurakha*, there was an outbreak (a *hithpael* form from the Heb. פרק, rupit; liberavit): *itti*, of bands (compare the Latin *manus*, and the Hebrew יד, manus; robur; vires); *silikti nisi* of wicked men. Here the meaning "wicked" is well established, but the pronunciation is doubtful, perhaps it is *khulti nisi*, from the Hebrew כילי, fraudulentus, dolosus. *Suanna* appears to be a name for Babylon, implying *holiness*: it occurs not unfrequently, but should be further examined. I originally translated it "that same," deriving it from *suhu* (itself), and *anna* (that),

[3] This line is doubtful, the stone being much broken.

[4] It is strange that the faith of the Babylonians in their idols was not diminished by seeing that they were utterly unable to protect themselves from robbers. The Roman Satirist was more clear-sighted:

"Ex quo Mars Ultor galeam quoque perdidit, et res
Non potuit servare suas!"

in the same way that *suatu* is composed. But I have not been able to ascertain this point.

In line 20, I have fallen into an error in supposing that the lithograph required a correction. The fact is, that only *one* god is there mentioned, and not *three*. The translation should be—

"The supreme chief of the gods, Marduk, they robbed of his crown." The word means either a golden crown or a golden throne. It occurs very often, but is expressed by a symbol which has not yet been read phonetically. My reading *tusut* is incorrect.

Apparently the first act of Esarhaddon, on his accession, was to repair to Babylon, and to repress these disorders. He then appears to have been solemnly proclaimed king (by the priests of course: but he says it was by Marduk himself).

And then there occurs a passage which may have some historical importance. This is at Col. II. 19, which ought perhaps to be translated thus:—

"(Marduk proclaimed me as the new sovereign); and I, Esarhaddon, undertook these public affairs, to restore them once more to order, with the consent of my elder brothers, whom thou hast given me."

Yaati Ashur-akh-adanna assu ebshaeti sinati, ana ashri-sina-tarri, as lishan akhi rabbi sha tuddannima.

The passage being a difficult one, I only offer the above translation as a suggestion, which may be verified or disproved.

Esarhaddon does not appear to have been the eldest son of Sennacherib; for we read in the annals of that monarch (col. iv. 63; see B. M. pl. xxxix.), "I placed upon the throne of Babylon *Ashur-nadan-mu, my eldest*

son, who was brought up at my knees (*i. e.* in my own house, or under my own care: *tarbit birki-ya*). Again, Adrammelech and Sharezer slew their father Sennacherib, probably with the intention of usurping his throne; but in this they failed, "and they escaped into the land of Armenia."[5] Therefore all these may have been elder brothers (*akhi rabbi*) of Esarhaddon. *Sha tuddannima*, whom thou hast given me. This seems to allude to his own name, Ashur-akh-adanna, *i. e.* "Ashur has given a brother."

Rabbi: consult the hieratic original for this word.

Lishan: this letter or symbol is doubtful here. It much resembles *ka*, which on the tablets sometimes means "a voice:" but whichever is the right reading here, I think it must mean "with the consent of."

We frequently find the phrase, *sarrut Ashur ibusu*, they reigned over Assyria: therefore I translate *assu ebshaeti sinati*, "I have undertaken these public affairs," since *ebshaeti* and *ibusu* have the same root, עבש in Assyrian, עבד in Chaldee.

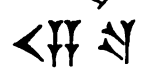
After something in the nature of a civil war (perhaps between the brothers) alluded to at the beginning of Col. III. the authority of Esarhaddon became firmly established, and he then had leisure to punish the malefactors of Babylon, who had risen in rebellion (*ana riesuti suluku*, Col. IV. 30), where I think *suluku* means 'they had risen,' from Chald. סלק, to rise or ascend.

These little corrections may serve to clear up this inscription, which deserves attention, as it appears to contain some historical data.

[5] 2 Kings xix. 37.

ON THE ANTIQUITY OF COINED MONEY.

I resume this subject from Vol. VII. p. 169. I think I can produce an argument for the antiquity of coinage which has not yet been brought forward.

There is an inscribed stone, recently received from Babylon, at the British Museum, which records the sale of a field for the price of 616 pieces of silver. The payment, however, was not made in money, but in merchandise. A whole list of articles is given, with the value of each, beginning with a Chariot, valued at 100 pieces of silver. The symbol which expresses one of these pieces is rather complicated. On turning to the great East India House inscription, we find that it occurs frequently with the signification of silver. It is, however, rather more carefully and ornately drawn in the hieratic character of that inscription, and is nearly formed as follows . In the cursive character it is written  .

Now, it may be considered certain that in very ancient times the Sun was denoted in these Eastern writings by the natural hieroglyphic of a circle; but when that style of writing was exchanged for the cuneiform, which consists of straight lines and angles only, then a true circle could no longer be drawn, and it was replaced by the very rude figure , consisting of four oblique strokes. This was afterwards further abbreviated into , in which stage all resemblance to its original form of a circle was finally lost.

The symbols which signify gold and silver both commence with a figure like the first of those which I have represented above, the origin of which is a mere matter of conjecture.

To me it seems not impossible that it may have represented a portion of a balance, viz. the beam with one scale preponderating. But, however this may be, this symbol is prefixed to both the precious metals. But silver is distinguished from gold by the second sign, namely, . Now, we have just seen that this hieroglyphic was originally a circle, and that in the days when the British Museum record of the sale of a field was written (twelfth century before Christ) it was employed to denote a piece of silver used for money. Money, therefore, was denoted in those ancient days by a *circle*. And why should that be the case? I can imagine only one reason, viz. that the pieces of silver were round. But if round, is it not probable that they were either cast in a mould or struck with hammers in a mould? For surely it would have passed the skill of those ancient times to roll the silver into sheets and cut out circular pieces with a punch.

I have said that the Chariot was valued at 100 pieces of silver, but several of the articles are priced as low as one piece. This again shows that they were coins, and not weighed masses of metal; for the trouble of weighing one piece at a time would have been excessive.

The value of each article is said to be *ki* (*i. e.* equivalent to) so many pieces of silver. This is the Hebrew כִּי, *as, like as, i. e.* equivalent to. The price

of each thing is given in the inscription as "so many silvers." The Hebrew Scriptures use the same phrase כסף, silver, meaning money, *e. g.* they sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for 20 silvers (authorized version has *pieces of silver*, Genesis xxxvii.). And I see no reason to doubt that the silvers named in the British Museum inscription were nearly of the same value of those of Genesis. Thus, for instance, 616 of them form a price which might be paid for a field. And Abraham gave 400 for the field of Machpelah, with the cave thereof and the trees thereof. The Ishmaelites gave 20 *silvers* for Joseph; and slaves (if I translate the word rightly) are valued in the British Museum inscription at from 15 to 50.

These arguments, as I think, go nearly to establish the great antiquity of coined money. I will now, in conclusion, add a few other remarks on this important newly-received Babylonian inscription.

In examining the list of articles of merchandise there given, my attention was arrested by the following item:—

Thirty-four (. . .) of the value of 12 *ka* each, making in all 136 *silvers*.

From this statement we find, by an easy arithmetical calculation, that a *ka* was the third part of a *silver*. It was written

The following line says: A dozen of the articles called (. . .) of the value of 4 *ka* each, making in all 16 *silvers*. Again the arithmetical calculation gives the same result, 3 *ka* = 1 *silver*.

The number of a *dozen* is here expressed by "two with ten," like *duo-decim* in Latin,—that is, if I correctly interpret the symbol *as* to be the usual

preposition *as* (with). But this seems to follow from the correct result of the arithmetical computation.

It is singular that the purchaser of this field could not effect the payment of so moderate a sum as 616 *silvers* in specie, but was obliged to pay in merchandise. I am unable to identify several of the articles which he offered in barter, but some of them may, I think, be thus enumerated.

A chariot with its appurtenances [adi tihuti] was worth 100 *silvers*. I believe *tihu* is to drive, *e. g.* Sar la tihu pani makhri-ya, "no king before me ever drove into that region."

Pa seems to mean a *slave* (related perhaps to *pata*, a servant), and *shal kappa* seems to mean a female slave,—perhaps from the Heb. root כפה, domuit, subegit (Ges.) . . . If so, we have next—

1 slave of the tribes of the West, value 30 *silvers*.

2 female slaves of the West, together 50 *silvers*.

6 female slaves of the tribes of the East, together 300 *silvers*.

1 slave of the tribes of the North, 15 *silvers*.

Then we come to a numerous assortment of pieces of cloth; for which the term is *ku*, which occurs frequently in Ashurakhbal's inscriptions, as *ku thibbulti*, dyed cloths, etc. I think it not impossible that it may be the Greek word κω, a fleece (nom. κως). In this inscription a piece of cloth of the common sort is only valued at *one silver*; and a better kind at *two*. But the *ku kamanu* is valued at *six silvers*, which makes me think that *kamanu* may have been a colloquial expression for *argamanu*, or *scarlet*, Heb. ארגמן. Of this word Gesenius says: *Origo incerta*. But suppose for a moment that the term employed in the inscrip-

tion, *kamanu*, was the true ancient name for *scarlet*; then nothing would be simpler than the etymology of *argamanu*, from the Hebrew *arg*, ארג, cloth, or a woven web, and *kamanu*, scarlet. *Kamanu*, in geography, was an important district of Syria, in the vicinity of Mount Hermon, and often named in these inscriptions. Did it give its name to this kind of Tyrian purple? There is also an extraordinary resemblance, which can hardly be accidental, between the name of Mount Carmel, כרמל, and כרמיל, *carmil*, scarlet.

The cloth called *ku eli billu* bore the same high value as the *ku kamanu*. I therefore think its name meant cloth covered with embroidery, from *eli* (over), *billu* (splendour, royalty, etc.), or it may mean dyed in a pattern, from *billu*, to stain.

The inferior cloth, which was worth only *one silver*, is called *ku arru*. This, I have no doubt, is the Chaldee word ארע, *aro*, inferior. For instance, in Daniel ii. 39: Post te surget aliud regnum, tuo inferius (*arro men ka*) ארע מנך.

With respect to the passage from Sargon's cylinder, which I originally brought forward (see Vol. VII. p. 169 of the Transactions), I am disposed to agree with Sir H. Rawlinson, that its meaning is different from what I conjectured. I supposed it to relate to the inhabitants of Nineveh, but it appears to refer to the city of Dur-Sargina, which Sargina founded a few miles from Nineveh, on a spot previously occupied by a small village which is named on his cylinder. It was necessary to remove the inhabitants of this village and take possession of their lands, which Sargina says he did with justice and clemency.

I may here refer to the first volume, new series, of

the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, p. 208, where the reader will find Sir H. Rawlinson's translation.

I think I am able to confirm the view he takes of this matter, by offering a new translation of one of the lines, which clears up the sense very materially. I refer to the phrase at the beginning of line 42: *Assu rikkati la rusie;* which probably signifies "I made *removals* which were not *unjust*," and then, nearly as Sir H. R. translates it, "to those who did not wish for money I offered lands in exchange." "Not unjust" of course means "very just." This mode of speaking is frequent: thus Nebuchadnezzar says in his inscriptions "a building which was *not mean*," *i. e.* was a noble one: "an expense which was *not stinted*," *i. e.* which was lavish.

So in the New Testament, St. Paul says, "I am the citizen of *no mean* city."

Now, in order to justify this new translation, I will observe that *rikkati* may mean compulsory *removals*, because Gesenius says that רחיק, the Hiphil of the verb רחק, signifies to *remove* a person or thing to another place, generally to a distant place.

Indeed, this verb, רחק, has long been known to be exceedingly common in Assyrian, where it is generally written *rukku*, as, *ana rukku innabit*, he fled to a distance; *ashar rukku*, a distant place. But once at least, if not oftener, I have found it written *rikku* in the inscriptions. And the Chaldee has the vowel *i* in this word, רחיק, in Ezra vi. 6, "be ye far removed from that place."

Rusie may signify *unjust*, because the Hebrew רשע has decidedly the meaning of *injustus*, for instance מאזני רשע, *unjust balances*.

Assu is probably "I made;" from עשה, *fecit*.

It will be well now to reproduce the passage of the cylinder (lines 40, 41, 42), and give a translation of it. After mentioning various particulars, some of which are not easy to be understood, Sargina says of his newly founded city, "And I gave a name to it, like unto my own name."

[40] *Kima zigir sumi-ya sha ana nassarikti u mishari-su, sutishur la likhi la kabalin simbu inni Ili Rabi:*

[41] *Kaship ekilut ir shasu, ki pi dippati sha yamanu-su, kaspa u takabar ana belni-sun utaru.*

[42] *Assu rikkati la rusie. Sha kaship ekil la tsibu, èkil mikhar, ekil akhar, panu-sun attan sunuti.*

In order to explain this, we must first premise that the king, having recounted his numerous victories in the first thirty-nine lines of the inscription, then continues to the following effect: "But not only have I won glory in war; my civil administration has been equally prosperous." Then he gives instances of his care for the welfare of the citizens.

The name Sargina, and its probable meaning, have been a subject of speculation to modern scholars. That the first syllable, *sar*, means *king*, all are agreed, but of the remainder of the name different etymologies have been proposed.

Most unexpectedly, however, we learn from the king himself in this passage what was the meaning of his name. It meant "the guardian king;" or, expressed more at length, the king who was the beneficent protector of his people.

Light being thus thrown upon the name it is easy to perceive its derivation, which is from the Hebrew verb *gina*, גן or גנן, protexit. For Gesenius says that this verb is used "ubique de Deo homines protegente,"

and Sargon affected to be almost a deity, for he calls himself elsewhere, I think, the incarnation of Bel. The verb *gina* was therefore the most exalted which he could use as expressive of beneficence.

I owe to Mr. Oppert, in a letter, the suggestion that Sargina, in line 40, is explaining his name. It will make the sense clearer to place the text and translation in parallel columns.

Kima zigir sumi-ya	As is the signification of my name,
sha ana nassarikti u mishari-su	which from its [*meaning of*] guardian care, and justice,
sutishur	and protection
la likhi, la kabalin	of the unwarlike and the peaceful,
simbu inni ili rabi	the great gods have affixed to me.

Here it may be remarked, that Sargina was a usurper, and his original name was quite different. When he mounted the throne a new name was conferred upon him, and probably by the priests with solemn ceremony. He could therefore say with some truth that it was given to him by the gods.

Nassarikti, from נצר, custodivit—a verb usually denoting the protection afforded by gods to men. Hence is derived, according to most authorities, the syllable *ussur*, which terminates many regal names, as Bel-sar-ussur, Nabo-kudur-ussur, etc.

From the root נצר, *nassar*, came a secondary root נצרך, *nassarik*, having a more exalted signification; and thence the substantive *nassarikti*. So from the

the root נסר or נשר, Gesenius shows that there arose an *intensive* semi-Persian form נסרך, the idol Nisroch.

Mishari, from ישר, justus, rectus.

Simbu inni, adjunxerunt mihi. So in the Khammurabi inscription *ana sumbu* signifies *conjointly*. In that passage the king says, "I called it the Tower of Marduk and Ri, giving it the names of those two deities (*ana sumbu*) *conjointly*."

Kaship ekilut ir shasu,	The price of the lands in that city,
ki pi dippati	according to the words (or testimony) of the tablets
sha yamanu su,	which certified them,
kaspa u takabar	in silver and copper
ana belni-sun utaru.	I paid to their owners.

Ekil has been determined by Sir H. Rawlinson, by whose remarks I have been chiefly guided in the last two lines, to be the Assyrian pronunciation of

which appears to be a Proto-Chaldæan word, signifying a field or place.

Yamanu, from Heb. אמן, fidem fecit; fulcivit; firmavit.

Utaru, I paid; from Heb. *natar*, נתר, solvit. I have found this verb, used for "payment," in several inscriptions. For instance, in one of Botta's inscriptions, the king of Ashdod resolves to rebel against Sargina. The words are: Ana la *natar* bilti lib-su ikbutu. "He hardened his heart (*i. e.* obstinately resolved) not to *pay* tribute any longer." See M. Oppert's 'Grande Inscription du Palais de Khorsabad,' line 90, whose version differs a little from mine.

Assu rikkati la rusie.	I made removals which were not unjust.
Sha kaship ekil la tsibu,	Those who did not wish for the price of their land (*in money*),
ekil mikhar, ekil akhar	land in front of it, or land behind it
panu-sun attan sunuti.	I gave to them (*in exchange*).

Tsibu, they wished. I referred in my former paper to an inscription of Darius which clearly proves the meaning of this important word. It is the Chald. צבא, voluit, optavit.

Akhar is the Heb. אחר, retrò, retrorsum.

Mikhar, in front. This word is common in Assyrian, but I do not find it in Hebrew.

Panu-sun, to them. *Panu* is often written , *li*, which appears to be nearly the same with the Hebrew preposition ל.

When or *panu* is prefixed to the names of witnesses on a tablet, it means "in the presence of." This is the Hebrew פנה. The phrase אל פני signifies "in conspectu alicujus" or "coram aliquo."

Additional Notes.

The difficult lines considered at page 23 of this memoir, should perhaps be rendered

Alik nigam pitassi babati.	Go Priest, and open the gate.
Illik nigam iptassi babati.	The Priest went and opened the gate.

The verb employed is perhaps the Semitic *bitash*, to extend or expand.

I remarked in p. 43 of this memoir, that the Assyrians said *dan* for the Syriac *dam*; and *tan* for the Hebrew *tam*. So also they said *tansil* for *tamsil*, a pattern, resemblance, or likeness. This is תמשל, *similitudo*, from the root משל, *similis fuit*. In Sargon's cylinder, line 54, we read: bit-khilanni *tansil* haikal irtsit Khatti: *i.e.* an edifice built *after the pattern* of the palaces of Syria.

La ishtila (p. 46) may perhaps rather have the meaning of *non efferat*, "let him not pronounce:" for סלל is rendered *efferre* by Gesenius.

I have recently had an opportunity of inspecting in the British Museum the tablet K. 30, from which I copied the short account of a war in Syria contained in this Memoir.

I was sorry to find, that the effects of time or accident have already greatly injured it. Many words which are very plain in the photograph are now with difficulty, if at all, legible. It is therefore fortunate that the photograph was made, which has preserved to us this little fragment of history.

ON THE EASTERN ORIGIN OF THE NAME AND WORSHIP OF DIONYSUS.

BY H. F. TALBOT, V.P.R.S.L.

(Read January 18th, 1865.)

In bringing this subject before the Society, I think it will be desirable, in the first place, to say *a few* words respecting the nature of the worship anciently paid to Dionysus.

The subject, indeed, is very well known to scholars, but as it is of a complicated nature, I wish to present it under one view, in order that surveying most of its principal features at once, the reader may be able to judge whether the *name* and *character* of the god which I shall produce from the Assyrian sculptures has the connection which I suppose it to have with the Dionysus of the Greeks.

The religious *myth* of Dionysus, and the worship which the Greeks and Romans paid to him, differed in a vast degree from that of most of the other gods. Their nature was believed to be comparatively simple; that is to say, they presided over some one realm of nature, and in that one exerted almost unlimited power, but in other places their power was unseen, their influence unfelt. Thus Neptune ruled the seas,

and the timid mariner made offerings in his temple, and invoked his favour for the coming voyage; but the husbandman and the vinedresser regarded him but little, and few, if any, meditated deeply upon his divine nature, or thought that he exerted any influence upon the souls of men or upon their happiness in another world.

Dionysus—in Italy, and sometimes in Greece, called Bacchus—was regarded by the multitude as the god of wine; although this was only one, and that the least, of his attributes. The reason why it assumed such prominence in the vulgar estimation was probably on account of the frantic orgies in which his votaries indulged, during which they made the most copious libations. But in the view of the philosopher, of the enthusiast, of the deeply religious and contemplative mind of the East, Dionysus was the Creator of the World; nay, he was the World itself. Then, again, he was rather to be viewed as an Emanation from the Creator, and as Ruler of the world, both visible and invisible. And as the Sun is that Being which, of all things visible to mortal eye, is the most glorious and beneficent and powerful to raise to life, therefore Dionysus was identified with the Sun.

But the Sun sinks at night into the nether world, a region which was tenanted by the shades of the departed. Over this gloomy realm a mysterious Ruler was supposed to hold sway. The Greeks named him Hades, or Aïdoneus; the Latins, Pluto; the Egyptians, Osiris. And all were believed to be identical with Dionusos-Helios, the Nocturnal Sun.

But Osiris was not only the Ruler, he was also the Judge of the departed souls. In the Egyptian paint-

ings we often see him sitting on his throne: before him the Balance, in which he weighs the good actions of the soul while it lived on earth, against its evil actions —while a Genius acts the part of a recording angel, and writes down on a tablet the result of the trial. This scene is represented on many papyri. The soul which had passed happily through this ordeal was then said to be *justified*, and called an *Osirian*, that is, united with Osiris, and thenceforth participating in his divine nature.

Dionysus as a Judge, after death,—this was the myth that gave such feelings of awe to his worshippers, and which gave origin to those secret religious rites which were denominated the Mysteries, in which things were told to the initiated, which they were prohibited, under the most awful threats, to divulge to the profane.

But there are many more points of connection between Osiris and Dionysus, which it would be too long to enumerate. The Cretan Dionysus, worshipped under the name of Zagreus, was torn in pieces by the Titans. Osiris was torn in pieces by Typhon, the emblem of the Evil Spirit. Pentheus, who seems to have been a Theban Dionysus, was torn in pieces by the Bacchæ-Mænades, but the tree on which he sat was worshipped as if it were Dionysus himself (according to Pausanias), and two images of that god were carved out of it.

Again, Dionysus, when an infant, was placed in an ark and thrown into the sea. The waves cast him ashore on the coast of Brasiæ, in Laconia (Pausanias). Osiris also was slain by Typhon, then enclosed in an ark, which was thrown into the Nile, and floated to

Byblos, in Phœnicia. Having thus established, and chiefly on the authority of Creuzer, which will not be disputed, the multiform and mysterious character of Dionysus, and especially that he was identified with the Sun and with Osiris-Helios in Hades, judging the souls of men, I proceed to inquire into the origin of his name. It was very ancient, since it is found in Homer's Iliad, and it is important to observe that the name is spelt *Διωνυσος* in Homer, and not *Διονυσος*, as, for example,—

Ὁς ποτε μαινομενοιο Διωνυσοιο τιθηνας, etc. etc.

Now, what was the origin of this name?

To the ear of an ancient Greek, Roman, or Italian, hearing it for the first time, the name of Dionysus would most probably suggest the meaning of "the god of Nysa."[1] But where was Nysa? That was just what nobody could tell. But when once the worship of the god had become popular in Greece, Nysa was discovered in twenty places at least, each of them claiming to be the only true one. In Thrace, in Caria, in Egypt, in Libya near the lake Tritonis, in Arabia, in India, in Ethiopia, and probably in Lydia (according to Creuzer). The only just conclusion to be drawn from this is that Nysa existed really *nowhere*. It is

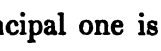
[1] The Greek word Θεος is Θευς in Callimachus, which is plainly the Latin *Deus* and the Italian *Dio*. So Θεα is *Dea*. Again, the Greeks called their supreme deity Διος, Δι, and Δια in its various cases, which is nothing else than the Italian *Dio*. The modern Celtic in Bretagne has *Teu*, whence the French *Dieu*, though of course equally near to *Dio*. The Welsh has *Duw*, the Sanskrit *Deva* and *Deo* (as in *Deo-dara*, the divine tree, the Cedar; and *Mahadeo*, one of the great divinities). Moreover, the Latin *Deus*, through the Σιος of the Lacedæmonians, is identical with Ζευς. Therefore this holy name was as universal as it was ancient.

true that a human warrior, king, or prophet may chance to be born in a very obscure village, which ever after becomes illustrious through him. But it is far otherwise with a personage fabled to be divine: there being no reality in the *fact* of his birth, the fabled *place* of his birth could be no other than some illustrious locality. Thus Apollo was said to have been born at Delos; but that was a most celebrated island and temple.

We may pass, then, from the fabulous Nysa, and seek the origin of the name elsewhere. Now, there is one point in which I believe all scholars are agreed, namely, that the worship of Dionysus had its origin in the East. He was fabled to have conquered the Indians. His expedition thither lasted three years, or, according to some writers, even fifty-two years (an allusion, probably, to the number of weeks in a year). His army was composed of Pans, Satyrs, and Bacchæ. He civilized the natives, introduced the vine, founded towns among them, gave them laws, and left behind him pillars and monuments. Thenceforth the grateful Indians worshipped him as a god. His worship was celebrated with frantic orgies, alien from the comparatively sober and quiet religions, and sacred rites, which originated in the West. All this, I think, marks an originally Oriental deity. To the East, then, we should look for the origin of this name, and I therefore turn to the Assyrian inscriptions. In these inscriptions we meet with frequent references to the gods. Sometimes they are simply named, sometimes they are accompanied with titles of honour or reverence, and sometimes those titles stand alone, and *imply* the name of the deity, without mention-

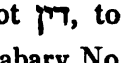
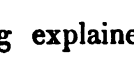
ing it. Thus, when the priest in Homer prays to his god, Κλυθι μευ Αργυροτοξ', no reader of Homer's time could fail to understand that Φοιβος Απολλων was invoked.

The titles and epithets of the Assyrian gods would repay a deep and searching study. But at present I shall only consider the titles of the Sun. One of the principal of these, and which, when it occurs, often takes the precedence of all others, is followed by *nisi*, which signifies *men*. The first letter is *di*, the second has the various values of *tar*, *kut*, and *khas*, between which the choice is doubtful. I have been, however, in the habit of reading it *Ditar nisi*, and provisionally translating it "Ruler of men." It is evidently something of that sort, and is generally followed by the title *mumahir gimri*, "viewer of all," or "overlooker, inspector of all." The verb *umahir* occurs frequently, and signifies "I passed in review." *Mumahir gimri*, then, implies that the Eye of the Sun sees all men, or perhaps all things. Other titles in other inscriptions imply "slayer of wicked men," etc.

But of all these titles, the principal one is  *nisi*, and the question is, How is it to be pronounced? whether as *ditar nisi*, *dikut nisi*, or in some other manner?

Much light has recently been thrown upon this question in an important paper by Sir H. Rawlinson, printed in the 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' new series, vol. i. From this paper, p. 213, I will make the following extracts:—

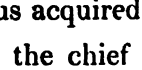
In the great inscription (E. I. H. col. 4, l. 29), *Dainu*

is an epithet of the Sun, written for the usual , and now verified by the Phœnician legend in p. 213. But alone represents the root דין, to judge; being explained in the bilingual syllabary No. 184, by  . In one list and are bracketed together, the former being explained by  *dinu*, and the latter by *danu*, and, in the epithets of the gods, the two signs seem to be used indifferently.

From these important statements of Sir H. Rawlinson, I think it follows that is probably to be read as *Dayan*, or rather, perhaps, as the French would pronounce *Diane*, or as the Italians pronounce *Dian* in the name of the goddess Diana.

I here refer again to this title of the Sun as we find it written in the E. I. H. inscription, col. 4, l. 29, consisting of three letters. (See the former woodcut of this word.) The first letter is *da*, the second *ya*, and the third *nu*, or simply *n*, for the short final vowel is not always sounded.

We have thus, I think, established two points: first, that the word sounded *Dian* or *Dayan*; and, secondly, that it signified a *Judge*, being identical with the Hebrew דין (a judge), which also sounded either *dayan* or *diyan*.

Having thus acquired a knowledge of the true pronunciation of the chief title of the Sun  *nisi*, let us try what result follows from that knowledge? It follows that his title in the Assyrian lan-

guage sounded as *Dian-nisi* or *Dayan-nisi*. Am I wrong in considering this name to be the *Διωνυσος* of the Greeks?

And the meaning of the title is "Judge of Men," respecting which point I think there can be no difference of opinion.

There is a passage in the curious Michaux inscription, published by the British Museum (new series, last plate), which is worth noticing. After saying, May all sorts of evil befall the man who shall destroy this tablet! it says in col. iii. 15:—

15. Shemesh dayan rabu shamie u irtsit

16. Lu-din zirdi su! as paharti lizbil su!

May the Sun, the great Judge of heaven and earth, condemn him, etc.

Here we have the Hebrew verb *din*, דין, to judge, put in connection with the Sun's title *dayan*, which still further corroborates what has been said before. With respect to the remainder of the line, I may as well say a few words; but should they be incorrect, this would in no way affect the truth of the preceding statements.

Zirdi is violent death, applied to the punishment of a criminal.

As paharti lizbil-su, means *in Orco, sive in Tartaro collocet eum! Pahar* is the Hebrew פער, Orcus, sive Inferi; as in the remarkable passage of Isaiah, v. 14, where it is said that Orcus has opened his mouth without measure, and all the glory, pomp, and multitude of the revellers (denounced in lines 11, 12) shall descend into it. The metaphor here is very striking, since פער is properly, aperuit os magno hiatu, quod est bestiarum sanguinolentarum (see Job xvi. 10), poëticè

de Orco insatiabili. From hence comes the name of the idol Baal Pehor, בעל פעור (*Dominus Orci*), called simply פעור, Orcus, in Numbers xxiii. 28, and some other texts (see Gesenius). Therefore the Hebrew *pehor* was in Assyrian *pahar*. I believe this to be a new observation, and, should it be established, it would follow that the Sun was held to have dominion (like Osiris-Dionysus) in the nether world over the souls of the departed.

Lisbil, collocet, seems to be the optative of הושיל, *collocare*, which is the Hiphil of יבל, *habitare*.

One of the most curious traditions respecting Dionysus, was that he sometimes assumed the shape of a bull with a human countenance, and was then called *Hebon*. Representations of this occur on coins and other ancient monuments of Italy. In Greece a similar tradition prevailed—

> *Και ταυρος ἡμιν προσθεν ἡγεισθαι δοκεις*
> *και σφ κερατε κρατι προσπεφυκεναι,*
> *αλλ' η ποτ' ησθα θηρ; τεταυρωσαι γαρ ουν.*
> *Eurip. Bacch.*

He is thus identified with Osiris-Apis, of the Egyptian mythology, a deity who, in a very ancient hieroglyphic inscription recently published by Brugsch, has the remarkable epithet of "twice born," or "living twice." Now, it will be remembered that one of the epithets of Dionysus was διμητωρ (the *bimatris* of Ovid). But in the form of a bull with a human head, his story takes us back to the old times when the cities of Assyria flourished, among whose ruins the human-headed bull is frequently found.

In Rawlinson's 'Ancient Monarchies,' p. 168, a figure

is given of this Man-Bull, which he considers to be an emblem of Nin or Ninev. But Nin was identified in the Assyrian mythology with the Sun.

A few additional remarks may here be made on the *mythos* of the Nocturnal Sun, as ruling over Hades, and judging the souls of men.

In the Greek mythology, one of the judges of the infernal regions is named Rhadamanthus.

"Gnossius hæc Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna."

This remarkable name is clearly not of Greek origin. It first appears among the traditions of Crete, and the Cretans derived it certainly from their neighbours the Egyptians. I conjectured many years ago that the name of Rhadamanthus was the Greek mode of expressing the Egyptian *Ra-nte-Amenti*, "the Sun of the Amenti," that is, the Sun in the infernal regions. For, the nether world, where Osiris reigned, was called in Egypt the *Amenti*.

In order to make this etymology more clear, I must observe that the Egyptians having no letter *d* in their language, supplied its place by the combination *nt*, as we see in the name of Darius, which appears in the hieroglyphic inscriptions as Ntareios. Hence the particle *nte* (of) sounded nearly as *de* in French; and the name *Ra-nte-Amenti* sounded *Rad'amenti*. But I have since found this etymology in Creuzer and other authors, therefore I think it may be accepted as nearly certain. It follows from it, since *Ra* signifies "the sun" in Egyptian, that the Judge of the infernal regions was identified with the Sun, at any rate by the Cretan Greeks (and probably throughout Greece in the celebration of the Mysteries).

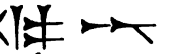
There is a very remarkable passage in the Annals of Ashurakhbal (B. M. 18, 44), where the Sun has the following title, *Shemesh dian-nisi zalul-su khiga*, meaning the deity "whose flail is good." *Zalul* is a flail (*flagellum*), derived from זלל, concussit, effudit. (See Gesenius.) Now this almost identifies the Assyrian Dian-nisi with the Egyptian Osiris: for, it is well known that Osiris usually holds in his hand an emblem of authority, which some consider to be a flail, and others a whip. And the *mystica vannus Iacchi* is to be referred to the same mythology.

Nebuchadnezzar built a temple to Dionysus in Babylon. It is recorded in his great inscription, col. iv. 29. He says:

"Ana Shemesh dainu tsiri . . . bit *Dian-nisi* bit-zu in Babilu-ki in kupri u agurri shakish ebus."

"Unto the Sun, the heavenly Judge . . . the temple of Dian-nisi, his temple, in Babylon city, in bitumen and brick splendidly I built."

The adverb *shakish* is probably from Chald. שגיא, amplus.

In a collection of photographs with which the authorities of the British Museum kindly favoured me, I have found two plates numbered 163 *a* and 163 *b* (and also bearing in common the number 204), which contain a list of about forty-eight titles of the god  and doubtless contained many more in the part of the tablet which is lost. This list seems very carefully drawn up; the smallest variation (such as the addition of the word *rabu*, great) being considered as a new title. The simplest of these titles I read as *Din rabu*, the great Judge. Others appear to me to have a resemblance to Adonis and Aïdoneus,

the first of which is a Hebrew word אדון, Dominus, which word (see Gesen. 239) is also from the root דין, judicare. Some titles end with *tila* (life), their beginnings being fractured or illegible. I think they may have meant "giver of life." Another title is *muddin ar rabu*, which I render "Great judge of the earth," from the Chaldee ארע, *ara*, terra. A similar profusion of titles was given to other ancient gods; it will be sufficient to instance Isis *μυριωνυμος*.

The Greek worshippers of Dionysus sometimes gave to him the mystical title of *Σαβοι*, and shouted during the orgies *Ενοι Σαβοι!* In a list of the twelve or fourteen great gods of Assyria, preserved on a clay tablet in the British Museum, marked 101 and 73 *a*, I find the name of *Sabbi*, who may possibly be the same with *Σαβοι*. He is likewise mentioned on several other tablets. His name is very singularly written. It consists of the numeral *seven* (*Sab* in Hebrew and Assyrian), followed by the syllable *bi*. He may have ruled specially over the seven planets; and his worship may have been connected with that of Jupiter Sabazius, an Oriental deity.

ON SOME FUNEREAL HIEROGLYPHIC INSCRIPTIONS FOUND AT MEMPHIS.

BY SIR CHARLES NICHOLSON, BART., D.C.L., LL.D.

(Read January 4th, 1865.)

DURING a short visit which I made to Cairo, in the year 1862, I had an opportunity of purchasing from Mr. Massara, the Dragoman of the British Consulate, several stelæ, fragments of sculpture, and other incised stones. Amongst the latter were six blocks of limestone, each about ten inches square, and of unequal length, varying from sixteen to eighteen inches. The material out of which they are formed is a calcareous stone of unequal density, so that whilst some portions are of almost flinty hardness, and present, on being fractured, a jagged uneven surface; other portions of the structure are so soft and friable as to be easily scratched by the finger-nail. With such an intractable material for working upon, the original artist has been obliged to supply many accidental inequalities of the surface by cement, so as to render the surface generally smooth and fit for the operations of the chisel. From this inequality in the density and structure of the material, the fragments about to be described are in a somewhat mutilated state, and the greater part of their surface is, moreover, unfortunately covered with a thick crystalline effervescence, the apparent result of slow disintegration aided by the influence of damp.

The fragments, when purchased, were represented by Mr. Massara as having been brought from Memphis, a statement that derives confirmation from the terms of the inscription they contain. No certain or reliable information could, however, be furnished as to the exact locality from whence they came. Mr. Bonomi thinks he can almost identify them as belonging to one of the several tombs excavated by the Prussian mission in the neighbourhood of the Great Step Pyramid of Sakara. He says that he distinctly recollects one such tomb having six square piers or columns. The roof-stones were gone, and but little of the walls left. Mr. Bonomi further suggests that the fragments of only five of the pieces herein referred to had been preserved, those of the sixth having been too much mutilated to be considered worth the trouble of transport.

Notwithstanding the eroded condition of the stones, the traces of sculpture left are, for the most part, deep and well defined, and display a style of execution not far removed from the best examples of ancient Egyptian art. Portions of the original colouring applied to the surface are still discernible. The outlines are given in deep *intaglio*, and the forms of the kneeling as well as of the standing figures, with their flowing drapery, are well delineated, and are not without grace. With these preliminary remarks, I shall now proceed to describe each of the fragments with somewhat more of detail.

The two blocks, delineated in the lithograph plate I. A, probably constitute only two-thirds of the whole of the pier to which they originally belonged, the upper block having disappeared with the roof which it supported. The side marked 1, represents a figure kneel-

ing on the right knee, with the hands either in the form of supplication or supporting the column surmounted by the disk, and pendent *uræi*. The head is shaven, the face beardless, and the contour of the features of the ordinary Egyptian type. The nose is perhaps a little more arched than usual. A double necklace is worn. The dress, closely fitting round the waist, is furnished with broad but short sleeves, whilst the skirt is adorned with a broad band or flounce. The inscription commencing above the left hand of the figure is continued to the opposite side, and conveys a simple intimation of the name, family, and profession of the person it commemorates. The central line, that above the head, is separate and distinct from the two lateral inscriptions. Commencing with the latter, we have as follows:—

Asar na n Ptah MeS machru sa na =
Osiris (vel Osirianus) scriba Ptah Mes justificatus filius scribæ =
= pa-hat n Pta Hui machru
= domus albæ τοῦ Ptah Hui justificati.

The Osirian scribe of the God Ptah, MeS, the son of Hui, scribe (or clerk) of the white house (or temple) of Ptah justified (deceased).

The symbols engraved on the centre column above the head of the figure would, in compliance with the form of construction hitherto employed, be regarded as merely intimating the fact, that an offering is made to some special divinity to whom the ordinary titular appendages to which he is entitled are assigned, and not as any part of an express liturgical invocation. My friend Mr. Goodwin gives a new, and as I with some diffidence venture to think, more appropriate

explanation of this oft-recurring formula. Instead of "Suten-ta-hotep" being "regia oblatio," "pium munus dedicatum," or any equivalent term relating to a religious offering, he regards it as a verbal form of some such word as "propitio," and instead of the reading of the passage in question being a royal oblation to Tatannen, his interpretation would be, "May the God Tatannen be propitious," as equivalent to the old Roman form of supplication, "Mars pater te precor quæsoque uti sies volens propitius mihi, domo, familiæque nostræ," or the *propitietur* of our Christian tombstones: "Cujus animæ propitietur Deus."

Suten-ta-hotep Tatannen Ur em sebt
Propitius sit Tatannen qui præest τοις muris.

Tatannen, a synonym of the tutelary god of Memphis, is here designated *Ur*, the elder or Lord, and this title is regarded by Mr. Goodwin as the equivalent of Sem m Sebt, mentioned in Brugsch's 'Geographie,' vol. i. p. 235, fig. 1095.

Plate I. A., Compartments 2 *and* 3.—In each division, we have the entire figure of a man standing erect with the hands raised in the attitude of supplication; that in compartment 2 has the head shaven, whilst in the next division 3, the hair or a wig is worn. In the horizontal lines immediately above, we have a repetition of the titles contained in the inscription just referred to, except that MeS, instead of being simply designated "na en Ptah," priest or scribe of Ptah, is here represented as filling the office of his father, he is *na pa hat*, scribe, priest, or treasurer of the temple (domus argenteæ) of Ptah. The figure below is probably intended as a portrait of Hui deceased, as the two lost

signs with the determinative of his name, are distinctly legible in front of the figure:—

Asar na pa hat n Ptah MeS =
Osirianus scriba (thesaurarius) domus argentese τοῦ Ptah Mes =
= em-hotep machru
= in pace justificatus.

The vertical lines in the second compartment A, are only fragmentary, and are the concluding portions of inscriptions commencing in the superimposed stone that is wanting. Beginning with the first column on the left, we have the characteristic sign of Memphis, doubtlessly the sequence to an enumeration of some of the offices of the defunct.

... Sebt hat MeS machru m hotep
... Præpositus regioni Memphiticæ Mes justificatus in pace.

In the succeeding column we have what seems to be a fragment of an address to the Sun; the name of Maneen, a region of E. Thebes, occurs, and alluding to the diurnal course of the sun it may be read—

Maneen r en
Maneem (regionem) qui circumambulat.

And in continuation of the same hymn in the next line—

r MST n ha nev h r
qui facit (in ortu suo) renatum esse: in diebus singulis progreditur.

The last line in the compartment may be regarded as the conclusion of the invocation.

Ha f ta k m hotep
tempore ejus progressus es in pace.

1. Presiding over the Memphitic nome Mes justified in peace.
2. He who journeyeth through Maneen,
3. Who causeth him to be regenerate, who day by day goeth forth:
4. In his day thou hast departed in peace.

Passing over the first column of the third compartment, which merely contains, with tiresome tautology, a repetition of titles and offices, we proceed to the remaining fragments, in which we have, according to the opinion of Mr. Birch, what seems to be a quotation or paraphrastic transcription from the 'Book of the Dead.' It is difficult to collect the sense of these disjointed passages, from the absence of the context, each column being a continuation of a missing portion.

Line 2 :

Neteriu nev m chu user t
Dii omnes cum potestate et facultate.

Line 3 :

Sem .... m n s
qui ducit (et imago est) domo (?).

Line 4 :

Ta m aa sent
(e) Terrâ in magno terrore.

All the Gods, with power and knowledge.
Who leadeth forth .... in the house.
From the land in great terror.

In the remaining fourth compartment there is probably an error in the hieroglyphic symbol succeeding the name of Ptah, and which instead of being *k* should be *nev*, so that the designation of the god would be "Lord of Truth." The centre inscription, though partly effaced, may be read as follows:—

Suten hotep Ptah mes-enti Tannen =
Propitius sit Ptah qui natus est in loco dicto Tannen =
= nev huhu t t
= Dominus in sæculis.

May Ptah be propitious: he who was born in the land of Tannen: Lord for everlasting.

In the block marked B, we have again to regret the absence of the upper division, and the consequent imperfection of the lines inscribed on the second and fourth compartments. On the side 1, is a dedicatory inscription to Osiris—

Sutn hotep Asar nev Rusett (Rosta) =
Propitius sit Osiris Dominus terræ cui nomen Rosett =
= neter aa suten anchu
= Deus magnus Rex viventium.

May Osiris, Lord of Rossett (or Rosta), king of the living, be propitious.

Compartment 2, *Col.* 1.—We have here designated with greater precision than formerly the several offices filled by Mes or by his father.

Asar na hesbn hat nub nub n Neter Ra
Osirianus scriba (thesaurarius) argenti (et) auri (τοῦ) Dei Ra.

The Osirian clerk or registrar of the silver and gold of the God Ra.

The two succeeding columns appear to be portions of the ritual of the 'Book of the Dead' (chap. xv. plate v. 33, Todtenbuch), and forming part of the invocation to the Sun.

... Ra r neteriu nev χaa m ...
Ave! Sol maxime Deorum oriens e (cœlis)

Hail, Sun, greatest amongst the Gods, arising in the heavens.

Nearly the whole of the remaining portions seem hopelessly undecipherable; the fourth column, it may be, containing a portion of the fifteenth chapter of the 'Book of the Dead' (Todtenbuch, pl. iv. col. 7). The horizontal lines above the figure seem to form a part of the adjuration uttered by the defunct.

Nnti hu an . . .
Tu qui sempiternus (es), per . . .
Thou who art styled the everlasting, by . . .

Compartment 3 (*Pl. B.*) presents a few variations of terms previously employed. New honorific titles are applied to the divinity; he is—

Nev Neter Neter aa iri t p ta
Dominus Deus Deus magnus creator cœli et terræ.
The Lord God, the great God, creator of heaven and earth.

Whilst the deceased scribe, Mes, is designated keeper of the Treasury of the Lord of Truth.

Compartment 4 (*B*).—

En Asar na n Ptah Mes Machru.
Invocatus est ab Osiriano scribâ (τοῦ) Ptah Mes justificato.

Khu ouser p t . . .=
Gloria (ad Solem) qui prævalet in cœlis et =
= hr p hu ·
= progreditur ab horizonte.

U keper ast r n ta nas
Transformationes multas et nomina capit illa.

He is adjured by the Osirian scribe of Ptah, by Mes the justified.

Glory to the Sun, who prevaileth in the heavens and goeth forth from the horizon.

She assuming many transformations and names.

It is difficult to make any definite meaning from the remaining portion of the block. The line last quoted refers to some unspecified female divinity.

Plate III. C., Compartment 1.—In the first column, on the right, we find Mes represented as filling a separate office from any hitherto mentioned; he is here designated,—

na hesbn neter hotep n neviu =
Thesaurarius terræ Diis sacratæ τῶν Dominorum =
= sebt
= mœnium alborum.

Clerk or treasurer of the glebe lands of the lords of the white walls.

In the centre line, the great tutelary god of Memphis is invoked with additional titles of honour; he is addressed as—

Ptah aa pehti har as ur =
Ptah magnus gloriosissimus, et dominus sedis magnæ, =
= neter iri m ka
= Deus factus et faciens ab initio.

Ptah omnipotent, most glorious, presiding in the sacred halls, God created and creating from the beginning.

Compartment 2, *transverse line.*—We are told that the subject of this elaborate record was not only "treasurer or accountant of the glebe lands," as previously specified, but that he exercised a similar office with respect to the lands of the "Lords of the White Walls."

In *Compartment* 3, beginning from the first column on the right, we have disjointed fragments, derived from liturgical forms connected with the worship of Ra.

Ao f Ra m
Adorat ille Ra cum.

Tam hr m ta-ti
Tam Dominus duorum horizontum.

Rampa .t m Atin
Infans factus cum disco solari

He adores the sun with . . .
Tam, lord of the two horizons,
Born with the solar disk.

Compartment 4.—In the column to the right there is an intimation that, added to all his other employments, Mes was not only clerk and treasurer, but accountant of the measures of silver and gold; the determinative of "measure" is given as qualifying the sign "hesbn," clerk. In the centre column Ptah is adored as—

Tata as nev anch ta Neter aa =
Tata illustris dominus terræ vivificantis Deus magnus =
= nev ma
= Dominus veritatis.

Tata the illustrious, lord of the living land, great God, Lord of Truth.

Plate IV. D. and E.—The blocks here delineated belong to different piers, the upper portions containing figures alternately standing and kneeling on the right and left knee. In compartment 3, appended to the usual term *machru*, "justified," we have the *em hotep*, "in peace." Mr. Goodwin remarks that the Coptic writers in subscription constantly use the Greek ειρηνη ($\overline{\rho\nu}$). The banishment of this common Egyptian word, *hotep*, and the substitution of ειρηνη, is remarkable; it may have been the result of some religious objection to a form of heathendom.

In the centre compartment of No. 1, we have—

Ar neteriu retu m kam n f
Creator Deorum hominumque, quando creavit ille.
Who, in creating, made both Gods and men.

Compartment 3.—Centre line:

Chenti Tannen neb ma Suten tati
Habitans Tannen dominus veritatis Rex terrarum duarum =
= (Ægypti superioris et inferioris).

In the line to the left, we are finally told that amongst the multifarious employments of Mes was that of—

rut	men	em	ha	Ptah.
renovans	quæ sculpta sunt	in	domo	Ptah.

Entrusted with the repairs of the sacred carvings in the Temple of Ptah.

Notwithstanding the fragmentary and disjointed character of the foregoing inscriptions, and their exhibiting so much of the wearisome and pleonastic tautology, characteristic of nearly all similar records, they nevertheless furnish materials for inquiry and speculation. The name of Mes in an uncompounded form; the office and functions discharged in succession by him and his father, together with the locality in which they resided, are all interesting points. The affinity, if not absolute identity of the name Mes, as found in these monumental inscriptions, with the name borne by the Hebrew Moses, lends to them additional importance. I am under especial obligation to my friend Mr. C. W. Goodwin, for his critical views on the etymology, inflections and combinations of the word Mes, and I shall, in the subsequent remarks which I am about to offer, avail myself largely of the notes with which he has kindly furnished me.

The word MeS signifies to bring forth, corresponding with the Coptic Uec, natus, nasci, parere. It is also sometimes, but less frequently, employed as conveying the idea 'to beget.' We have in the Coptic the following forms of the root:—

Uac, pullus, infans, igni.
Uice, natus, generatus.

Uici, puerperium.
Uuuici, primogenitus.
Uoci, ventrem gerere.
Uecia, obstetrix.
Uace, vitulus.

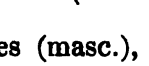
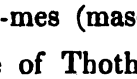
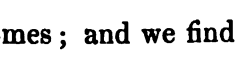
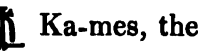
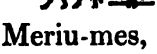
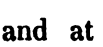
The Egyptian forms are as follows:—

mesu, or mesi, to bring forth.

mesu, the son of.

mes, calves.

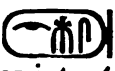
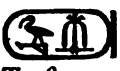
The root enters into the composition of many royal names, beginning with the 18th Dynasty. It is true that the first two kings of the 12th Dynasty, Amenemha I. and Usersen I., have the honorific titles of nem mesu, and anch mesu, respectively, but these words are differently compounded from the names of the 18th Dynasty.

The first of these is A-ha-mes, and amongst his family we find Ouat-mes (masc.),  Amen-mes (masc.),  Ra-mes (masc.), and Ka-mes (fem.). The name of Thothmes is written  Tet-mes; and we find also two princes, one bearing the name of  Ka-mes, the other that of  Meriu-mes, and at a later period we have a prince simply  Mes.

In all these names the verb enters into the compound in its simple form, without addition of a vowel or inflection of any kind, and this is observed in the hieratic transcriptions, which are usually profuse of vowels, and often supply them where the hieroglyphic text omits them. The names are therefore differently formed from the titles of the two 12th Dynasty kings, (written also) and (written also). The first of these words, nem-mesu, means "reduplicating births," the other, anch-mesu, means "life of births." (See Chabas, 'Mélanges Égyptologiques,' 2nd series, p. 62.) Some light is thrown upon these epithets by a passage in the Berlin papyrus No. 1. It is therein said of Osersesen I. that ever since his birth, his countenance multiplied births (or conceptions), viz., his eye was supposed to have the power of making women fruitful.

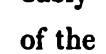
In the names of the kings of the 18th Dynasty and their families, the verb seems to be in regimen; thus, aha-mes, the moon begot Teta-mes, Thoth begot, ra-mes, the sun begot, and in meriu-mes, the beloved begot, whilst in the simple the meaning is "he begot," leaving the name of the deity uncertain.

When we arrive at the first Rameses, a change takes place. Rameses I. is named ra-mes-su. The pronoun *su* having been added, the name is therefore "Ra begot him." The name of Rameses II. is spelt in the same way, with the variation of instead of in some cases. Thus

ra-mes-s. The same modes of spelling are used for all the Ramessides of the 20th Dynasty. We have therefore two distinct classes of names, and we find that Manetho has transcribed them in different ways. Thus  and  Ah-mes and Tetmes, he changes into *Αμωσις*, *Τουθμωσις* or *Τεθμωσις*, wherein the is equivalent to *Μωσις*, *-εως*. On the other hand, is translated *Ραμεσσης* (with variations, *Ραμεσης*, *Ραμψης*, and in the LXX. *Ραμεσση*). It follows that the name of Prince in the beginning of the 18th Dynasty would be transcribed *Ραμωσις*, and hence an additional argument is supplied for the futility of the suggestion that the city or land of *Ραμεσση* was named after this earlier prince, for in that case it would have been called the city of *Ραμωσις*.

The Hebrew transcription of ra-mes-su is רַעַמְסֵס, ra-mĕs-sēs.

Here מסס answers exactly to or It might perhaps be inferred that the name would be transcribed מְס Mes, but we have seen that Manetho turns into *Μωσις*, hence perhaps originally in Hebrew it might be transcribed מֹס, Mos. In the older forms of the Hebrew language, Samech and Shin were not distinguished; in later times שׂ, Shin, was marked with a diacritical point on the right side, to give it the sound of *sh*, with one on the left, שׂ, to indicate that the old sound, *s*, was retained. Now the inference seems unavoidable, that the author of Exodus must have modified the name a little, to give it a

Hebrew etymology. The Egyptian princess who found Moses called his name מֹשֶׁה, Moshi, because, she says, I drew him (מְשִׁיתִהוּ moshithiu) out of the water. The daughter of Pharaoh talks Hebrew, and uses the Hebrew word מָשָׁה, masha, to draw out, but it is evident that there has been an adaptation of the name. If the name of Moses be really Egyptian, it most probably was  the same with that of the prince Mes of the Ramesses family (477 in the Königsbuch), with that of Mes, the son of Hui the scribe, treasury clerk of Ptah, at Memphis. The LXX. and Josephus convert מֹשֶׁה into *Μωυσης*. The Vulgate follows the LXX. and writes Moyses, and hence the French Moïse. We have by accident preserved the classical reading Moses.[1] Juvenal, Pliny, and Strabo have Moses, Tacitus Moyses.

The name of Hui may not have been uncommon, for we find it borne by a prince of Kush in the 18th Dynasty,—contemporaneously, as it would appear, with princes designated Mi mes, and Meriu-mes. (Königsbuch, taf. xxviii. and xxx., fig. 382, 383, 408.)

[1] Josephus (Antiq. Jud. lib. ii. cap. ix. 6) gives a different etymology from that assigned in Exodus, and one which, though fanciful, implies some knowledge on his part of the actual language of Egypt.

Κατ' αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν ταύτην κατὰ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ἔθετο εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐμπεσόντι. Τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ μῶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι καλοῦσιν, ὑσῆς δὲ τοὺς (ἐξ ὕδατος) σωθέντας. Συνθέντες οὖν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τὴν προσηγορίαν αὐτῷ ταύτην τίθενται.

According to this derivation of the Jewish historian, μῶ is probably taken as the equivalent of *mah* (Copt. Ⲙⲟⲩ) *aqua*, whilst some word allied to , ssa or sa, may have suggested the element for the second syllable, ὑσῆς.

As the name of no contemporary king is given in any part of the inscription which we have just been considering, it is, of course, impossible to do more than arrive at an approximation as to the period when Hui and his son Mes lived. It may be observed that the popular use of names belonging to persons of princely rank often affords a satisfactory clue as to dates. Thus the fact, that individuals in the lower grades of life had been designated Victoria, Albert, or Alexandra, would in times to come, and in the absence of other data, afford a strong negative presumption, that the epoch during which they lived did not at all events *precede* that of the august persons whose names they had adopted. It may therefore be assumed, as a matter almost of certainty, that Mes did not live before the end of the 18th or beginning of the 19th Dynasty, during which period the designations he and his father assumed had become fashionable, from their association with the vocabulary of royal names. The probability is, that the period in which they lived, was during or soon after that of the Ramessides.

The hieroglyphic determinative of the name of Memphis, as the City of the White Walls, is a curious illustration of the remote antiquity of the synonym, and of its perpetuation, up to the period when intercourse was established with Greece. It affords an incidental proof of the fidelity with which Herodotus framed his narrative, that he should have spoken of the λευκον τειχος, and in so doing, literally translated one of the vernacular names, by which the citadel of Memphis was known to those Egyptians with whom he conversed.

Mes, as well as his father and his immediate pre-

decessor in some, if not all the offices he held, must have been a pluralist in the real sense of the word; and from the elaborate and costly character of his tomb must have been a man of fortune. His multifarious duties were those of scribe, treasurer, or steward of the lands belonging to the gods of the temple, as well as of those of the "Lords of the White Wall." He seems to have exercised the calling of a surveyor, in being specially entrusted with the sacred carvings. As *na hesbn hat nub en nab ma*, registrar of the silver and gold of the "Lord of Truth," his position must have been one of great dignity as well as responsibility. He had, moreover, not only charge of the treasury and revenues belonging to the temple, of the funds specially dedicated to its service, but also of the glebe lands attached to it, and from which the officiating priests may have been supported.

The precedence given to silver in the enumeration of the precious metals is in conformity with what we notice in the Bible. Of silver and gold, the former was perhaps the more highly esteemed of the two. Its hieroglyphic designation of *nub hat*, "white gold," clearly implies that its discovery must have been subsequent to that of gold, *nub*.[2] Such a fact might almost have been assumed, *à priori*, from the peculiar character of gold as contradistinguished from silver, and indeed from all the metals with which the ancients were acquainted. Gold, in its native state, is alone found unoxidized and unaffected by any alloy it may have of baser metal, so far as regards its

[2] In the same way, the designation of quicksilver, with us, implies that the discovery of mercury must have followed that of silver.

general appearance and characteristics, whereas silver and the other metals are almost invariably found in a state of oxidation or combined with other mineral substances rendering their recognition difficult. There is therefore the strongest presumption that gold was the first metal with which mankind became acquainted. The reduction of silver ores is only effected by a tedious mechanical process, and implies a considerable degree of knowledge in chemistry and metallurgy, arts which no doubt the Egyptians possessed and practised from a period coeval with their earliest monuments.

XIV.—ON THE GAULISH INSCRIPTIONS.

BY D. W. NASH, F.S.A., M.R.S.L.

(Read May 3rd, 1845.)

THE inscriptions in the old Gaulish tongue hitherto discovered are few in number and scanty in material. They are, however, of very great importance, for the elucidation of many questions connected with the early history of Gaul and Britain. They are for the most part in the ordinary Roman character, and present in many instances the well-known contractions, interpunctuations, or ornaments of Roman votive, dedicatory, or funereal inscriptions, which they also resemble in form, style, and mode of thought. It is indeed probable that all those inscriptions with which we are acquainted have been the work of Romanized Gauls, and that the language itself of the inscriptions is not devoid of marks of Roman influence. Two inscriptions from southern Gaul in Greek characters, point rather to the later period when the Greek language was that of the higher classes of Romans, and consequently of the Gallo-Roman aristocracy, than to any influences exercised by the neighbourhood of the Greek colony of Massilia.

One inscription in particular, to be hereafter noticed, is remarkable for the fact of its being bilingual, Latin and Gaulish, and that the Gaulish part of the inscrip-

tion is in the characters called by Mommsen West-Etruscan, the inscription itself having been found in Italy, north of the Tiber.

As to the general character of the language in which the inscriptions are framed, it has been observed,[1] that they reveal to us words which not only do not yield in antiquity of form to those of classic Latin, but even contain, in many instances, specimens of the archaic language of the Romans. They show beyond a doubt, that the inflections the Irish has retained belong to a period older than that in which the inflections ceased to prevail in the Welsh, and that the wonderful phonetic peculiarities of modern Celtic, the *umlaut*, the aspirations, and the nasals, are foreign to the Old Celtic.

In the analysis of the inscriptions, the grammatical forms, and the interpretations of the words they contain, it is not pretended to offer anything new, but rather to collect together the results of the investigations to which these inscriptions have been subjected by others. The learning on the subject will be found in the following works and essays:—

ROGET DE BELLOQUET: *Ethnogénie Gauloise.* Première partie: *Glossaire Gaulois.* Paris, 1858.

PICTET: *Essai sur quelques Inscriptions en Langue Gauloise.* Genève, 1859.

WHITLEY STOKES: Papers in the *Beiträge zur Vergleichenden Sprachforschung.* Herausg. von A. Kuhn und A. Schleichen. Vol. ii. Berlin, 1861.

BECKER and LOTTNER, in the same periodical, vols. ii. iii. and iv. 1861–2–3.

LOTTNER: *On the Gaulish Inscription of Poitiers.* Dublin, 1863.

[1] Dr. Sullivan, in preface to Ebel's 'Celtic Studies,' p. 15, and Dr. Lottner, in Beiträge zur Vergleich. Sprachforsch., ii. 309.

The greater part of these inscriptions merely record the name of the individual making an offering or dedication of some object to a local deity, with occasionally the name of the locality at which the shrine or temple of the deity may be supposed to have existed. One only, the bilingual inscription of Todi, is of a sepulchral character, and one, No. 13, is in the nature of a charm or incantation, an amulet to wear as a preservative against the influence of evil demons, or a protection against danger or disease.

One of the most simple among these inscriptions is:

No. 1.

An inscription on the handle of a metal patera, found near Dijon, in the department of the Côte d'Or, the territory of the Ædui or of their dependent tribes. *Gallia Celtica.*

DOIROS SEGOMARI
IEVRV ALISANV

Doiros, the son of Segomaros, has dedicated (this) to Alisanos.

Doiros, a nominative singular in *os*, the name of the person making the offering or dedication. Mr. Stokes compares the old Irish *doir*, a servant; but all these etymologies of proper names appear very uncertain.

Segomari, the gen. of Segomaros, a proper name occurring again in these inscriptions.

Ieuru. This word, which occurs in most of the inscriptions, is evidently the verb of the sentence. It has been variously interpreted by "made," "consecrated," "dedicated," and the latter meaning seems to apply best to the ordinary sense of an inscription,

though Mr. Stokes has pointed out an old Irish root *iur*, *ior*, and, with loss of the initial vowel, *ór*, *úer*, with the meaning "make," *iurad* "factum est."[2] The grammatical connection of the word as a third person singular of the preterite is made clear by the form of the verb *karnitu* in the bilingual inscription of Todi, No. 11.

Alisanu. The name of the local deity to whom Doiros, the son of Segomaros, made the offering. It is therefore a dative singular of Alisanos, which is probably a topical name of a divinity, derived from a place unknown, perhaps Alisa.

No. 2.

Found at Nevers, anciently Noviodunum, a city of the Ædui. In the Antonine Itinerary it is called Nevirnum. *Gallia Celtica.*

ANDE
CAMV
LOSTOVTI
SSICNOS
IEVRV

Andecamulos Toutissicnos ieuru.

Andecamulos, son of Toutissos, has dedicated (this) . . .

Andecamulos. This name is compounded with that of the Gaulish deity Camulos, like Camulo-genus, and the Gaulish British city Camulo-dunum. The prefix *Ande* is common in Gaulish proper names of men and places; Anderitum, Anderitiani, Andecari, Andebrocirix, Andedunis, Andecumborius. The meaning of the particle is not clear.

[2] In the Book of Armagh. See Beiträge zur Vergleich. Sprachforsch., ii.

Another inscription containing the name of the people Andecamulenses was found at Rancon, the ancient Andecamulum, in the country of the Lemovices. *Gallia Celtica.*

NVMINIBVS AVG
FANVM PLVTONIS
ANDECAMVLENS
SES DESVOPOSVE

Toutissicnos. A patronymic form, especially Gaulish, of which there are numerous examples. The other patronymic, of which no example appears in these inscriptions, is apparent in the names Camulo-genus, Verbi-genus, like the Greek Dio-genes.

A name *Tarknos*, in Etruscan characters, found near Este, in northern Italy, appears to be in the same form.

Tarkno Vosseno.

No. 3.

Found at Autun, the ancient Augustodunum, capital of the Ædui, in Gallia Celtica.

LICNOS CON
TEXTOS . IEVRV
ANVALLONNACV.
CANECOSEDLON

Licnos Contextos, ieuru, Anvallonacu canecosedlon.

Licnos Contextus dedicated (this) . . . to Anvallonacos.

Licnos. Mr. Stokes suggests that this also is a pa-

tronymic, and that the inscription is imperfect . . . *lic-nos;* but the name appears also in an inscription from Glemona, in the neighbourhood of Aquileia.

M . FOVSCVS . C . F .
LICNVS
PEREGRINATOR
C . FOVSCVS . C . F
BALBVS . V . F
SIBI ET SVIS .

in which *Licnus* is a cognomen of *Fouscus;* in the Gaulish inscription it stands as a prænomen.

Contextos, the cognomen of Licnos. Mr. Stokes refers it to a root *tex*, Sanskr. *taksh*, and suggests the meaning of the name to be "well built, strong." It seems, however, very doubtful whether it is a Gaulish word at all, and is not rather simply a Latin word applied as an epithet. *Licnos*, with which it is joined, may have some relation to the Latin *licium*, "the woof or warp of a web, thread, yarn." Savage or semi-civilized tribes afford many personal names more strange than "twisted yarn."

Anvallonacu is also a dative sing. of Anvallonacos. This latter is a derivation in *ac*, like other Gaulish names, Juliac-um, Corboniac-um, etc. The name of the place from which the divinity is named must have been *Anvallo* or *Anvallon*. The Aballon of the Itinerary was in the country of the Ædui.

Canecosedlon. The meaning of this word, which is the name of the object made or devoted to the god, is unknown. The most strained interpretations have been obtained from the Irish and Welsh dictionaries, but none satisfactory. It is a compound, like so many

Gaulish names of places, Augusto-dunum, Rigomagus, etc.

No. 4.

Found at Volnay, near Beaune, in the Department of La Côte d'Or, 38 kil. S.E. of Dijon, in the territory of the Ædui. *Gallia Celtica.*

ICCAVOS . OP
PIANICNOSIEV
RVBRIGINDON . .
CANTABO[IX]

Iccavos Oppianicnos ieuru Brigindon . . . cantabon.

Iccavos, the son of Oppianos, dedicated (this) . . . to Brigindonos.

Iccarus Oppianicnos. I., the son of Oppianos. This name, like that of the chief of the Belgic Remi mentioned by Cæsar, may be connected with the Irish *ic*, Welsh *iach*, health,—an opinion confirmed by the fact that in an inscription found near Cologne the name Iocianus appears, with the Latin epithet *Medicus*, which, as M. Pictet remarks, may be a translation of the former.

Oppianicnos, patronymic, formed upon the Latin Roman name Oppianus.

Brigindon. The last letter, V, is probably wanting, and the word should, like *Alisanu*, *Anvallonacu*, be read, *Brigindonu*, a dative singular of *Brigindonos.* The first part of the name occurs abundantly in Gaul, Britain, and Gaulish localities, Brigantia, Brigantium, Brigantes, etc.

The name of a town, *Briginu*, occurs in connection with other names of places on a pillar stone, found at Anduze, near Nismes:—

ANDVSIA
BRVGETIA
TEDVSIA
VATRVTE
VGERNI
SEXTANT
BRIGINN
STATVMAE
VIRINN
VCETIAE
SEGVSTON

Cantabon. This word, of which no explanation can be offered, is supposed to represent the object dedicated to the deity, like *nemeton*, *canecosedlon*, etc. As, however, there are a number of well-known names of places with the termination *bona*, it is probable that the word may be an adjectival epithet of *Brigindonos*, or the name of the place at which the offering was made to that supposed divinity. It is, however, stated that the true reading of the word (the inscription being much defaced at this point) is not *cantabon*, but *cantalon*. The first part of the word is no doubt the same as in *Canto-bennicos mons*, mentioned by Gregory of Tours.

No. 5.

Found at Alise, Alisia, chief city of the Mandubii. *Gallia Celtica.*

MARTIALIS . DANNΦIA
IEVRV . VCVETE . SOSN
CELICNON ETIC
GOBEDBI . DUGIIONTIIO
VCVETIN
IN ALISIIA

Martialis Dannotali ieuru Ucuete sosin celicnon etic gobedbi dugiiontiio Ucuetin in Alisiia.

Martialis. The father's name, Dannotalos, is truly Gaulish, that of the son Roman. The higher classes of the Gauls appear to have given Roman names to their children immediately after the conquest, and probably even in the time of Cæsar. An inscription, which may not impossibly relate to the family of the great Gaulish chief of the Ædui, Eporedorix, mentioned by Cæsar, dedicated, in gratitude for benefits received by the grandson of Eporedorix from the use of the warm baths, to the local deities Boromis and Damona (both names derived from Celtic roots descriptive of the hot springs), shows how soon the name of Caius Julius became fashionable in Gaul. This inscription was found at Bourbon Lancy, the ancient Aquæ Nisiniæ, in the department of Saône-et-Loire. *Gallia Celtica.*

C . IVLIVS . EPOREDORIGIS . F . MAGNVS
PRO . IVLIO . CALENO FILIO
BORVONI ET DAMONAE
V . S .

The names of the same guardian deities of hot springs have been found at the springs of Bourbon-les-Bains.

DEO APOLLINI
BORVONI ET DAMONAE

Another inscription, evidently relating to the same noble Æduan family, has been found at Chatillon, near Autun, Augustodunum, the capital of the Ædui.

C . IVL . C . MAGNI . F . C .
EPOREDORIGIS . N . PROCVLVS . D . S . F

The name of Martialis appears as an agnomen in

an inscription found in the ruins of the *thermæ* of a Roman villa at Verteult, in the same Æduan district as that to which the inscription of Martialis Dannotali belonged.

This inscription was found at a place called Lausaine, near Vertault, in the department of the Côte-d'Or. *Gallia Celtica.*[3]

I . H . D . D . L . PATRIC
MARTIALIS . ET . PATRIC
MARCVS . LING . FRATR . OMNIB .
OFFIC . CIVILIB . INCIVITATE
SVA FVNCT . CELLAMVE . . . IBVLAM
EREGIONE COLVMNAE CVM
SVIS OMNIB . COMMOD . D . S . P .
VIKAN . VERTILIENSIB . LARGI
TI SVNT

In honorem domus divinæ. L. Patricius Martialis et (Titus ?) Patricius Marcus Lingones, fratres, omnibus officiis civilibus in civitate sua functi, cellam (vest)ibulam e regione columnæ cum suis omnibus commodis de sua pecunia vicanis Vertiliensibus largiti sunt.

Dannotali, gen. of Dannotalos, a compound name like Argio-talus, "white forehead," Vepotalus, "fair forehead," may be rendered "bold forehead." These names correspond in meaning to such Welsh names as Tal-iesin, "shining forehead," Tal-haiarn, "iron forehead," but the order of combination of the elements of the names is different.

Ucuete, a dative of Ucuetis, supposed to be the name of a deity, otherwise unknown, worshipped in Alisia. There was a town Ucuetia, near Nemausus, which appears in the inscription *ante*, page 8, as Ucetian.

[3] 'Revue Archéologique,' April, 1863.

Celicnon. This word has been identified by Dr. Graves, of Dublin, with the Gothic *likn*, a tower, πύργος.

Sosin, the demonstrative pronoun. An example occurs in the Irish (Zeuss, Gr. Celt., p. 354, *Cose innammoge* SOSIN, "institutio servorum hocce"), which leaves no doubt as to its meaning. M. Pictet has observed, "that what gives peculiar interest to this word is the fact, that the corresponding form in the Cymric is *hon*, *hyn*;" but the opinion of Zeuss (Gr. Celt., pref.), that the change of the Cymric *s* into *h* occurred after the date of the Roman occupation of Britain would, if assented to, deprive the observation of all importance.

The remaining words of this inscription have not been satisfactorily explained; Mr. Stokes makes *gobedbi* a verb, and *dugiiontiio* a nominative, and reads the whole—

Martialis, the son of Dannotalis, has made this tower for Ucuetis; and the work pleased Ucuetis in Alisia.

It would seem from the tenor of the other inscriptions that *Ucuetis* should be taken to be the name of the deity locally worshipped at *Ucuetia*, and that it was at the shrine of this deity, in the city of Alisia, that Martialis Dannotalos offered the *celicnon*, supposing this to have been a portable object, perhaps a model or representation of a *purgos*, or altar.

Two Gaulish inscriptions, in Greek characters, come from the south of France.

No. 6.

Found at Vaison, in the department of Vaucluse, the ancient Vasio, chief city of the Vocontii, in the *Provincia Narbonensis*, afterwards separated from that province, and included in *Gallia Viennensis*.

CEΓOMAPOC
OYIΛΛONEOC
TOOYTIOYC
NAMAYCATIC
ЄIѠPoYBHΛH
CAMICOCIN
NEMHTON.

Segomaros Villoneos tooutious Namausatis eiôrou Bélésami sosin neméton.

Segomaros. The name of the individual described as making or dedicating the offering. Like the majority of the Gaulish compound names, the first element of the word ends in *o*, or this is to be looked upon as a combinative vowel. No instance of such a form is to be found in the oldest historical or traditionary Irish or Welsh names of persons or places, though Zeuss (Gr. Celt.) conceives that traces of such a form are to be found in some Irish words. The second element of this name, *maros* or *marus*, enters into a great number of Gaulish personal names, Indutiomarus, Cuno-marus, Virdo-marus, etc.

In an inscription from Brescia, the name *Segomarus* appears as a cognomen :[4]

DIS DEABVS
OMNIBVS
L . VETTVRIVS . L . L

[4] Gruter, ii. 1005. 4.

SEGOMARVS
PRO SE ET SVIS

It is worthy of remark that in the inscription in Greek characters the termination is written *os*, in that in Latin characters it takes the Latin form *us*.

Villoneos is the cognomen of Segomaros. The meaning of the word is not clear, but it has been derived from a supposed Gaulish word like *fill*, a horse (English *filly*), interpreted "horseman."

In connection with this interpretation we may compare the (in that case) curious combination VILLONIUS ASELLUS, Gruter, 485. 5.

Tooutious. Translated by Dr. Siegfried "a citizen." Ir. *tuath*, Old Cymr. *tût*, people, *gens*.

Namausatis is clearly an adjective derived from the name of the city Nemausus, the modern Nismes.

ΕΙΩΡΟΥ. The Greek mode of writing the word *ieuru*.

Belisami. Dative singular of Belisama. In an inscription found at St. Lizier, this deity is represented as a female, the Gaulish Minerva.

MINERVAE
BELISAMAE
SACRVM
Q. VALERIVS
MONTANVS.

In an inscription given by Montfaucon, it seems probable that this deity was sometimes represented under a male form. It is the figure of a young man, clothed in a peplum fastened on the right shoulder, holding a bunch of grapes in the right hand, a fruit (apple?) in the left; a bird perched on the left hand. On the

stone at the right side of the figure, the following mutilated inscription (Montfaucon, Antiq. Expl., vol. ii. pl. 192) :—

DEO BE
MILVCIO
VI.

which was no doubt originally—

DEO BE
LISA]MI LVCIO
POS]VI

Nemêton. This word belongs to all the Celtic dialects in the sense of something sacred set apart. It occurs in composition in the names of several Gaulish towns, Vernematum, Augustonemetum, Nemetocenna, etc.

"Nomine *Vernemetis* voluit vocitare vetustas,
Quod quasi *fanum ingens* Gallica lingua refert."[5]

In the Brehon (Irish) law it is said, "a *nemedh* is any place set apart; the *nemedh* of the church is the cemetery; the *nemedh* of the *dun* is the enclosed green; the *nemedh* of the fair is the green," etc. A *fidnemed* was a sacred grove. "Ere caca feada acht fidnemead," —"All woods may be cut, except *sacred groves*."[6] What the *nemeton* of this inscription may have been does not appear, but the inscription may be read—

Segomaros Villoneos, a citizen of Nemausus, has dedicated this nemeton to Belisama.

The epithet "*nimid-is*," applied to "mountains" in

[5] Venant. Fortunat. i. 9.
[6] Petrie, Eccles. Arch. of Ireland.

the sense of "holy," "inhabited by the gods," occurs in an inscription found at the foot of the Pyrenees, at present in the museum at Toulouse.

SILVANO DEO ET
MONTIBVS NIMIDIs
QIVLIVLIANVS ET PVBLIC
VSCRESCENTINVS QVIPR
MIHINC COLVMNAS VICE
MARIAS CELAVERVNTET
ET EXPORTAVERVNT
V.S.L.M.

No. 7.

Inscription on a stone tablet found at Nemausus, the chief city of the Volcæ Arecomici, in Gallia Narbonensis, not far from the mouth of the Rhone. It was a Roman colonia. *Gallia Narbonensis.*

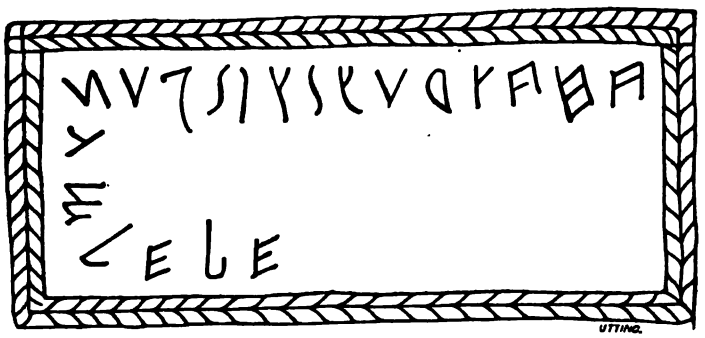
ΙΑΡΤΑΙ . . . . ΛΛΑΝΟΙΤΑΚΟΣΔΕΔΕ
ΜΑΤΡΕΒΟΝΑΜΑΥΣΙΚΑΒΟΒΡΑΤΟΥΔΕ

Iartai(os) . . llanoitakos dede matrebo Namausikabo bratou de.

Iartai(os) . . llanoitakos, the second word evidently of the person making the offering, is the name of the town or place to which he belonged, . . *llanoitacum*, like *Nemetacum*.

Dede. There can be no doubt that this is the Gaulish form of the Latin "*dedit.*" It replaces in this inscription the word *ieuru* of the others, and shows that this is a record of some donation made by Iartaios to the temple or revenue of the priesthood of the *Matres*. The reduplicate form of the word is very remarkable, and no corresponding form exists in the Neo-Celtic

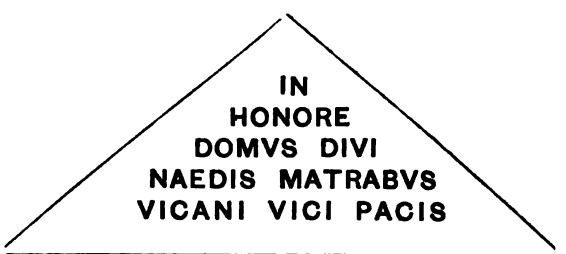
dialects. It has been compared with the form "*rere*" of an Umbrian inscription from Todi.[7]



AHAL TRVTITIS RVNVM RERE

Matrebo Namausikabo, the "deæ matres" of Nemausus, are divinities frequently named in the Roman inscriptions of Gaul and Britain. These two words have supplied the form of the Gaulish dative plural case-ending in *-bo*, a form evidently closely resembling the Irish *-ib*, the Latin *-bus*. In other inscriptions, however, we have the form "*matrabus*."

Inscription over three female figures robed, standing, the centre figure holding a basket of fruit. *Montfaucon, Antiq. Expliquée*, etc., vol. ii. pl. 192.



In another, preserved at Besançon, the ancient Vesontio:

[7] Aufrecht und Kirchoff, 'Umbrische Sprachdenkmäler,' p. 392

MATRA
BVS SACR
VM OXIA
MESSORI
FILIA . V . S . T
M .

Bratoude. No satisfactory explanation of this word can be given. Dr. Siegfried appears to have divided it *bratou de*, and interpreted "ex imperio ipsarum dearum," that is of the "Matres" before mentioned. From its position, it should represent the object given or dedicated by Iartaios to the "Matres."

"Iartaios . . Ilanoitacos, has given to the Nemausan Matres."

No. 8.

Inscription on a menhir or standing-stone at Vieux Poitiers, on the road from Tours to Bordeaux,—the ancient Limonum, city of the Pictones. *Gallia Celtica.*

Ratn Brivatiom Frontu Tarbellinos ieuru.

Ratn. M. Pictet explains this word by the Irish *rath*, a mound, a fortified tumulus, and *Briva*-tiom by the word *briva*, which he considers the Gaulish for a

bridge. That places in Gaul compounded with *briva* were in some way connected with the passage of a river, and that at such places the Romans erected bridges, seems clear, but there is no evidence that *briva* meant a bridge in Gaulish. M. Pictet reads the inscription "Tumulum ad pontem Fronto Tarbellinos vovit."

Becker, on the other hand, considers BRIVATIOM as representing the object dedicated, like *Nemeton*, etc.,—in this case a pillar-stone,—and suggests that *ratn* may be a demonstrative pronoun. It is however most probable that this rude inscription has no reference to the stone monument on which it is found, and which may be centuries older than the inscription.

Frontu, a proper name for *Fronto*, who is qualified as *Tarbellinos*, a native or citizen of the city of the Tarbelli, now Dax, on the Adour, at the foot of the Pyrenees. The fact that the writer was a native of a place distant from that at which the pillar-stone is situate, may serve to show that the inscription is probably the work of an idle traveller, and has no reference to the original character of the monument.

No. 9.

Inscription traced with a pointed instrument on the neck of a wide-mouthed black earthen vessel; found at Bourges, the ancient Avaricum, capital of the Bituriges Cubi. It is seated at the confluence of the rivers Auron, Yevrette, Langis, and Meudon, which unite to form the Eure, the ancient Avar. *Gallia Celtica.*

BVSCILLASOSIOLEGASITINALIXIEMAGALV

Buscilla Sosio legasit in Alixia Magalu.

Buscilla. A female name, like Flacilla, mother of Martial, the epigrammatist, Barbilla, Vindilla, Tasgilla, etc.

Sosio. From its position in the sentence, this word would seem to be a cognomen or epithet of Buscilla, but its meaning is altogether obscure.

Legasit. The position of this word in the sentence seems to indicate that it is the verb, but we have nothing to offer as to its interpretation.

In Alixie. It seems doubtful whether this means the city Alixia, the capital of the Mandubii, and according to Diodorus, iv. 19, the ancient metropolis of Gaul. The inscription comes from a place remote from the Mandubian Alisia, but being on a portable object, no difficulty arises on that account.

Magalu. This, like Alisanu, Anvalonnacu, must be a dative singular, the name of the deity to whom the offering is made. The word appears as the second element of the Gaulish personal names, Taxi-magulus, Cuno-meglus, Seno-macilus, and in the first place Maglo-cunus, with the meaning "youth, servant, disciple."

To the same deity is probably to be attributed the *Maglos*, with the epithet *Matonios*, of an inscription from Saint-Beat, in the Pyrenees.

MAGLO
MATONIO
ATTOMArMO
RARIVS
V . S . L . M

To Maglos Matonios (by) Attos Marmorarius.

The celebrated monument, found in the foundations

I.

1.	2.	3.	4.
TIB . CAESARE AVGIOVIOPTV MAXSVMO Mo NAVTAEPARISIACI PVBLICE POSIERV NT	. . . . . Figures of three warriors, armed with lance and shield.	EVRISES Same as No. 2.	SENANI V..ILOM Three figures, apparently males.

II.

1.	2.	3.	4.
IOVIS Figure of Jupiter, with a sceptre.	VOLCANVS Figure of Vulcan, a cap on his head, a hammer in right hand, a pincers in the left.	ESVS Figure of a young man, apparently cutting a bough from a tree (with an axe?).	TARVOS TRI GARANOS Figure of a bull, three birds (cranes?) standing one on his head, the other two on his back.

III.

1.	2.	3.	4.
CASTOR Warrior with lance, holding the mane of a horse.	(Pollux) Same as No. 1.	CERNVNNOS Man with long ears and horns of a stag, from which ridges are suspended.	SEVI RI OS Man with uplifted club, striking at a snake.

IV.

1, 2 3, 4. Figures much worn, without inscription.

of the cathedral of Notre Dame at Paris, has supplied the names of several Gaulish deities. This was a square pillar-stone, the four sides of which were covered with figures and inscriptions, some of which were perfectly legible, and have been given by Montfaucon (Antiq. Expliq.), as on page 20.

No. 10.

The signification of this strange mixture of Roman

and Gaulish divinities is not by any means clear, but amongst them we have the celebrated Gaulish deity *Esus*, mentioned by Lucan, in whose honour the bloody sacrifices of the Druids were performed.

> "Et quibus immitis placatum sanguine diro
> *Teutates*, horrensque feris altaribus *Hesus*,
> Et *Taranis* Scythicæ non mitior ara Dianæ."
> *Lucan, Pharsal.* lib. v. 444.

The appearance of the god *Esus*, as figured upon this monument, is not at all consistent with the character given of him by Lucan. The Welsh antiquaries have seen in his "horrensque feris altaribus *Hesus*" the fictitious leader of the Cymry, *Hu Gadarn*, the inventor of agriculture and vocal song, and refer to this figure in proof of the character they assign to him. The name appears in composition in personal names of men, as *Esu-nertus*, "strong in Esus," *Esu-maglius*, "servant of Esus," etc. This last occurs in an inscription found near Orleans, the ancient Gnabum, a city of the Carnutes.[8] *Gallia Celtica.*

AVG . RVDIOBO . SACRVM
CVR CASSICIATE D . S . P . D
ER ESVMAGLVS . SACROVIR . SERIOMAGLIVS . SEVERVS

And in another inscription, with the epithet *Mopasos:*

ESVMOPASOCMVSTICVS V . S . L . M [9]

Esu Mopaso Caius Musticus Votum solvit libens merito.

The name *Sacrovir*, in the inscription to *Augustus Rudiobos*, was borne by two distinguished Gauls, one,

[8] Revue Archéol., N.S. vol. iv.
[9] Roget de Belloquet, 'Ethnogénie Gauloise,' p. 113.

an Æduan, Julius Sacrovir, the other a Treviran, Julius Florus Sacrovir. Both were concerned in an ineffectual revolt against the Roman power about A.D. 21.

The name of the human figure with the horns of a stag, in the third line of this monument, *Cernunnos*, is evidently an epithet descriptive of this peculiarity, meaning the "horned," W. *corn*, a horn, pl. *cyrn*.

Taruos Trigaranos. The figure of the bull with three birds perched on his head and back, affords the explanation of the epithet Trigaranos, "the three craned" or "of the three cranes," Welsh *garan*, a crane. Nothing occurs either in the classical writers or in any inscription, to explain the nature of the symbol or its connection with the Gaulish mythology. The same may be said of the other Gaulish names and figures of this monument, *Eurises*, *Senani v . . ilom*, and *Sevi-ri-os*.

As the monument was erected in honour of Tiberius by the sailors of Paris, we may be tempted to connect the name *Senanæ*, who, according to Pomponius Mela, were priestesses of a deity or oracle peculiarly worshipped by and propitious to navigators. The appearance of the images of Castor and Pollux on the same monument may perhaps be referred to the same cause.[10]

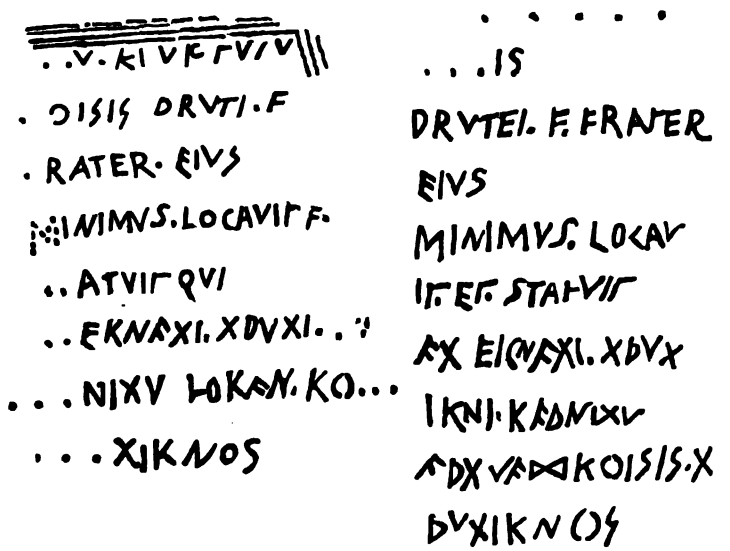
The only Gaulish inscription of a well-ascertained sepulchral character hitherto discovered, is the bilingual inscription of Todi, and this not within the area

[10] "*Sena* in Britannicò mari, Osismicis adversa litoribus, Gallici numinis oraculo insignis est, cujus antistites perpetua virginitate sanctæ, numero novem esse traduntur; Galli Senas vocant putantque scire futura et prædicare, sed non nisi deditas navigantibus." (Pomp. Mela, lib. iii. c. 6.)

of Gaul proper, but in Italy, on the northern or Etruscan bank of the Tiber.

This inscription is both bilingual and double, being engraved on two sides of a slab of travertine limestone, with a slight variation in the word descriptive of the sepulchral monument referred to in the inscription. The Latin part is written in Roman characters, the Gaulish in those of the alphabet called by Mommsen the West-Etruscan.

Facsimile of the inscription of Todi, from Aufrecht and Kirchoff, 'Umbrische Sprachdenkmäler.'



No. 11.

The bilingual inscription of Todi.

I.	II.
. . . . .	. . . . .
S . . V	MEP . CRVM
OISIS . DRVTIF	. . . . IS

. RATER EIVS
. INIMVS LOCAVIT
. . ATVITQV
. . EKNATI . TRVTIK . I
. . . NITV . LOKAN . . OISIS
. . VTIKNOS

DRVTEIFFRATER
EIVS
MINIMVS LOCAV
IT . ET STATVIT
ATEKNATI TRVT
IKNI . KARNITV
ARTVA⋈KOISIS . T
RVTIKNOS

Ateknati, gen. of Ateknatos, the son of Atis, probably the name of a deity. Atis was the name of a chief of the Gaulish Boii.

The name is precisely like those frequently occurring, *Boduo-gnatus*, "son of victory," *Cintu-gnatus*, "first-born," *Crito-gnatus*, etc. The juxtaposition of the two names *Ateknatos Drutiknos*, "Ateknatos, the son of Drutos," marks the difference between the two compositive words, *gnatos* and *cnos*, the first of which seems never to be used to indicate the relationship of filiation, the latter always does so. The relationship of the two sons, Coisis and Ateknatos, to their father, Drutos, is expressed by the same word, *Trutiknos*, in the Latin *Druti filius*, a patronymic like Oppianicnos, Toutissicnos.

The meaning of the name Drutos is, no doubt, to be found in the Welsh *drut*, "strong, powerful, a hero." The female form of the name, *Druta*, occurs in an inscription—

No. 12.

Found at Vieil-Evreux, Mediolanum, capital of the Aulerci Eburovices; it is in the department of L'Eure, outh of, and bordering on the Seine. *Gallia Celtica*, *Armorica*.

....CRISPOS BOVI....
..RAMEDON.....
..AXTACBITIEV...
DO CARADITONV...
VTASEIANISEBODDV...
REMIFILIA
DRVTA GISACICIVIS SV..

Crispos Bovi ... ramedon ... (d)o ... Caraditonu ... utaseianise boddu ... Remi filia, Druta Gisaci civis Su ...

This Druta is called a citizen of Gisacum. Several places of this name appear to have existed in Gaul, which in modern times have taken the name of *Gisay*. A Villa Gisiaca is mentioned in the Breviary of Evreux, ed. 1587 (Becken, in 'Beiträge,' iii. 4, p. 417), to which place the following inscription, found in the neighbourhood of Vieil-Evreux, must certainly be referred.

At Vieil-Evreux—

AVG DEO GISACO
.VRIGIVS ARI
...LADESVOPO
SVIT

A similar inscription from Amiens (Samarobriva)—

GESACO.AVG
SATVRNINVS
SECCI.FIL
V.S.L.M.

Karnitu. The Latin portion of the inscription has rendered this word by *locavit statuitque.* The root of the word is evidently the Celtic *carn*, a sepulchral heap of stones, and the form of the verb *karnit-u* corresponds with that of the verb *ieur-u* of the other Gaulish inscriptions.

Logan and *Artvas*, or *Artvan*, are the corresponding Gaulish names of the monument erected by Coisis to the memory of his brother. The first of these Mr. Stokes considers to be the accusative singular of a feminine noun, *loga* or *logas*, derived from the same Celtic root, *log*, as appears in the old Irish *lige*, a grave; later Irish, *luighim*, "I lie down." The last letter of the word *Artvas*, or *Artvan*, is of a peculiar form, and some doubt exists as to what it represents. But the word is either the accusative singular or the accusative plural of a noun *artva* or *artvas*, the meaning of which is found in the old Irish *art*, a stone, *arteine*, a little stone, a gravestone.

The whole of the Gaulish part of the inscription therefore reads:—

1.

Coisis, the son of Drutos, has raised the sepulchral stone (*logan*) of Ateknatos, the son of Drutos.

2.

Coisis, the son of Drutos, has raised (heaped up together) the sepulchral stones (*artvas*) of Ateknatos, the son of Drutos.

In one respect the Latin part of this inscription is more full than the Gaulish. In the former, Coisis, the son of Drutos, who has raised the monument, is said to be the youngest brother, "frater ejus minimus," of Ateknatos, while nothing appears in the Gaulish inscription to correspond with this description. Nor, in fact, do we derive from the Gaulish inscription the knowledge that these two persons were brothers in any other way than by implication, from the circumstance that each is called Trutiknos, the son of Trutos, while the Latin portion expressly adds the statement, "frater ejus."

The collocation of the words also in the Gaulish part of this inscription is remarkable. In all the others the nominative case, the name of the person dedicating, etc., precedes the verb, in this it follows.

In order to form an accurate notion of this inscription we require to turn it into Latin.

1.

Ateknati, Druti filii, congessit lapidem sepulchralem Coisis, Druti filius.

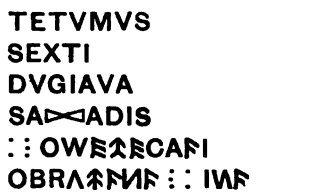
2.

Ateknati, Druti filii, congessit lapides sepulchrales Coisis, Druti filius.

This arrangement is not according to the Neo-Celtic idioms, nor, as it would appear from the other Gaulish inscriptions, is it according to the Gaulish idiom. The Gaulish is not, however, a translation of the Latin part of the inscription, which appears to have been—

Ateknati, Druti f., sepulchrum Coisis, Druti f., frater ejus minimus locavit et statuit.

The doubtful character which in this inscription has been written as the final letter of the word Artva*s* or Artva*n* appears in another apparently Gaulish inscription, in mixed characters, found near Limone, or Lago di Garda, in upper Italy.



None of these votive inscriptions have furnished us

with a word equivalent to "god" or "deity." In the Gallo-Roman inscriptions the words "deo," "diis," "genio" are frequently prefixed, as in those to the *Deæ Matres* in an inscription found at Aiguillon, between Agen and Bordeaux. Agen was the chief city, Aginnum, of the Nitiobriges. *Gallia Celtica.*

IVLIVS . ACCEPTVS
GENIO . AMBISSOV
CVM . BONA

In others the name of a Roman deity has been prefixed to the name of the Gaulish divinity, as in the inscription to Minerva, as Belisama, No. 6; in one to Mercury, as Vassos Caletis, found at Bitburg, in Rhenish Prussia, the ancient Beda. It is thirty-three miles north-east of Luxembourg, and eighteen miles from Treves.

N . H . D
DEO . MERCV
VASSO . CALETI
MANDALONIV
GRATVS · D

To the god Mercurius Vassos Caletis, Mandalonius Gratus dedicates.

For the meaning of *Vassos* we have Irish *bas*, death, and *bassa*, "fate, fortune;" but the interchange of the Gaulish *v* is generally with the Irish *f*. The observation of Gregory of Tours (Hist. lib. i. c. 30), "Veniens (Chrocus rex) vero Arvernos, delubrum illud quod Gallica lingua *Vasso Galatæ* vocant," etc., shows that there was in the sixth century, in Auvergne, a temple dedicated to the deity mentioned in this trans-Rhenane inscription. According to O'Brien, the Irish *cal*

means "to preserve, protect," which might afford a very reasonable meaning of the epithet *Caletis*.

Another inscription qualifies Mars with the two epithets "Divannonos" and "Dinomogetimaros," treated as two deities in the plural "Martibus;" and another is dedicated to Mars, Hercules, and Mercury, with the epithet "Ambiomarcis" combined with the *genius loci*.

On a votive altar, found at St. Pons de Commières, department of Herault, the chief town of which is Montpelier. *Provincia Narbonensis*.

L . COELIVS RVFVS
IVLIA . SEVERA . VXOR
L . COELIVS . MANGIVS . F .
DIVANNONI
DINOMOGETIMARO
MARTIB .
V . S . L . M

Another to Mars Cicollius, found near Dijon—

DEO MARTI
CICOLLVI
PVDENS
PVDENTIANI
FIL .

Found at the remains of a Roman station, between Colonia Agrippina and Burginacium—

I . O'. M
ET . GENIO . LOC
MARTI . HERCUL .
MERCURIOAM
BIOMARCISMI
LITES . LEGXXXVV

MVLPPANNO
TMANSMARCUS
MVLPLELLAWO
TAVRLAVINVS
V S L M

We know very little of the mythology of the Celtic nations, but it is evident that, besides those divinities in whom the Romans saw some resemblance to the principal deities of their own Pantheon, the Gauls reverenced or worshipped a crowd of minor divinities, whose names have not always been indicated in the Roman inscriptions. Such is the otherwise unknown deity *Sumelis*, with the epithet *Vorretos*, to whom an unknown object, *iubron*, appears to have been dedicated, by one *Virius*, in a fragmentary inscription from Vaison, Gallia Celtica, to a deity otherwise unknown, "Sumelis Vorretos."

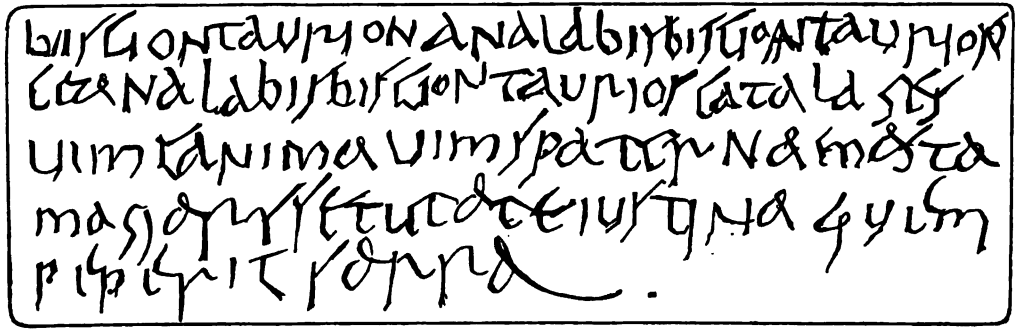
No. 13.

Inscription on a silver plate, found at Poitiers, Limonum. *Gallia Celtica.*

IVBRON
SVMELI
VORETO
VIRIVS◦F

Another of these is a minor deity, or demon, named in a very remarkable inscription found at Poitiers, which has been the subject of a learned essay by Dr. Lottner.

No. 14.



INSCRIPTION ON A SILVER PLATE FOUND AT POITIERS, LIMONUM. *Gallia Celtica.*

This silver plate was originally enclosed in a kind of case, which was unfortunately destroyed by the finder. "This circumstance is not without some importance for the interpretation of the inscription on the plate; for the natural inference would seem to be that the inscription was intended to be carried about on the person, which again renders it very probable that it contained a charm, and that the plate was a kind of amulet or talisman. The inscription itself is in Latin characters, such as were employed in public documents of the Merovingian or Gallo-Roman times. The nearest approach to them is said to be found in the alphabet of two documents of the sixth century,—one a charter of the year 565, the other a sermon of St. Hilarius, written at about 570. This would not, however, necessitate the assumption that the inscription must be of the same century, but it might belong to a date somewhat more remote." [11] Dr. Lottner looks upon the *Dontaurius* of this inscription as a demon or evil spirit, "the destroyer of the embryo," against whose influences the charm is intended to protect the person named in the inscription, *Justina quem peperit*, "Justina, the daughter of Sarra." For the reasons given for this opinion, and the relation which the inscription bears to certain incantations contained in the Hymns of the Atharvaveda, we must refer to the papers by Dr. Lottner, before cited.

Dr. Lottner's reading and translation of the inscrip tion are as follows:—

Bis dontaurion anala bis
Bis dontaurion deanala bis

[11] Dr. Lottner, on the Gaulish Inscription of Poitiers. Dublin, 1863.

Bis dontaurios datala ges
(Sa) vim danimavim
(S) pater nam esto
Magi ars secuta te
Justina quem peperit Sarra.

Breathe at the Dontaurios,
The Dontaurios breathe down upon;
Accuse the Dontaurii
With boldest charms.
Pater nam esto;
Magi ars secuta te,
Justina quem
Peperit Sarra.

The great rarity of these inscriptions in the Gaulish tongue is very remarkable. If none at all had been discovered, we might have concluded that the Gauls, who certainly obtained their alphabet from the Romans, had not committed their language to writing before the Roman tongue had taken its place in all official and public matters. From those that we possess, we must, I think, conclude that the practice of making votive or dedicatory inscriptions was imitated by the Gauls from the Romans, while for the most part the Latin language was employed for the purpose. That the earliest British coins bear inscriptions in Roman characters, struck at a time when southern Britain, though thoroughly penetrated by Gallo-Roman influences, was politically independent of, though nominally tributary to Rome, is decisive as to the fact that the Britons possessed no native written characters, no alphabet other than that which, equally with Gaul, had been derived from Rome.

Considerable interest attaches to the question of the

localities of these inscriptions. The language in which they are written appears to be more nearly related to the Gadhelic than to the Cymric branch of the Celtic. We ought not, perhaps, to lay too much stress on this supposed relationship, because we have not yet obtained from the inscriptions themselves any of the Gaulish numerals, or, in fact, any series of words which can afford a means of correct judgment. If the grammatical forms yielded by the inscriptions present a strong likeness to those of the oldest Irish, it must be recollected that the modern Cymric or Welsh dialect has been reduced to writing at a much later date than the Irish, after, too, the disappearance from the former language of all case-endings, and that those who first reduced it to writing wrote according to the current pronunciation, having, it would seem, no ancient models from which to obtain and indicate the true original forms of the language.

A comparison of the Manx with the Irish, or a collation of the original current Gaelic of the Ossianic poems, with the modern improved and grammatical version of the same in 'The Dean of Lismore's Book,' will show what form the Gadhelic dialect would have taken had it been committed to writing for the first time, as late as, and by the same illiterate class as the Welsh. Nevertheless, it is probable that the most marked case-ending in the Gaulish inscriptions, that of the dative plural in *-bo*, which bears so marked a relation to the Irish *-aib*, *-ibh*, the Latin *-bus*, never had its counterpart in the Cymric, which in this, as in other points of relationship, perhaps more nearly resembled the Greek than the Latin. Apart from, and outside as it were, of the inscriptions, are certain words, such as *petorritum*

and *pempedula*, given as Gaulish by the classical writers, and *Cebenna mons* and *Penninus mons*, which have decidedly Cymric affinities. Assuming, then, that the language of the Gaulish inscriptions belongs to the Gadhelic branch of the Celtic, we have evidence of the co-existence, within the limits of geographical Gaul, of the two main dialects of the Celtic language; and it would be a matter of considerable interest and importance for the early history and ethnology as well of Gaul as of Britain, if we were enabled to define the geographical limits of these two spoken dialects in Gaul.

Three views may be taken of this question:—1st. That geographical Gaul, always excepting the Aquitania of Cæsar, was divided among the two Celtic branches, one of which occupied the territory north, the other that south of the two rivers, the Seine and the Marne, under the respective names, as known to the Romans, of Belgæ and Celtæ, or Galli. This view rests on the well-known statement of Cæsar.

2nd. That of the various tribes of Gaul some were of Cymric, others of Gadhelic origin, living upon the Gallic area, each in its own territory, but not separated in mass by any determinate line of frontier. For this view, though not impossible, and, if admitted, capable of solving many difficulties, no evidence can be offered: we must, therefore, dismiss it from consideration.

3rd. That the Gauls, the aristocratic classes, or Equites and Druidæ of Cæsar, were a master race of Celtic origin, neither Gadhels nor Cymri, who had conquered and enslaved the earlier occupants of Gaul, consisting of mixed tribes of both branches of the Celtic race.

Perhaps the first and the third of these views may be found not to be incompatible.

The first rests upon the statement of Cæsar, that the Belgæ and the Celtæ were so far distinct nations, that under each appellation were included a number of separate tribes; that each occupied a distinct territory, separated by a well-defined boundary formed by the two rivers the Seine and the Marne, and that these two nations or confederations differed from each other in language as well as in manners and customs. Taking into consideration the character and position of the author of this statement, his literary attainments, his well-trained mind, his clear-headedness, his powers of observation, and opportunities of obtaining, as well as the necessity, in his position, that he should obtain, accurate information on all matters connected with the Gaulish tribes,—this statement is one which cannot be ignored even if it cannot be explained, nor can we allow the modified view of Strabo to weaken the force of the direct assertion of Cæsar. There must have been a difference, both as to language and customs, between the Belgæ and the Celtæ, sufficient to attract Cæsar's attention, and to make it worthy of being recorded. The appreciation of this difference is of the highest interest for the history of Britain, since the Belgæ furnished so large a portion of the inhabitants of the southern portion of the island.

It is not to be denied that this statement of Cæsar's has been the source of endless confusion, and still remains a stumbling-block for the history of the Gauls. By some writers the Belgæ have been supposed to be Germans or Germanized Gauls, chiefly on the strength of the information given to Cæsar by the Remi, that

most of the Belgæ were originally from Germany, "plerosque Belgas esse ortos a Germania," who, having crossed the Rhine, had expelled the Gauls, then the occupiers of the soil. It seems extremely probable that the Belgic confederation may really have been a political union of Gaulish tribes, whose language, manners, and customs had to some extent become affected by (in the time of Cæsar) an ancient Germanic intermixture, "Rhenumque *antiquitus* transductos," so that, without ceasing to be Gauls, they differed to a sufficiently appreciable extent from the tribes south of the Seine who did not belong to their confederation, and had not been subjected to these trans-Rhenane influences which had given to the Belgæ their distinctive character. In this and all similar speculations, however, we are met by the objection that the names of places, of tribes, and of individuals within the Belgic area are not to be distinguished from those that belong to the specially Gallic portion of Gaul. The German admixture must, therefore, have been but a minority absorbed in the more numerous Gallic population, who still retained their political and social superiority.

M. Thierry, in his 'Histoire des Gaules,' has endeavoured to show that the division of Gaul between two Celtic races was in accordance with the natural features of the country, and that a due appreciation of the topographical character of the land throws a clear light on the history of its occupants. Gaul, he says, is naturally divided into two great regions, well marked by the direction of its rivers; the one an elevated eastern region, comprising all the country between the crest of the Alps and the last elevation of the

Vosges, the Æduan mountains, the plateau of Auvergne, and the Cevennes ridge; the other, the low and western region which extends to the ocean. The true Gauls, or, as M. Thierry calls them, the Galls, once occupied the region of the plains and the river valleys as well as the eastern highlands; but, driven from the former by successive invasions of a Cymric race coming from beyond the Rhine, had found refuge in the eastern highland region. Unfortunately, however, for the historical application of this theory, the line of demarcation drawn by Cæsar between the Belgæ and the Celtæ, the course of the two rivers, the Seine and the Marne, cuts the lowland region into two unequal parts; and M. Thierry has been obliged *to* invent for the occupation of the southern division of this region a kind of *tertium quid*, in the shape of a Gallo-Cymric race, or Cymry of the first invasion, who, mixed with Gallic blood, occupied the valleys of the Loire and the lowland region between the Seine and the Garonne, while the northern division between the Seine and the Rhine was occupied by the Cymry of the second invasion—a purely Cymric race, the Belgæ of Cæsar.

The strong distinction drawn by M. Thierry between these two branches of the Celtic race goes far beyond anything that can be drawn from the expressions used by the Roman commander.

In support of these views, which assign to the Belgic Gauls a Cymric, to the Celtic Gauls a Gadhelic origin, the Gaulish inscriptions afford a negative testimony which is not to be disregarded, though, resting on an unsubstantial basis, it may at any moment be overthrown. At present, however, it is a fact, and

forms a not unimportant part of the question at issue, that all the Gaulish inscriptions hitherto discovered have been found, with one doubtful exception, south of the Seine and Marne, that is within the Celto-Gallic area; or, as it would be better stated, since they have been found outside the proper limits of this area, that is, within the Provincia Narbonensis, similar inscriptions have not yet been discovered within the limits of the territory occupied by the Belgæ of Cæsar.

To this fact we must add another, namely, that the fragments of the language spoken by the rustic population around Bordeaux, as obtained from them, and preserved by the physician Marcellus in the third century, have been declared by Grimm and Pictet to be the remains of a Celtic dialect more nearly related to the Gadhelic than to the Cymric, an opinion to which, though at first opposed by him,[12] Zeuss is said afterwards to have assented.[13] The opinion of scholars so eminent must be received with deference and respect; at the same time, it may be permitted to express a wish that the matter of these Marcelline formulæ had admitted of a more satisfactory, or, if we may venture to say so, a more common-sense interpretation.

The evidence afforded by the Marcelline formulæ as to the Gadhelic character of the dialect spoken in the third century in the neighbourhood of Bordeaux, would only go to show that their dialect prevailed in that immediate neighbourhood; but the Gaulish in-

[12] "Quæ apud Marcellum Burdigalensem, Virgilium grammaticum, in glossa Malbergica, leguntur, peregrina, inaudita, vel incognita, in his omnibus enim equidem nec inveni vocem Celticam nec invenio." (Gramm. Celtica, præfat. p. xlviii.)

[13] Pictet, 'Essai sur quelques Inscriptions Gauloises,' p. 54.

lapidary inscriptions. Part of the words of these inscriptions seem, indeed, altogether foreign to the existing Celtic idioms."

ERRATA.

Owing to Mr. Nash's absence from England at the time his paper passed through the press, many *errata* have occurred, which the reader is requested to correct by the following list:—

Page 327, line 28, *for* Schleichen *read* Schleicher.
Page 329, line 3 from bottom, *for* Andecari *read* Andecavi.
Page 332, line 14, *for* Iccarus *read* Iccavos.
Page 332, line 19, *for* Iocianus *read* Iccianus.
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Page 334, line 12, *for* Boromis *read* Borvonis.
Page 339, line 14, *for* Vernematum *read* Vernemetum.
Page 344, line 20, *for* Cuno-meglus *read* Cuno-maglus.
Page 345, line 2 from bottom, *for* ridges *read* rings.
Page 347, line 19, *for* Gnabum, *read* Genabum.
Page 348, line 21, *read* to connect with the Senani, the Senæ.
Page 351, line 14, *for* Becken *read* Becker.

A NEW TRANSLATION OF THE INSCRIPTION OF BELLINO,

Containing Annals of Two Years of the Reign of Sennacherib.

BY H. F. TALBOT, V.P.R.S.L.

(Read March 21st, 1866.)

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I gave a translation of it in 1860, in the eighteenth volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, p. 76. But since that time the progress of cuneiform decipherment has elucidated the meaning of many passages which I was formerly obliged to leave unexplained. I am, therefore, now enabled to offer a more perfect translation; in which most of the dubious passages have, I hope, been cleared up.

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That this was a genuine Babylonian tale there can be little doubt; or rather, I should say, an Assyrian one, for it introduces the tomb of Ninus, and he was the founder of Nineveh. His wife, Semiramis, founded

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Babylon, and after her death she was changed i
dove, and worshipped in the East with divine hon

"Alba Palestino sacra columba Syro."

But their history is purely mythical. In fact, I
and Semiramis were two great divinities of the Ea
Pantheon.

The name of Thisbe also appears to have signi
dove. Homer says (B. 502),—

Πολυτρηρωνα τε Θισβην

—"and Thisbe abounding in doves."[1] And
(Met. xi. 300) gives to all doves the epithet of "
bææ columbæ."

Now, I find in the present inscription, if I inte
it correctly, that the clay cylinder deposited i
foundation-stone of the palace of Nineveh, by its
founders, which was exhumed by Sennacherib
found uninjured, was impressed with the figure
dove (*burum*), and I fancy that I see in this word
trace of the name of *Πυραμος*. The blood of
lovers, as Ovid sings, turned the white fruit o
mulberry-tree into its present dark-purple co
Perhaps, however, in some other version of the an
tale, the two dying lovers were turned at once
doves, as Philomela was changed into a nightin
Procne into a swallow, and Tereus and Itylus into
birds. In that case, the names of *thisbe* and *b*
may have given rise to the legendary tale.

[1] This city Thisbe was in Bœotia, but the legend of Cadmus
that Bœotia was colonized by emigrants from Phœnicia and the f
East. There was likewise a city Thisbe in Asia (see Book of
chapter i.), and Bellino's inscription mentions the city of Kar-T
or Castle of Thisbe.

THE INSCRIPTION, WITH ITS TRANSLATION.

The first line being altogether unconnected with the rest, I will reserve the consideration of it to the end. The inscription proper commences with line 2.

Line 2.

SENAKHIRBA sar rabu, sar dannu, sar Ashur-ki, sar la shanan, ribitu mutninnu, pata ili rabi.	SENNACHERIB the great king, the powerful king, the king of Assyria, the king irresistible, the heaven-appointed monarch, the servant of the great gods.

Observations.

Mutninnu. This reading was communicated to me by Mr. Norris. In the great E. I. H. inscription, Nebuchadnezzar calls himself *Imga mutninnu* (Col. I. l. 18), where *imga* is an old Proto-Chaldæan term for 'high priest.' The meaning of the term *mutninnu* is uncertain. Perhaps it is a Hithpael form from ענן, *augurari*, and may mean that Sennacherib's title to the throne was confirmed by heavenly auguries at his accession.

So also when his son Esarhaddon succeeded him, good omens were seen in the heavens. (See my translation of Lord Aberdeen's stone in the British Museum: Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, Vol. VIII. p. 126.)

Line 3.

Natsir iktí, rahim mishari, epish utzati alik ganaki, tsakiru damgati,	The observer of tr the lover of justice: * * *

Natsir ikti, faithful observer of treaties; from נצר, custodire. Gesenius says (p. 684) that thi is specially used concerning treaties: נצר, obse firmiter tenuit *fœdus*. Deut. xxxiii. 9. Psalm xx

Ikti I would render "bonds" or "treaties, derive it from the root עקד, *eked*, which mean bind firmly." This word is used in Genesis xx "And he *bound* Isaac his son."

Another explanation of *natsir ikti* is "Obser the Law," especially the religious law, or the st and ordinances of religion; for this is one of the r ings of חקת, or *ikti*, in Hebrew. For instan Exodus xxvii. 21, חקת עולם, lex æterna, *i.e.* le (Gesen.).

Rahim, lover; from Heb. רחם; *rahem*, amavit.

Mishari, justice; from Hebrew ישר, rectus, pr justus.

The rest of this line is of uncertain meaning.

Line 4.

itlu buli, zikaru gardu, asharaddan malki, rabbu lahit la magiri, mushipriku zamani.	the noble warrior, valiant hero, the firs all kings, the g punisher of the u lievers, the breaker pieces of their wic conspiracies.

Lahit, punisher. The participle *mulait*, chastiser, also occurs. The root may be לחט, a Chaldaized form of the Hebrew לחץ, afflixit.

Mushipriku. The *sha* conjugation of the Hebrew *parak*, פרך, to break.

Zamani, for the Hebrew *zamami.* Gesenius says the verb זמם means insidiatus est, mala molitus est; it seems to be a reduplicate form of the root זמה, consilium scelestum (Ges. 303).

Line 5.

Ashur bilu rabu sarut la shanan ushatlima annima. Eli gimir ami parakki usarba kuti-ya.	Ashur the great Lord has given to me enduring power. Over all heretical nations he raised triumphantly my arms.

La shanan, unchangeable; from Heb. שנה, *shana*, to change; in Chald. שנא.

Ami; Heb. עם, populus.

Parakki; from Heb. *parak*, פרך, separavit, violenter fregit, rupit. This verb implies in Assyrian, schism or heresy, as is manifest from the derived substantive *parikti*: see the Esarhaddon inscription, where a wicked king near Babylon is described who seduced the common people and plunged them into heresy, *as parikti itbalu.* And when Nebuchadnezzar boastingly calls himself *nadu la mupparku*, perhaps he means a king never tainted with heresy.

Bilu, lord. It would appear from this passage that the cuneiform sign $\overset{\Delta\Delta}{\Delta}$ which has so many values, has also that of *bil.* To avoid this complication, we

may perhaps transcribe it *shadu*, which means *d*
in Hebrew, whence *Shaddai*, שדי, is a name
hovah :—Dominus altissimus ; Omnipotens.

Line 6.

In resh sarti-ya, sha Marduk-bal-adanna sar Karduniash adi ummanati Nuva-ki in tamirti Kush-ki ashtakan sisi-su.	In the beginning reign I destroyed armies of Marduk-ba king of Babylonia, a allies the Susians, i plains near the ci Kush.

Tamirti, the fields ; from *amir*, עמיר, grass.
line 59.

Ashtakan, I cut in pieces ; *sisi-su*, their tr
That this is the meaning appears from the pa
where *Sargon* calls himself *shakin sisi Kumba-ni*
the sword, *i.e.* the slayer, of the troops of K
nikash, king of the Susians. But here an impo
remark has to be made. There are two verbs *sh*
שכן, distinguished, according to Schindler (p. 1
by the dots on the letter שׂ.

The verb *puncto sinistro* means to cut with a sw
that *puncto dextro* means habitavit, and habitare
i.e. collocavit. Both are common in Assyrian an
written the same, viz. *ashkun*, in the first person.
both, in the T conjugation, become *ashtakan*.
naturally causes confusion. The substantive
shakin, a sword, and the Chaldee form of it,
given by Schindler, *ibid.* See also Buxtorf, p. 14

Line 7.

In kabal takhari suatu etzib kililat-zu, edish ipparsidu, ana ir Gutzummani innabit, kireb agammi u apparati erumma napishtu ekhir.	In the midst of that battle he quitted his army, fled alone on horseback, and escaped to the city Gutzumman, and (hiding) among the reeds and rushes of the river, he saved his life alone.

So Marius saved his life in the marshes of Minturnæ, plunged up to his neck and hidden in the reeds. How events repeat themselves!

Agammi is the plural of the Heb. *agam*, אגם, a reed. The sign for "water" is prefixed to it. אגם also signifies a marsh. Gesenius has palus, stagnum, arundinetum. Its plural is אגמי.

Apparati is the Chald. *aparat*, a rush, אפרת. See Buxtorf, p. 197, who quotes from Exodus ii. 3, the account of Moses hidden among the rushes: "And she placed him ב אפרה (among the rushes), on the surface of the river."

Erumma may be *nudè* in Latin. "He saved *bare life*." In German, "er hat *bloss* das Leben errettet." From *erum*, ערום, nudus (Ges. 797).

But the Hebrew root עור has, besides the meaning of nakedness, also the meaning of darkness; perhaps that is the meaning intended here, viz. that Marduk-Baladan hid himself in a dark or very concealed place.

Line 8.

Rakabi, sumbi, kurra,	The chariots, waggons,

susi, (. . . .), gammali u parri, sha in ikrup takhazi umashiru, iksuda idi-ya.

horses, mares, camels, and . . . in the confusion battle they had abar were captured b hands.

Line 9.

Ana haikal-su sha kireb Babilu khatish erumma; aptiu bit-nitsirti-su; khurassi, kaspa; hununta khurassi, kaspa; agartu sutaksu; shasu, shaga, nitsirtu kabittu,

Then I plundere pletely his palace city of Babylon; I open his royal tre gold and silver; ves gold and silver; pr stones; goods and val and much royal trea

Khatish erumma. The root חמש in Hebrew sig a thorough search; Gesenius has "perscrutatus *Erumma* is probably *nudavi.*

Line 10.

kirat-zu, shal (. . . .) haikal-su; nisi rabuti, nisi nishzash pani sikhirti ummani malvasu; muttapbilut haikal; ushaza-amma shallatish amnu.

His wife, and the fe inhabitants of his pal the noblemen and *royal treasurers?* stood first among all men of trust, and v clothed with the c authority in the palac carried off and I coun them as a spoil.

Ummani in this passage most probably means

king of Babylon's most trusted friends. And perhaps *muttap-bilut haikal* means that they wore the gorgeous palace dress, that worn by high officers of state.

Muttap appears to be the participle of the verb עטף, vestitus est, whence *mutaput*, מעטפות, vestes (Ges. 755). In the inscription of Tiglath-Pileser, Col. I. 15, the gods are said to be *muttap-bilut* (clothed with the sovereignty of) Heaven and Earth; where the first word is written *mu.ut.tap*. But in our inscription of Sennacherib it is written with two signs only, *mut.tap*.

Line 11.

Ashbitu arka-su ana ir Gutzummani: muntakhi-tzi-ya ana kireb agammi u apparati umahiru. V tami iparunu, val innamir ashar-su.

I marched after him to the city Gutzumman, and I sent off my soldiers to search thro' the marshes and reeds. Five days they moved about rapidly, but his hiding-place was not discovered.

Muntakhitzi, some kind of soldiers. Probably a participial form, from the verb *nakhitz*, which implies extreme activity. See in line 22 the word *attakhitz*.

Line 12.

In emuk Ashur bel-ya 89 iri dannuti, bit-sarini sha mat Kaldi; u 820 iri tsakhiri sha limiti-sun almi aksut ashlula shallat-zun.

In the *name*? of Ashur my lord, 89 large cities and royal dwellings in the land of Chaldæa, and 820 small towns in their neighbourhood I assaulted, captured, and carried off their spoils.

Line 13.

Nisi shimbi Aramu u Kaldu sha kireb (. . . .) ki, Bel-ki, Kush-ki, Kharrishunu-ki, Tiggaba-ki, adi (. . .) bel-khiddi ushazaamma shallatish amnu.

The skilled w
both Aramæans an
dæans who were
cities of (. . .) Bel,
Kharrishun and Ti
and also the cc
people of the lan
had been in rebel
carried away and I
buted them as a spc

Shimbi is perhaps the same as *shimdi*, skilled men. (See notes to l. 58 of this inscription.)

Kharrishun, the city of Soothsayers, from C חרשא, incantator, magus (Gesen.).

Line 14.

Bel-ebus pal ansha mamukut as bit 7 ili suannaki, sha kima mirani zakhri kireb haikal-ya irbu, ana sarrut Leshan u Akkadi ashtakan eli sun.

Belibus the son o
high-priest (*or govern*
of the temple of tl
planets in the holy
who had been educate
a young nobleman in
palace, I placed over tl
as king of Leshan
Accadi.

Bel-ebus. This proper name signifies "Bel crea (him)." The sign is to be read *ebus*, as is am

proved by the examples given by Oppert (pp. 343 and 344).

Another value of the sign is *bani*, which also signifies "he created, or made;" Heb. *banah*, בנה. This occurs in the proper name Ashurbanipal.

But the most usual value of the sign is *eb*, probably because this is the first syllable of *ebus*.

His father's rank is denoted by the word *mamukut*, which I think means *torquatus*, wearing a golden collar, from *amuk*, an alteration of the Heb. *anuk*, ענק, a collar.

Mirani, a young man.

Zakhri may be the Heb. צחר, candidus, nitens. Noblemen wore white dresses, hence called in Heb. חורים, *Khurim*, or *Hurim*, from חור, albus.

Line 15.

Intayarti-yaTuhamuna, Rihikhu, Yadakku, Hubudu, Kipri, Malikhu, Gurumu,Hubuli,Damunu,	During my return, the tribes of the Tuhamuna, Rihikhu, Yadakku, Hubudu, Kipri, Malikhu, Gurumu,Hubuli,Damunu,

Line 16.

Gambulu, Khindaru, Ruhuha,Bukudu,Khamranu, Khagaranu,Nabatu, Lihutahu, Aramu la kansu belkharish aksut.	Gambulu, Khindaru, Ruhuha,Bukudu,Khamranu, Khagaranu, Nabatu, and Lihutahu (Aramæans all of them and rebels), I completely conquered.

Babylon, and after her death she was changed intc dove, and worshipped in the East with divine honou

"Alba Palestino sacra columba Syro."

But their history is purely mythical. In fact, Ni and Semiramis were two great divinities of the East Pantheon.

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Considerable interest attaches to the question of the

localities of these inscriptions. The language in which they are written appears to be more nearly related to the Gadhelic than to the Cymric branch of the Celtic. We ought not, perhaps, to lay too much stress on this supposed relationship, because we have not yet obtained from the inscriptions themselves any of the Gaulish numerals, or, in fact, any series of words which can afford a means of correct judgment. If the grammatical forms yielded by the inscriptions present a strong likeness to those of the oldest Irish, it must be recollected that the modern Cymric or Welsh dialect has been reduced to writing at a much later date than the Irish, after, too, the disappearance from the former language of all case-endings, and that those who first reduced it to writing wrote according to the current pronunciation, having, it would seem, no ancient models from which to obtain and indicate the true original forms of the language.

A comparison of the Manx with the Irish, or a collation of the original current Gaelic of the Ossianic poems, with the modern improved and grammatical version of the same in 'The Dean of Lismore's Book,' will show what form the Gadhelic dialect would have taken had it been committed to writing for the first time, as late as, and by the same illiterate class as the Welsh. Nevertheless, it is probable that the most marked case-ending in the Gaulish inscriptions, that of the dative plural in *-bo*, which bears so marked a relation to the Irish *-aib*, *-ibh*, the Latin *-bus*, never had its counterpart in the Cymric, which in this, as in other points of relationship, perhaps more nearly resembled the Greek than the Latin. Apart from, and outside as it were, of the inscriptions, are certain words, such as *petorritum*

and *pempedula*, given as Gaulish by the classical writers, and *Cebenna mons* and *Penninus mons*, which have decidedly Cymric affinities. Assuming, then, that the language of the Gaulish inscriptions belongs to the Gadhelic branch of the Celtic, we have evidence of the co-existence, within the limits of geographical Gaul, of the two main dialects of the Celtic language; and it would be a matter of considerable interest and importance for the early history and ethnology as well of Gaul as of Britain, if we were enabled to define the geographical limits of these two spoken dialects in Gaul.

Three views may be taken of this question:—1st. That geographical Gaul, always excepting the Aquitania of Cæsar, was divided among the two Celtic branches, one of which occupied the territory north, the other that south of the two rivers, the Seine and the Marne, under the respective names, as known to the Romans, of Belgæ and Celtæ, or Galli. This view rests on the well-known statement of Cæsar.

2nd. That of the various tribes of Gaul some were of Cymric, others of Gadhelic origin, living upon the Gallic area, each in its own territory, but not separated in mass by any determinate line of frontier. For this view, though not impossible, and, if admitted, capable of solving many difficulties, no evidence can be offered: we must, therefore, dismiss it from consideration.

3rd. That the Gauls, the aristocratic classes, or Equites and Druidæ of Cæsar, were a master race of Celtic origin, neither Gadhels nor Cymri, who had conquered and enslaved the earlier occupants of Gaul, consisting of mixed tribes of both branches of the Celtic race.

Perhaps the first and the third of these views may be found not to be incompatible.

The first rests upon the statement of Cæsar, that the Belgæ and the Celtæ were so far distinct nations, that under each appellation were included a number of separate tribes; that each occupied a distinct territory, separated by a well-defined boundary formed by the two rivers the Seine and the Marne, and that these two nations or confederations differed from each other in language as well as in manners and customs. Taking into consideration the character and position of the author of this statement, his literary attainments, his well-trained mind, his clear-headedness, his powers of observation, and opportunities of obtaining, as well as the necessity, in his position, that he should obtain, accurate information on all matters connected with the Gaulish tribes,—this statement is one which cannot be ignored even if it cannot be explained, nor can we allow the modified view of Strabo to weaken the force of the direct assertion of Cæsar. There must have been a difference, both as to language and customs, between the Belgæ and the Celtæ, sufficient to attract Cæsar's attention, and to make it worthy of being recorded. The appreciation of this difference is of the highest interest for the history of Britain, since the Belgæ furnished so large a portion of the inhabitants of the southern portion of the island.

It is not to be denied that this statement of Cæsar's has been the source of endless confusion, and still remains a stumbling-block for the history of the Gauls. By some writers the Belgæ have been supposed to be Germans or Germanized Gauls, chiefly on the strength of the information given to Cæsar by the Remi, that

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Vosges, the Æduan mountains, the plateau of Auvergne, and the Cevennes ridge; the other, the low and western region which extends to the ocean. The true Gauls, or, as M. Thierry calls them, the Galls, once occupied the region of the plains and the river valleys as well as the eastern highlands; but, driven from the former by successive invasions of a Cymric race coming from beyond the Rhine, had found refuge in the eastern highland region. Unfortunately, however, for the historical application of this theory, the line of demarcation drawn by Cæsar between the Belgæ and the Celtæ, the course of the two rivers, the Seine and the Marne, cuts the lowland region into two unequal parts; and M. Thierry has been obliged to invent for the occupation of the southern division of this region a kind of *tertium quid*, in the shape of a Gallo-Cymric race, or Cymry of the first invasion, who, mixed with Gallic blood, occupied the valleys of the Loire and the lowland region between the Seine and the Garonne, while the northern division between the Seine and the Rhine was occupied by the Cymry of the second invasion—a purely Cymric race, the Belgæ of Cæsar.

The strong distinction drawn by M. Thierry between these two branches of the Celtic race goes far beyond anything that can be drawn from the expressions used by the Roman commander.

In support of these views, which assign to the Belgic Gauls a Cymric, to the Celtic Gauls a Gadhelic origin, the Gaulish inscriptions afford a negative testimony which is not to be disregarded, though, resting on an unsubstantial basis, it may at any moment be overthrown. At present, however, it is a fact, and

forms a not unimportant part of the question at issue, that all the Gaulish inscriptions hitherto discovered have been found, with one doubtful exception, south of the Seine and Marne, that is within the Celto-Gallic area; or, as it would be better stated, since they have been found outside the proper limits of this area, that is, within the Provincia Narbonensis, similar inscriptions have not yet been discovered within the limits of the territory occupied by the Belgæ of Cæsar.

To this fact we must add another, namely, that the fragments of the language spoken by the rustic population around Bordeaux, as obtained from them, and preserved by the physician Marcellus in the third century, have been declared by Grimm and Pictet to be the remains of a Celtic dialect more nearly related to the Gadhelic than to the Cymric, an opinion to which, though at first opposed by him,[12] Zeuss is said afterwards to have assented.[13] The opinion of scholars so eminent must be received with deference and respect; at the same time, it may be permitted to express a wish that the matter of these Marcelline formulæ had admitted of a more satisfactory, or, if we may venture to say so, a more common-sense interpretation.

The evidence afforded by the Marcelline formulæ as to the Gadhelic character of the dialect spoken in the third century in the neighbourhood of Bordeaux, would only go to show that their dialect prevailed in that immediate neighbourhood; but the Gaulish in-

[12] "Quæ apud Marcellum Burdigalensem, Virgilium grammaticum, in glossa Malbergica, leguntur, peregrina, inaudita, vel incognita, in his omnibus enim equidem nec inveni vocem Celticam nec invenio." (Gramm. Celtica, præfat. p. xlviii.)

[13] Pictet, 'Essai sur quelques Inscriptions Gauloises,' p. 54.

scriptions, spread, as we have seen, over the whole non-Belgic area, extend the limits of this dialect to the whole of Celtic Gaul. As to the language or dialect spoken by the Belgæ, we have no more information than before the testimony of the inscriptions was brought to bear upon the question. Zeuss, the greatest authority upon this subject, who, in his 'Grammatica Celtica,' took no notice of the inscriptions, treated the language of all Gaul as homogeneous, without distinction of Belgic or Celto-Gallic, and included the Gaulish as a branch of the "Lingua Britannica," that is, of the Celtic tongue to which the Cymric dialects, the Armoric, the Welsh, and the Cornish, belong.

The arguments advanced by the great Celtic philologer in support of the Cymric relations of the Gaulish language are certainly not convincing, nor have his conclusions on this point met with universal acceptance; but they suffice to show that, apart from the evidence afforded by the inscriptions, the remains of the Gaulish language derived from names of places, tribes, and persons, and the few words preserved by the classical writers, do not point to Gadhelic affinities. The opinion of Professor Leo, founded on a consideration of the Malberg glosses, that the language of the Belgic Gauls was Gadhelic, that of the Celtic Gauls Cymric, is now generally admitted to have been founded on an erroneous estimate of the nature of the documents on which that opinion was based. There yet remains the hypothesis which has been insisted on by M. Roget de Belloguet, that the Gaulish language, without distinction of locality, was a Celtic dialect, homogeneous in itself, differing alike from the Ga-

dhelic and the Cymric. To this conclusion perhaps the evidence in our possession points, but not decisively. The names of places and persons throughout all Gaul appear to belong to a common Celtic dialect, but the absence of inscriptions from the Belgic part of Gaul leaves the question open to be influenced by future discoveries. At present, the only inscription which has been discovered in the Belgic Gaul of Cæsar is too fragmentary to admit of any inference being drawn from it.

No. 15.

Found at Scarpone, on an island in the Moselle, in the department of La Meurthe, Arrond. of Nancy. It was in the territory of the Mediomatrici, or the Leuci, in Gallia Belgica (of Cæsar).

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DENTEEL A
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I
PPPIIS SC

I conclude this very imperfect account of the Gaulish inscriptions with the following quotation from M. Roget de Belloguet:[14]—

"It appears to me very singular that almost the whole of the Gaulish words transmitted to us by the classical writers find in the modern Celtic either their counterparts or near analogies, while we are scarcely able to explain with any certainty a single one of the

[14] 'Ethnogénie Gauloise:' Partie Linguistique, p. 296.

lapidary inscriptions. Part of the words of these inscriptions seem, indeed, altogether foreign to the existing Celtic idioms."

ERRATA.

Owing to Mr. Nash's absence from England at the time his paper passed through the press, many *errata* have occurred, which the reader is requested to correct by the following list:—

Page 327, line 28, *for* Schleichen *read* Schleicher.
Page 329, line 3 from bottom, *for* Andecari *read* Andecavi.
Page 332, line 14, *for* Iccarus *read* Iccavos.
Page 332, line 19, *for* Iocianus *read* Iccianus.
Page 332, line 30, *for* Briginu *read* Briginn.
Page 334, line 12, *for* Boromis *read* Borvonis.
Page 339, line 14, *for* Vernematum *read* Vernemetum.
Page 344, line 20, *for* Cuno-meglus *read* Cuno-maglus.
Page 345, line 2 from bottom, *for* ridges *read* rings.
Page 347, line 19, *for* Gnabum, *read* Genabum.
Page 348, line 21, *read* to connect with the Senani, the Sense.
Page 351, line 14, *for* Becken *read* Becker.

A NEW TRANSLATION OF THE INSCRIPTION OF BELLINO,

Containing Annals of Two Years of the Reign of Sennacherib.

BY H. F. TALBOT, V.P.R.S.L.

(Read March 21st, 1866.)

THE inscription on the cylinder of Bellino is one of the most important which remains to us. The text is in an admirable state of preservation, and has been most faithfully copied by Bellino.

I gave a translation of it in 1860, in the eighteenth volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, p. 76. But since that time the progress of cuneiform decipherment has elucidated the meaning of many passages which I was formerly obliged to leave unexplained. I am, therefore, now enabled to offer a more perfect translation; in which most of the dubious passages have, I hope, been cleared up.

Among the many remarkable questions which arise from the study of this inscription of Bellino, not the least curious is a faint allusion (if I am not entirely mistaken) to the ancient legend of Pyramus and Thisbe.

That this was a genuine Babylonian tale there can be little doubt; or rather, I should say, an Assyrian one, for it introduces the tomb of Ninus, and he was the founder of Nineveh. His wife, Semiramis, founded

Perhaps the first and the third of these views may be found not to be incompatible.

The first rests upon the statement of Cæsar, that the Belgæ and the Celtæ were so far distinct nations, that under each appellation were included a number of separate tribes; that each occupied a distinct territory, separated by a well-defined boundary formed by the two rivers the Seine and the Marne, and that these two nations or confederations differed from each other in language as well as in manners and customs. Taking into consideration the character and position of the author of this statement, his literary attainments, his well-trained mind, his clear-headedness, his powers of observation, and opportunities of obtaining, as well as the necessity, in his position, that he should obtain, accurate information on all matters connected with the Gaulish tribes,—this statement is one which cannot be ignored even if it cannot be explained, nor can we allow the modified view of Strabo to weaken the force of the direct assertion of Cæsar. There must have been a difference, both as to language and customs, between the Belgæ and the Celtæ, sufficient to attract Cæsar's attention, and to make it worthy of being recorded. The appreciation of this difference is of the highest interest for the history of Britain, since the Belgæ furnished so large a portion of the inhabitants of the southern portion of the island.

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shimdiu itzidi kharru-su, itakha-sha emit.

Khamana, which all who have knowledge of trees like best, I erected its porticoes.

In comparing the two passages we see that the Esarhaddon replaces *gimir* (all), Heb. גמר, by *kala*, (all), Heb. כל, and the verb *ashkup* by *emit*. It also omits the word of double signification, *tsippati*. In other respects they confirm each other.

Line 59.

Ashsu zakap tsippati ekil tamirti elin arpita-an; ana tari Ninua-ki bilku ubulliku, ushatkil panussun.

By my care I caused the uprising of springs in more than 40 places of the plain; I divided them into irrigating canals, for the people of Nineveh, and gave them, to be their own property.

Ashsu, curavi, I took care for, took pains about, managed. So in the Constantinople inscription, line 66, *ashsu karniski*, "curavi equos." This verb is the Chaldee חשש, *ashash* or *hashash*, curare, curam gerere. Buxt. p. 846.

Zakap, the uprising, is from the Heb. זקף, elevare, attollere. It is often used in a very good sense; for instance, "to *lift up* the afflicted heart," Psalm cxlv. 14.

Tamirti, meadows, plains, or fields, from *amir*, עמיר, grass, *ex. gr.* "all flesh is grass," עמירא, quoted by Buxtorf, p. 1628.

As the root פלג is specially used of water, both as

a noun and a verb, I think I recognize it in *bilku* and *ubullik*. We find in Gesenius פלג, divisit (ut canales). פלג, rivus, fluvius parvus, etiam fluvius major. He adds, "propriè *canalem* esse volunt, a *dividendo* dictum; cf. verbum, Job xxxviii. 25. פלגות, rivi (Judges v. 15)."

Line 60.

Ana birati takmukhi, valtu padi ir Kishri adi tamirti Ninua-ki, ir-ya, (. . . .) birut in akzirlati ushattaru, ushatsir nari karru.	To obtain water to turn the flour mills, I brought down from the borders of Kishri unto the fields of Nineveh, my city, pure streams conveyed in pipes, and I collected them into reservoirs.

Birati, plural fem. of Heb. בור. Here it means mill-ponds.

Takmukhi, of or belonging to flour. From the Chaldee *kamakh*, קמח, farina (Buxt. p. 2053). The word before *birut* is effaced. Whatever it was, it must have meant "waters."

Birut, plural fem. "*pure*," from Heb. בר, purus.

Akzirlati. This is a most important passage. It is repeated on one of the bulls (see the British Museum inscriptions, first series, plate 42, line 42). But though the inscription on the bull is nearly the same, yet it adds a word of the greatest consequence. After saying, "I brought water from the distant city of Kishri to the plains of Nineveh in *akzirlati*," it adds, "OF IRON." From this it follows that the *akzirlati* were *pipes* or tubes, since nothing else *constructed of*

iron could have been of any service in conveying water to Nineveh.

It has often been said that the gigantic aqueducts of the ancients show them to have been unacquainted with the fact that water will rise nearly to the level of its source if conducted through a pipe. But here we have decisive proof that pipes of metal were known to the Assyrians in the eighth century before Christ. Moreover, pipes made of cast-iron imply a great advance in the arts, and since they extended many miles they could hardly have been made of wrought-iron.

Ushattaru, I brought down, I conveyed downwards; *sha* conjugation of נתר, *natar*, defluere (see Buxt. p. 1409), also decidere. The *sha* conjugation would mean "descendere feci."

Ushatsir, I collected together (the waters). This is the *sha* conjugation of *etsir*, Heb. עצר, congregavit.

Nari karru, great reservoirs of water: *karru* is the Chaldee כרא, *kara*, Heb. כרה, cisterna.

Line 61.

(*Dimidium*) kasbu hakkaru valtu kireb nar Kutzuru mami daruti asharsha ushirda kireb tsippati shatina; ushabiba patti-sh.

I brought down the perennial waters of the river Kutzuru from the distance of half a *kasbu*, into those wells, and I surrounded their margins (*with walls*).

The *kasbu* was a measure of time, two hours. This was discovered by Dr. Hincks, who found a tablet in

the British Museum saying that on the day of the equinox the day and night are equal; six kasbu of day and six kasbu of night. In order to be able to measure time so accurately, the Assyrians must have employed *clepsydræ*, vessels filled with water and emptying themselves through a small orifice in a determined period of time. And Dr. Hincks has made a felicitous conjecture as to the origin of the word *kasbu*, which he derives from the Heb. *kazab*, inanis, כזב. In Hebrew this root is used for "delusive," "deceitful;" in Assyrian it means "empty:" thus a region completely uninhabited is said to be *takkazabit*, "emptied." Hence *kasbu* would mean one emptying of the clepsydra.

The *kasbu hakkaru*, or "kasbu of land," was naturally the distance which an ordinary pedestrian would walk in two hours at an ordinary pace, say six miles. So the Germans measure distances along high-roads by the *stunde*, which is one hour of time, meaning one hour's walk to an ordinary pedestrian.

Hakkaru, earth. This word I formerly transcribed as *ebkaru*, but later I came to the conclusion that the first syllable should be read *hak*, and finding that M. Oppert also gives that as one of its values, I have adopted it. The word seems related to the Heb. אכר, agricola.

Tsippati shatina, those wells. The bull inscription, B. M. pl. 42, l. 43, substitutes *birati shatina*, those wells, from Heb. *bir*, a well.

Ushabibu, I surrounded: Heb. סבב, to surround. Gesenius says circumdedit, cinxit.

Pattish, for *patti-sha*, their margins. From Heb. פת, otherwise פה, ora sive margo. In Proverbs viii.

20, it is the margin (of the sea). פה ל פה, from one brink to the other.

Line 62.

Sha Ninua ir belluti-ya subat-zu usrabbi, ribati-su ushan labiriti, u tzukani uspardi: unammir kima tami.

Of Nineveh, my royal city, I greatly enlarged its dwellings. Its streets, I renovated the old ones, and I widened those which were too narrow. I made them as splendid as the sun.

Tzukani, narrow. Heb. *tzuk*, צוק, angustus (Ges.).

Uspardi, I widened, I opened out. Heb. פרד, *parad* aperuit, solvit, expandit (ut avis alas suas). The verb occurs on the Phillips' cylinder, col. ii. 38, under the form *usparzikhu: tsattuk ilim rabim usparzikhu*, "the just rights (or the offerings) of those great gods I *augmented* or *extended*." The final *khu* or *hu* appears to be only a breathing. *Uspardi*. and *usrabbi* are in the *sha* conjugation.

Line 63.

Ana arkut tami, in sarin tari-ya sha Ashur ana ribitut mati u nisi inambu zigir-su; enu haikal shatu ilabbiru innakhu,

In future days, under the kings my sons, whom Ashur shall call to the sovereignty over this land and people; when this palace shall grow old and decay,

Enu, when, may be derived from a word עדה, time,

for which the Chaldee has עדן (Buxt. 1636). Translate, therefore, *enu haikal shatu ilabbiru*, "*eo tempore quo* hoc palatium perierit." Buxtorf gives for example בעדנא, etc. etc. "*tempore* prandii," *when* it was dinner-time. I think I see this same ancient word, עדה or ענא, "time," in other phrases of the Assyrian inscriptions. The usual name for "a year" is *mu*, but as that syllable has other meanings also, for the sake of clearness *anna*, "time," is added, and the word becomes *mu anna*, "a year's time," *i. e.* "a year." Hence, perhaps, was derived the Latin *annus*, a year, a word received, probably, from the Etruscans, who brought it from the East.

Another use of the word ענא, tempus, is seen, as I think, in the syllable *an*, hitherto unexplained, by which numerals are sometimes terminated. Thus, when Sargon says that 350 kings reigned before him over the land of Assyria, the numeral employed is, 350 *an* or *han*. It appears to me somewhat similar in its use to the Latin *plex*, in *duplex*, Greek διπλους. Pecuniam quadruplicem auferam (Plautus), "four *times* as much." *Plex* is added to Latin numerals even when it is quite unnecessary, *ex. gr.* quadruplices stellas, "four stars."

Line 64.

Ankhut-sa luttish, mushari sidhir sumi-ya likharu, (. . . .) libsu, vas lu (. . . .) likki, ana ashri-su litar, Ashur ikribi-su ishimmi.

He who shall renew its solemn dedication, shall read aloud the written record of my name, shall make a stone altar and sacrifice a male victim,

and shall then replace it in its place, Ashur will hear and accept his prayers.

Ankhut or *anakhut* is the Chaldee and Heb. word חנכת, "a dedication." It is the term employed in Daniel, chap. iii. 2, where it is said that Nebuchadnezzar sent for all the princes, rulers, etc. to come to the dedication (*ankhut*) of the golden image which he had set up. Also in 1 Kings viii. 63, where it is said that Solomon and the children of Israel dedicated the house of the Lord. The verb חנך is *initiavit* as well as *consecravit*, etc.

A ruined palace when about to be built again required a new *initiation* and a new sacrifice of consecration.

Luttish, he (who) may or shall *renew:* optative or potential of a verb of which we find some other tenses, *uttish* "I renewed," and *muttish* "the restorer, repairer, or renovator." I consider that this Assyrian verb represents the Heb. חדש, renovare. If this was pronounced *hedish* or *hetish*, it would become *uttish* in the first person of the preterite, according to the Assyrian mode of forming that part of the verb, by prefixing the vowel *u*, as in *ushan* and *unammir* (see line 62).

Likki, he (who) may or shall *sacrifice:* optative of the verb of which *akki*, "I sacrificed," is the first person preterite. This verb is the Heb. *nakah*, נכה, percussit: the *n* falls off in most of its tenses, as in *ikku*, "they were smitten," etc. (see Gesenius, p. 667.)

Litar, he (who) may or shall *restore:* optative of the

verb of which *utar*, "I restored," is the preterite. Chaldee דדר, reddere, restituere (Buxt.).

Having thus given a version of this important inscription, I come to consider the meaning of the first line, which is unconnected with the rest.

Line 1.

LXIII mukal mishari, arkhi sibuti, limmu Neboliha shavat ir (. . . .).	Sixty-three inscribed lines: (*written*) in the seventh month of the year of which Neboliha was the *eponymus*, who was *Suffete* (or prefect) of the city (*Arbela ?*).

This inscription actually has 63 lines, as the Assyrian scribe has stated. It was a frequent custom to number the lines on a tablet. Thus for instance, the tablet 195 *b* says, "I *sus* 41 *mikal mishari:*" sixty and forty-one inscribed lines. Tablet 227 (otherwise K 268) says: "(lines) XX *mukalim*," *i. e.* twenty inscribed lines. The first word is, however, effaced. On counting I find that 18 lines are left, and part of the 19th, the rest being broken off. Tablet 170 (otherwise 137 *a*), which contains a list of the sacred numbers of the gods, is headed *Mukal.* Other examples might easily be adduced.

Mukal, sculptured: from Heb. *kalah*, קלע, insculpsit or sculpsit (Ges. 893), whence we find in 1 Kings vi. 18, and in three other passages, the derived word *mukalut*, מקלעת, sculptura.

Mishari is a common word, meaning "lines of writing."

Nebo-liha: this name means "Nebo is victorious." Hincks reads it Nabuliah (Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy for 1856, p. 36). According to a statement in the 'Athenæum' (p. 725) the name of Nabuliah has been found on a tablet, as eponym in Sennacherib's third year. This is a remarkable confirmation of the truth of the annals inscribed on Bellino's cylinder.

Shavat, a word composed of the signs *sha* and *mat* or *vat*, appears to be the Heb. שפט, *shafat*, the chief magistrate of a city or region, a term which became known to the Romans, who altered the word into *sufes*, Gen. *sufetis*. There was also a nominative *sufetus:* "referentibus sufetis." The שופטים, sufetim, "judges," were once the chief rulers in Israel.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Line 36. *Dur* frequently means a habitation or resting-place, from Chald. דור, habitare, commorari. But that does not alter the meaning of the passage: "its *timin*, which was intended *to remain* for ever."

"Those of old time" is quite a Scripture phrase, for we know that landmarks placed by "those of old" were to be held sacred by the Israelites.

Isshidu. I suspect that this verb means "they stamped." The phrase will then mean "they stamped the clay with the figure of a dove." This meaning is, at present, conjectural, but reposes on the following grounds: many clay tablets are found containing contracts between private individuals, to which they have

affixed the impression of their seals on the soft clay. Over each of these is written, "seal of the man A," "seal of the man B," etc. The word for *seal* is and the most usual sound of this sign is *shid.* It is always preceded by the sign for "stone," by which we perceive the impression from a stone seal is meant. From this substantive it would be natural to make a verb *isshidu,* "they sealed." But for the present this is only a conjecture.

Itti sidhir, etc. etc. It is possible that this may be the preposition *itti* (with) and not the substantive *itti* (signum). The phrase will then mean, "they stamped the clay *with* the mark of a dove," etc. etc.

Line 41. Several words in this line are of doubtful meaning. In the first place *karash-su* may mean *alveus suus, i.e.* the bed of the river, or its channel. Heb. ברש (Gesen. 505). If so, *sutishur kutar* may mean the preservation of the rain-water; since one of the meanings of *kutar* is "rain."

Then, *takkiribati karie,* "the introduction of rivulets," would mean their being turned into the channel of the river to augment its waters.

In the same line *val ustabil* may mean, "they never thoroughly cleansed (or flooded) its channel." From the verb יבל, copiosè fluxit, Gesenius derives *bul,* pluvia, and *mabul,* מבול, Noah's deluge, which sufficiently shows that the conjugation *ustabil* may have the force of "a thorough scouring by means of floods of water." In a similar passage of the E. I. H. inscription we find *palga-su la etsikir,* "its channel was not cleansed or purified," from Heb. צחר, to make bright or pure.

Line 48. Another explanation of *uribbu timin-sha* is, "its platform was ravaged." In Sargon's cylinder, line 19, he is called *murib*, the ravager, of the land of Beth Kumria, from the root חרב, to destroy or ravage.

I will now add a connected translation of the whole inscription.

SENNACHERIB the great king, the powerful king, the king of Assyria, the king irresistible, the heaven-appointed monarch, the servant of the great gods. The observer of the Law, the lover of justice, the noble warrior, the valiant hero, the first of all kings, the great punisher of the unbelievers, the breaker in pieces of their wicked conspiracies.

Ashur the great Lord has given to me enduring power. Over all heretical nations he has raised triumphantly my arms.

In the beginning of my reign I destroyed the armies of Marduk-Baladan, king of Babylonia, and his allies the Susians, in the plains near the city of Kush. In the midst of that battle he quitted his army, fled alone on horseback, and escaped to the city Gutzumman; and hiding among the reeds and rushes of the river, he saved his life alone.

The chariots, waggons, horses, mares, mules, and camels, which in the confusion of the battle they had abandoned, were captured by my hands. Then I plundered completely his palace in the city of Babylon; I broke open his royal treasury; gold and silver; vessels of gold and silver; precious stones; goods and valuables and much royal treasure: his wife, and the male and female inhabitants of his palace; the noblemen and

the royal treasurers who stood first among all his men of trust and were clothed with the chief authority in the palace, I carried off and I counted them as a spoil.

Then I marched after him to the city Gutzumman, and I sent off my soldiers to search through the marshes and reeds. Five days they moved about rapidly, but his hiding place was not discovered.

In the name of Ashur my lord, 89 large cities and royal dwellings in the land of Chaldæa, and 820 small towns in their neighbourhood, I assaulted, captured, and carried off their spoils.

The skilled workmen, both Aramæans and Chaldæans, who were in the cities of Bel, Kush, Kharrishun, and Tiggaba, and also the common people of the land who had been in rebellion, I carried away and I distributed them as a spoil.

Belibus, the son of the high priest of the Temple of the Seven Planets in the holy city, who had been educated as a young nobleman in my palace, I placed over them as king of Leshan and Akkadi.

During my return, the tribes of the Tuhamuna, Rihiku, Yadakku, Hubudu, Kipri, Maliku, Gurumu, Hubuli, Damunu, Gambulu, Khindaru, Ruhuha, Bukudu, Khamranu, Hagaranu, Nabatu, and Lihutahu (Aramæans all of them and rebels), I completely conquered. 208,000 inhabitants, male and female; 7200 horses and mares; 1173 mules; 5230 camels; 80,100 oxen; 800,600 sheep; a vast spoil, I carried off to Assyria.

In my first year I received the great tribute of Nebo-bel-mu, chief of Ararat; gold, silver, *meshukan* wood of great size, mules, camels, oxen, and sheep.

The people of the city of Khismi, enemies and

heretics, who from old times had never bowed down to my yoke, I destroyed with my arms. Not one soul escaped.

That city I built again. One bull, ten sheep, ten fatlings, twenty animals called "strongheads," I offered in sacrifice to the gods of Assyria, my lords.

In my second year, Ashur the lord giving me confidence, I marched against the land of the Bisi and the Yatsubi-gallaya, enemies and heretics who from old times had never submitted to the kings my fathers. Through the thick forests and in the hilly districts I rode on horseback, for I had left my two-horse chariot in the plains below. But in dangerous places I alighted on my feet and clambered like a mountain goat.

The city of Beth-Kilamzakh, their great city, I attacked and took. The inhabitants small and great, horses, mares, mules, oxen, and sheep, I carried off from it and distributed them as a spoil. Their smaller towns without number I overthrew and reduced them to ruins. A vast building which was their Hall of Assembly I burnt with fire.

Once more that city of Beth-Kilamzakh I erected into a strong fortress. Higher than in former times I rebuilt it on a hill. People drawn from lands subdued by my arms I placed to dwell within it.

The people of Bisi and Yatsubi-gallaya who had fled away from my arms I brought down from the mountains, and in the cities of Kar-Thisbe and Beth-Kubitti I caused them to dwell. In the hands of my officers, men of distinction of Arrapakha city, I distributed them. A stone tablet I made, I wrote on it the victories which I had gained over them, and within the city I set it up.

Then I turned round the front of my chariot, and I marched straight before me to the land of Illipi. Ispabara their king abandoned his strong cities and his treasuries and fled to a distance. All his broad country I swept like a mighty whirlwind. The city Marupishti and the city Akkuddu, his royal residences, and 34 great cities, with numberless smaller towns in their neighbourhood, I destroyed and I burnt them with fire. I cut down their finest trees, and over their cornfields I spread blackness. In every direction I left the land of Illipi a desert.

The inhabitants small and great, male and female, horses, mares, mules, oxen, and sheep, beyond number, I carried off and divided them as a spoil. The strong cities of Sisirti and Kukunli, and the smaller towns in their neighbourhood, together with the whole province of Beth-Barrua, I cut off from his land and added them to the empire of Assyria. I raised the city of Ilinzash to be the royal city and metropolis of that province. I abolished its former name and I gave it the name of the City of Sennacherib.

During my return I received a great tribute from the distant Medians, who in the days of the kings my fathers no one had ever heard even the name of their country: and I made them bow down to the yoke of my majesty.

In those days Nineveh the exalted city, the city beloved by Ishtar, which cherishes every kind of worship of the gods and goddesses within it,—in its *timin* (or sacred platform) meant to last for ever and ever, those of old time deposited a clay tablet impressed with the figure of a dove; and along with it they placed its fellow-tablets.

A splendid place, a rich building for her sanctuary, and a treasure house for all the jewels, the regalia of Ishtar, they erected within it.

Of all the kings of former days, my fathers who went before me, who reigned before me over Assyria and governed the city of Bel (*i. e. Nineveh*), and with no sparing measure increased the size of their buildings, and there treasured up all their revenues which they received from the four countries; no one among them all repaired the great central edifice which was the royal dwelling of their greatness, nor ever brightened up the interior, nor yet the exterior, of the dingy building which formed its keep.

As regards the supply of water, they neither kept the fountains sweet, nor cleansed the river-channel, so as to preserve the rain-water, collect the streams and rivulets, and search for new springs and cause them to rise.

Then I, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, by command of the gods, took delight to complete this work. Multitudes I collected together of the workmen of the lands of Chaldæa, Aram, Manna Kue, and Cilicia, who had not bowed down to my yoke: I brought them away as captives, and I bound them together in gangs to make bricks. In baskets made of reeds which I cut in the land of Chaldæa, I made the foreign workmen bring their appointed tasks of clay in order to complete this work.

There was an ancient palace, of 360 measures long, adjoining the gardens of the Great Tower; 80 measures wide, adjoining the watch-tower of the Temple of Ishtar; 134 measures wide, adjoining the watch-tower of the house of worship; and 95 measures wide (*on*

the remaining side), which the kings my fathers who went before me built for their royal residence but never beautified its front (or façade).

The (so named) Canal of Fertility, lined (or banked up) with brickwork, which once traversed the central part of the city in four delightful streams, had fallen into ruin.

Their beautiful *ki* trees had been cut down for firewood, all the finest of them. And from extreme old age the front of the palace was split and rent. Its base was traversed by cracks and its foundations by wide fissures, while its *timin* (or sacred platform) was all in confusion.

That shabby palace I pulled down the whole of it.

Of the Canal of Fertility, during 16 years its water had been dried up by the sun. I collected together its springs (or sources). Among the rocks I found a copious source, which, running down the hills over rocks of mighty size, unites itself with the waters of the river Sima. With these waters, which I conducted to Nineveh, I filled the canal again to overflowing.

I made a mound of earth 1700 measures long; 162 measures wide, on the upper side towards the north; 217 measures wide, in the centre; 386 measures wide, on the lower side towards the south, fronting the river Tigris. I completed the mound, and I measured the measure.

I deposited once more its sacred *timin*, which was still well remembered, owing to the popular veneration for it from the most ancient times. Then with large stones I closed it all round, and I made its deposit secure.

The written records of my name, 160 fathoms of

scriptions, spread, as we have seen, over the whole non-Belgic area, extend the limits of this dialect to the whole of Celtic Gaul. As to the language or dialect spoken by the Belgæ, we have no more information than before the testimony of the inscriptions was brought to bear upon the question. Zeuss, the greatest authority upon this subject, who, in his 'Grammatica Celtica,' took no notice of the inscriptions, treated the language of all Gaul as homogeneous, without distinction of Belgic or Celto-Gallic, and included the Gaulish as a branch of the "Lingua Britannica," that is, of the Celtic tongue to which the Cymric dialects, the Armoric, the Welsh, and the Cornish, belong.

The arguments advanced by the great Celtic philologer in support of the Cymric relations of the Gaulish language are certainly not convincing, nor have his conclusions on this point met with universal acceptance; but they suffice to show that, apart from the evidence afforded by the inscriptions, the remains of the Gaulish language derived from names of places, tribes, and persons, and the few words preserved by the classical writers, do not point to Gadhelic affinities. The opinion of Professor Leo, founded on a consideration of the Malberg glosses, that the language of the Belgic Gauls was Gadhelic, that of the Celtic Gauls Cymric, is now generally admitted to have been founded on an erroneous estimate of the nature of the documents on which that opinion was based. There yet remains the hypothesis which has been insisted on by M. Roget de Belloguet, that the Gaulish language, without distinction of locality, was a Celtic dialect, homogeneous in itself, differing alike from the Ga-

dhelic and the Cymric. To this conclusion perhaps the evidence in our possession points, but not decisively. The names of places and persons throughout all Gaul appear to belong to a common Celtic dialect, but the absence of inscriptions from the Belgic part of Gaul leaves the question open to be influenced by future discoveries. At present, the only inscription which has been discovered in the Belgic Gaul of Cæsar is too fragmentary to admit of any inference being drawn from it.

No. 15.

Found at Scarpone, on an island in the Moselle, in the department of La Meurthe, Arrond. of Nancy. It was in the territory of the Mediomatrici, or the Leuci, in Gallia Belgica (of Cæsar).

NAMANDEI
DENTEEL A
RMIA MOAI
I
PPPIIS SC

I conclude this very imperfect account of the Gaulish inscriptions with the following quotation from M. Roget de Belloguet:[14]—

"It appears to me very singular that almost the whole of the Gaulish words transmitted to us by the classical writers find in the modern Celtic either their counterparts or near analogies, while we are scarcely able to explain with any certainty a single one of the

[14] 'Ethnogénie Gauloise:' Partie Linguistique, p. 296.

lapidary inscriptions. Part of the words of these inscriptions seem, indeed, altogether foreign to the existing Celtic idioms."

ERRATA.

Owing to Mr. Nash's absence from England at the time his paper passed through the press, many *errata* have occurred, which the reader is requested to correct by the following list:—

Page 327, line 28, *for* Schleichen *read* Schleicher.
Page 329, line 3 from bottom, *for* Andecari *read* Andecavi.
Page 332, line 14, *for* Iccarus *read* Iccavos.
Page 332, line 19, *for* Iocianus *read* Iccianus.
Page 332, line 30, *for* Briginu *read* Brigiun.
Page 334, line 12, *for* Boromis *read* Borvonis.
Page 339, line 14, *for* Vernematum *read* Vernemetum.
Page 344, line 20, *for* Cuno-meglus *read* Cuno-maglus.
Page 345, line 2 from bottom, *for* ridges *read* rings.
Page 347, line 19, *for* Gnabum, *read* Genabum.
Page 348, line 21, *read* to connect with the Senani, the Senæ.
Page 351, line 14, *for* Becken *read* Becker.

A NEW TRANSLATION OF THE INSCRIPTION OF BELLINO,

Containing Annals of Two Years of the Reign of Sennacherib.

BY H. F. TALBOT, V.P.R.S.L.

(Read March 21st, 1866.)

THE inscription on the cylinder of Bellino is one of the most important which remains to us. The text is in an admirable state of preservation, and has been most faithfully copied by Bellino.

I gave a translation of it in 1860, in the eighteenth volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, p. 76. But since that time the progress of cuneiform decipherment has elucidated the meaning of many passages which I was formerly obliged to leave unexplained. I am, therefore, now enabled to offer a more perfect translation; in which most of the dubious passages have, I hope, been cleared up.

Among the many remarkable questions which arise from the study of this inscription of Bellino, not the least curious is a faint allusion (if I am not entirely mistaken) to the ancient legend of Pyramus and Thisbe.

That this was a genuine Babylonian tale there can be little doubt; or rather, I should say, an Assyrian one, for it introduces the tomb of Ninus, and he was the founder of Nineveh. His wife, Semiramis, founded

Babylon, and after her death she was changed into a dove, and worshipped in the East with divine honours:

"Alba Palestino sacra columba Syro."

But their history is purely mythical. In fact, Ninus and Semiramis were two great divinities of the Eastern Pantheon.

The name of Thisbe also appears to have signified a dove. Homer says (B. 502),—

Πολυτρηρωνα τε Θισβην

—"and Thisbe abounding in doves."[1] And Ovid (Met. xi. 300) gives to all doves the epithet of "Thisbææ columbæ."

Now, I find in the present inscription, if I interpret it correctly, that the clay cylinder deposited in the foundation-stone of the palace of Nineveh, by its first founders, which was exhumed by Sennacherib and found uninjured, was impressed with the figure of a dove (*burum*), and I fancy that I see in this word some trace of the name of *Πυραμος*. The blood of the lovers, as Ovid sings, turned the white fruit of the mulberry-tree into its present dark-purple colour. Perhaps, however, in some other version of the ancient tale, the two dying lovers were turned at once into doves, as Philomela was changed into a nightingale, Procne into a swallow, and Tereus and Itylus into other birds. In that case, the names of *thisbe* and *burum* may have given rise to the legendary tale.

[1] This city Thisbe was in Bœotia, but the legend of Cadmus shows that Bœotia was colonized by emigrants from Phœnicia and the further East. There was likewise a city Thisbe in Asia (see Book of Tobit, chapter i.), and Bellino's inscription mentions the city of Kar-Thisbe, or Castle of Thisbe.

THE INSCRIPTION, WITH ITS TRANSLATION.

The first line being altogether unconnected with the rest, I will reserve the consideration of it to the end. The inscription proper commences with line 2.

Line 2.

SENAKHIRBA sar rabu, sar dannu, sar Ashur-ki, sar la shanan, ribitu mutninnu, pata ili rabi.	SENNACHERIB the great king, the powerful king, the king of Assyria, the king irresistible, the heaven-appointed monarch, the servant of the great gods.

Observations.

Mutninnu. This reading was communicated to me by Mr. Norris. In the great E. I. H. inscription, Nebuchadnezzar calls himself *Imga mutninnu* (Col. I. l. 18), where *imga* is an old Proto-Chaldæan term for 'high priest.' The meaning of the term *mutninnu* is uncertain. Perhaps it is a Hithpael form from ענן, *augurari*, and may mean that Sennacherib's title to the throne was confirmed by heavenly auguries at his accession.

So also when his son Esarhaddon succeeded him, good omens were seen in the heavens. (See my translation of Lord Aberdeen's stone in the British Museum: Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, Vol. VIII. p. 126.)

Line 3.

Natsir ikti, rahim mishari, epish utzati alik ganaki, tsakiru damgati,	The observer of treaties: the lover of justice: * * * *

Natsir ikti, faithful observer of treaties; from Heb. נצר, custodire. Gesenius says (p. 684) that this verb is specially used concerning treaties: נצר, observavit, firmiter tenuit *fœdus*. Deut. xxxiii. 9. Psalm xxv. 10.

Ikti I would render "bonds" or "treaties," and derive it from the root עקד, *eked*, which means "to bind firmly." This word is used in Genesis xxii. 9: "And he *bound* Isaac his son."

Another explanation of *natsir ikti* is "Observer of the Law," especially the religious law, or the statutes and ordinances of religion; for this is one of the meanings of חקת, or *ikti*, in Hebrew. For instance, in Exodus xxvii. 21, חקת עולם, lex æterna, *i.e.* lex Dei (Gesen.).

Rahim, lover; from Heb. רחם; *rahem*, amavit.

Mishari, justice; from Hebrew ישר, rectus, probus, justus.

The rest of this line is of uncertain meaning.

Line 4.

itlu buli, zikaru gardu, asharaddan malki, rabbu lahit la magiri, mushipriku zamani.	the noble warrior, the valiant hero, the first of all kings, the great punisher of the unbelievers, the breaker in pieces of their wicked conspiracies.

Lahit, punisher. The participle *mulait*, chastiser, also occurs. The root may be לחט, a Chaldaized form of the Hebrew לחץ, afflixit.

Mushipriku. The *sha* conjugation of the Hebrew *parak*, פרך, to break.

Zamani, for the Hebrew *zamami.* Gesenius says the verb זמם means insidiatus est, mala molitus est; it seems to be a reduplicate form of the root זמה, consilium scelestum (Ges. 303).

Line 5.

Ashur bilu rabu sarut la shanan ushatlima annima. Eli gimir ami parakki usarba kuti-ya.	Ashur the great Lord has given to me enduring power. Over all heretical nations he raised triumphantly my arms.

La shanan, unchangeable; from Heb. שנה, *shana*, to change; in Chald. שנא.

Ami; Heb. עם, populus.

Parakki; from Heb. *parak*, פרך, separavit, violenter fregit, rupit. This verb implies in Assyrian, schism or heresy, as is manifest from the derived substantive *parikti*: see the Esarhaddon inscription, where a wicked king near Babylon is described who seduced the common people and plunged them into heresy, *as parikti itbalu.* And when Nebuchadnezzar boastingly calls himself *nadu la mupparku*, perhaps he means a king never tainted with heresy.

Bilu, lord. It would appear from this passage that the cuneiform sign $\overset{\Delta\Delta}{\Delta}$ which has so many values, has also that of *bil.* To avoid this complication, we

may perhaps transcribe it *shadu*, which means *dominus* in Hebrew, whence *Shaddai*, שדי, is a name of Jehovah:—Dominus altissimus; Omnipotens.

Line 6.

In resh sarti-ya, sha Marduk-bal-adanna sar Karduniash adi ummanati Nuva-ki in tamirti Kush-ki ashtakan sisi-su.	In the beginning of my reign I destroyed the armies of Marduk-baladan, king of Babylonia, and his allies the Susians, in the plains near the city of Kush.

Tamirti, the fields; from *amir*, עמיר, grass. See line 59.

Ashtakan, I cut in pieces; *sisi-su*, their troops. That this is the meaning appears from the passage where *Sargon* calls himself *shakin sisi Kumba-nikash*, the sword, *i.e.* the slayer, of the troops of Kumba nikash, king of the Susians. But here an important remark has to be made. There are two verbs *shakan*, שכן, distinguished, according to Schindler (p. 1858), by the dots on the letter ש.

The verb *puncto sinistro* means to cut with a sword; that *puncto dextro* means habitavit, and habitare fecit, i.e. collocavit. Both are common in Assyrian and are written the same, viz. *ashkun*, in the first person. And both, in the T conjugation, become *ashtakan*. This naturally causes confusion. The substantive שכין, *shakin*, a sword, and the Chaldee form of it, סכין, is given by Schindler, *ibid.* See also Buxtorf, p. 1477.

Line 7.

In kabal takhari suatu etzib kililat-zu, edish ipparsidu, ana ir Gutzummani innabit, kireb agammi u apparati erumma napishtu ekhir.	In the midst of that battle he quitted his army, fled alone on horseback, and escaped to the city Gutzumman, and (hiding) among the reeds and rushes of the river, he saved his life alone.

So Marius saved his life in the marshes of Minturnæ, plunged up to his neck and hidden in the reeds. How events repeat themselves!

Agammi is the plural of the Heb. *agam*, אגם, a reed. The sign for "water" is prefixed to it. אגם also signifies a marsh. Gesenius has palus, stagnum, arundinetum. Its plural is אגמי.

Apparati is the Chald. *aparat*, a rush, אפרת. See Buxtorf, p. 197, who quotes from Exodus ii. 3, the account of Moses hidden among the rushes: "And she placed him ב אפרה (among the rushes), on the surface of the river."

Erumma may be *nudè* in Latin. "He saved *bare life*." In German, "er hat *bloss* das Leben errettet." From *erum*, ערום, nudus (Ges. 797).

But the Hebrew root עור has, besides the meaning of nakedness, also the meaning of darkness; perhaps that is the meaning intended here, viz. that Marduk-Baladan hid himself in a dark or very concealed place.

Line 8.

Rakabi, sumbi, kurra,	The chariots, waggons,

susi, (. . . .), gammali u parri, sha in ikrup takhazi umashiru, iksuda idi-ya.

horses, mares, mules, camels, and . . . , which in the confusion of the battle they had abandoned, were captured by my hands.

Line 9.

Ana haikal-su sha kireb Babilu khatish erumma; aptiu bit-nitsirti-su; khurassi, kaspa; hununta khurassi, kaspa; agartu sutaksu; shasu, shaga, nitsirtu kabittu,

Then I plundered completely his palace in the city of Babylon; I broke open his royal treasury; gold and silver; vessels of gold and silver; precious stones; goods and valuables and much royal treasure,

Khatish erumma. The root חתם in Hebrew signifies a thorough search; Gesenius has "perscrutatus est." *Erumma* is probably *nudavi.*

Line 10.

kirat-zu, shal (. . . .) haikal-su; nisi rabuti, nisi nishzash pani sikhirti ummani malvasu; muttapbilut haikal; ushaza-amma shallatish amnu.

His wife, and the female inhabitants of his palace; the noblemen and the *royal treasurers?* who stood first among all his men of trust, and were clothed with the chief authority in the palace, I carried off and I counted them as a spoil.

Ummani in this passage most probably means the

king of Babylon's most trusted friends. And perhaps *muttap-bilut haikal* means that they wore the gorgeous palace dress, that worn by high officers of state.

Muttap appears to be the participle of the verb עטף, vestitus est, whence *mutaput*, מעטפות, vestes (Ges. 755). In the inscription of Tiglath-Pileser, Col. I. 15, the gods are said to be *muttap-bilut* (clothed with the sovereignty of) Heaven and Earth; where the first word is written *mu.ut.tap*. But in our inscription of Sennacherib it is written with two signs only, *mut.tap*.

Line 11.

Ashbitu arka-su ana ir Gutzummani: muntakhitzi-ya ana kireb agammi u apparati umahiru. V tami iparunu, val innamir ashar-su.

I marched after him to the city Gutzumman, and I sent off my soldiers to search thro' the marshes and reeds. Five days they moved about rapidly, but his hiding-place was not discovered.

Muntakhitzi, some kind of soldiers. Probably a participial form, from the verb *nakhitz*, which implies extreme activity. See in line 22 the word *attakhitz*.

Line 12.

In emuk Ashur bel-ya 89 iri dannuti, bit-sarini sha mat Kaldi; u 820 iri tsakhiri sha limiti-sun almi aksut ashlula shallat-zun.

In the *name*? of Ashur my lord, 89 large cities and royal dwellings in the land of Chaldæa, and 820 small towns in their neighbourhood I assaulted, captured, and carried off their spoils.

Line 13.

Nisi shimbi Aramu u Kaldu sha kireb (. . . .) ki, Bel-ki, Kush-ki, Kharrishunu-ki, Tiggaba-ki, adi (. . .) bel-khiddi ushaza-amma shallatish amnu.

The skilled workmen both Aramæans and Chaldæans who were in the cities of (. . .) Bel, Kush, Kharrishun and Tiggaba; and also the common people of the land who had been in rebellion, I carried away and I distributed them as a spoil.

Shimbi is perhaps the same as *shimdi*, skilled workmen. (See notes to l. 58 of this inscription.)

Kharrishun, the city of Soothsayers, from Chald. חרשא, incantator, magus (Gesen.).

Line 14.

Bel-ebus pal ansha mamukut as bit 7 ili suannaki, sha kima mirani zakhri kireb haikal-ya irbu, ana sarrut Leshan u Akkadi ashtakan eli sun.

Belibus the son of the high-priest (*or governor* ?) of the temple of the 7 planets in the holy city, who had been educated as a young nobleman in my palace, I placed over them as king of Leshan and Accadi.

Bel-ebus. This proper name signifies "Bel created (him)." The sign is to be read *ebus*, as is amply

proved by the examples given by Oppert (pp. 343 and 344).

Another value of the sign is *bani*, which also signifies "he created, or made;" Heb. *banah*, בנה. This occurs in the proper name Ashurbanipal.

But the most usual value of the sign is *eb*, probably because this is the first syllable of *ebus*.

His father's rank is denoted by the word *mamukut*, which I think means *torquatus*, wearing a golden collar, from *amuk*, an alteration of the Heb. *anuk*, ענק, a collar.

Mirani, a young man.

Zakhri may be the Heb. צחר, candidus, nitens. Noblemen wore white dresses, hence called in Heb. חורים, *Khurim*, or *Hurim*, from חור, albus.

Line 15.

Intayarti-yaTuhamuna, Rihikhu, Yadakku, Hubudu, Kipri, Malikhu, Gurumu,Hubuli,Damunu,	During my return, the tribes of the Tuhamuna, Rihikhu, Yadakku, Hubudu, Kipri, Malikhu, Gurumu,Hubuli,Damunu,

Line 16.

Gambulu, Khindaru, Ruhuha,Bukudu,Khamranu, Khagaranu,Nabatu, Lihutahu, Aramu la kansu belkharish aksut.	Gambulu, Khindaru, Ruhuha,Bukudu,Khamranu, Khagaranu, Nabatu, and Lihutahu (Aramæans all of them and rebels), I completely conquered.

Line 17.

208,000 nisi, zikru u shal; 7200 kurra, susi; 1173 (. . . .); 5230 gammali; 80,100 gai; 800,600 hukludi; shallatu kabittu ashlula ana kireb Ashurki.

208,000 inhabitants, male and female; 7200 horses and mares; 1173 mules; 5,230 camels; 80,100 oxen; 800,600 sheep; a vast spoil, I carried off to Assyria.

The numbers are very crowded in Bellino's facsimile text, but I think they are correctly rendered above.

Hukludi is the Chald. עגלתא.

Line 18.

In mitik girri-ya, sha Nebo-bel-mu kipi ir Kharati, khurassi, kaspa, its meshukanni rabi, (. . . .), gammali, gai u hukludi, tamarta-su kabittu amkhar.

In my first year I received the great tribute of Nebo-bel-mu, chief of Ararat; gold, silver, meshukan wood of great size, mules, camels, oxen, and sheep.

Line 19.

Bahulati ir Khismi yabu aksu, sha valtulla ana niri-ya la iknusu, in kuti uwekku. Napishtu val etzib.

The people of the city of Khismi, enemies and heretics, who, from old times, had never bowed down to my yoke, I destroyed with my arms. Not one soul escaped.

Bahulati, citizens, from Heb. *bah'lat* or *baalat*, a

city, בעלת; whence citizens are called in Hebrew בעלי. See examples in Gesenius, pp. 161, 163.

Valtulla; composed of the preposition *valtu*, from, and *ulla*, before, or former.

Napishtu, a living thing; a soul.

Line 20.

Nagu suatu ana sansuti ashbit. I ga, X lu, X taptanni, XX kali-marishati-su, ana ili Ashur-ki bili-ya ukin ebriu.

That city I built again. One bull, ten sheep, ten fatlings, twenty animals called "strongheads," I offered in sacrifice to the gods of Assyria, my lords.

Taptanni; from the Chald. פטם, to fatten (Buxt. 1716).

Marishati, "heads," is found also in Hebrew (see Ges. p. 615).

Examples: *marishati-u*, ad caput ejus, 1 Samuel xix. 13. *Irad marishati-kum*, etc., your crown of honour falls from your heads, Jeremiah xiii. 18. *Ebriu*, from דבר, dissecuit (Ges. 266). The sense is, I cut up the victims and distributed them on the altars of the gods. These sacrifices were in order to purify the city of Khismi from the taint of heresy before rebuilding it.

Line 21.

In II girri-ya, Ashur belni utakkil annima, ana mat Bisi u Yatsubi-gallaya yabu aksi, sha valtulla ana

In my second year, Ashur the lord giving me confidence, I marched against the land of the

hunting, as well in flesh as in hides and skins of foxes, and touching lakes and waste.

Universis S. M. Ecclesiæ filiis Robertus de Vallibus filius Huberti de Vallibus salutem. Sciatis me concessisse dedisse et hac mea carta confirmasse in puram et perpetuam elemosinam Deo et Ecclesiæ S. M. Magdalenæ de Lanercost et Canonicis ejusdem loci decimas totius venationis meæ tam in carnibus quam in coriis et vellibus vulpium; et decimas de lacis meis et piscationibus; et omnes decimationes de vasto meo in pullis in vitulis in agnis et purcellis, in lanis et caseis, in butiris. Et si forte infra vastum meum aliqua terra culta fuerit, concedo etiam eis decimas ipsius terræ. Quare volo ut predicti Canonici predictas decimas libere et plenarie habeant de me et hæredibus meis, pro anima Huberti de Vall. patris mei, et pro salute animæ meæ et Adæ uxoris meæ et omnium antecessorum meorum.

3. *The charter of Lord Robert de Vallibus, son of Hubert de Vallibus, for the tithe of Hunting in flesh, hides, and skins of foxes,* of lake and fishery, and waste in foals, calves, lambs, pigs, wool, cheese, and butter.
4. *The charter of the Lord de Vallibus for the church of Denton and the hermitage, which Leysingus held,* bounded, as David son of Terri, and Robert son of Asketill, showed in my presence, and confirmed by charter, *with the tithe of the mill of Little Corkeby, etc.* (See iii. 1, 13, 16.)
5. *The charter of Robert de Vallibus for the church of Denton and a hermitage, with the tithe of Corkeby Mill,* which Alexander de Wyndesover gave them, and two shillings in Leversdale, which Bernard de Leveresdale gave. (xiv. 13)
6. *The charter of Robert de Vallibus for Lanrechaythyn.* (See xv. 18.)

The boundaries of Laurechaythyn (see xv. 17, ix. 19) are thus given:—Per divisas quas ego cum probis hominibus meis perambulavi, scil. A Cruce de Petrâ usque ad Burthesved, et inde, sicut Burth descendit ad caput ejusdem landæ versus Walton, ad quercum cruce signatam, cui in ipsa perambulatione imposuimus nomen, scil. Quercus S. Mariæ; et ab illa quercu per quercus

Line 23.

Ir Beth-Kilamzakh ir dannuti-sun almi aksut: nisi tari rabi; kurra, susi; (. . . .); gai; u hukludi, valtu girbi-su ushaza-amma shallatish amnu.

The city of Beth-Kilamzakh, their great city, I attacked and took. The inhabitants small and great; horses, mares, mules, oxen, and sheep, I carried off from it and distributed them as a spoil.

Line 24.

Iri-sun tzakhiri sha niba la isu, abbul, aggur, ushasib karmi. Bit-gabbir mutari tuzirti-sun in ashut akmu, dirilish ushali.

Their smaller towns without number I overthrew and reduced them to ruins. A vast building which was their Hall of Assembly I burnt with fire, and . . . .

Mutari, a hall, from חטר, used for the Hebrew חצר, atrium, a Hall.

Another inscription relating to the same event has *mutari mushabi*, "hall of sittings."

Tuzirti, an assembly of the people. From Heb. עצרת, *πανηγυρις*, concio populi.

Ushali may be from Heb. שלל, diripuit; or perhaps from אלל, the root of אליל, inanis, which would give the sense "I annihilated."

Dirilish may be "in flames;" from דור, *dur*, pyra, rogus. (Buxt. 522.) But if *ushali* stands for *ushalik* (see note to line 30) the sense may be, "I left it in flames."

Line 25.

Utaru ir Beth-Kilamzakh suatu ana birtuti ashbit. Eli sha tami pani udannin eli nir. Nisi mati kishitti idi-ya as libbi ushasib.

Once more that city of Beth-Kilamzakh I erected into a strong fortress. Higher than in former times, I rebuilt it on a hill. People drawn from lands subdued by my arms I placed to dwell within it.

Eli nir, in jugo, on a hill.

Line 26.

Nisi mat Bisi u Yatsubi-gallaya sha lapan kuti-ya ipparsidu valtu kireb shadi usharid-amma, in ir Kar-Tishpi, ir Beth-Kubitti usarsib.

The people of Bisi and Yatsubi-gallaya, who had fled away from my arms, I brought down from the mountains, and in the cities of Kar-Thisbe and Beth-Kubitti, I caused them to dwell.

Line 27.

In idi sutrin-ya, nisi bel-nam ir Arrapakha, amnu sunuti.

Naru abna ushapishu, lita kishitti kati sha elisun ashtakkanu, tsirus-su ushasdiru, as girbi ir valbit.

In the hands of my officers, men of distinction of Arrapakha city, I distributed them.

A stone tablet I made: I wrote on it the victories which I had gained over them, and within the city I set it up.

Line 28.

Pan niri-ya utaru, ana mat Illipi ashzabit kharranu illamu-ya. Ispabara sar-sun iri-su dannuti bitnitsirti-su umashiru, ana rukieti innabit.

I turned round the front of my chariot, and I marched straight before me to the land of Illipi. Ispabara their king abandoned his strong cities and his treasuries, and fled to a distance.

Line 29.

Gimri mat-su rapashti kima im kabitu ashkhup. Ir Marupishti,ir Akkuddu, iri bit-sarti-su, adi 34 iri dannuti u iri tzakhiri sha limiti-sun sha niba la isu,

All his broad country I swept like a mighty whirlwind. The city Marupishti, and the city Akkuddu,his royal residences, and 34 great cities with numberless smaller towns in their neighbourhood,

Ashkhup, I swept. Hebrew סחף, to sweep. The Latin *scopa*, a broom, appears to have the same origin.

Line 30.

abbul, aggur, in asha akmu. Shari-sun akshid: eli agari sun sissuti shakharrat atbuk. Mat Illipi ana kal gimri-sha arbuta ushalik.

I destroyed, and I burnt them with fire. I cut down their finest trees, and over their cornfields I spread blackness. In every direction I left the land of Illipi a desert.

Agar, a field. Compare the Latin *ager*, Greek *αγρος*, German *acker*. In Hebrew we find אכר, *akr*. agricola; Syriac, *akra;* and Gesenius says, p. 54. "vide num ex eodem fonte fluxerint *αγρος* et ager."

In the second line of the inscription of Michaux, we read *Agar ir Kar-Nebo*, a field of the city of Kar-Nebo. The gift of that field forms the subject of that inscription.

Sissuti, corn-land: from סאסא, an ear of corn. Buxtorf, 1519.

Shakharrat, blackness, or ashes: from Heb. שחור, *shakhur*, nigredo: atror: carbo: which is from שחר, niger.

Atbuk, I spread, is a common word. From the Heb. טפח, to spread. The king says he burnt all the standing corn.

Arbuta, a desert, is the Heb. ערבה, desertum.

Ushalik, from the Heb. *shalak*, שלך, abjecit: disjecit: evertit: dejecit, etc.

Line 31.

Nisi tari rabi, zikru u shal, kurra, susi (. . . . .), gai u hukludi laminam ashlula-amma, adi la basi ushalik sunuti.	The inhabitants small and great, male and female, horses, mares, mules, oxen, and sheep, beyond number, I carried off, and divided them as a spoil, among . . . . .

It is very doubtful what is the meaning of *adi la basi:* it may be, among those of my soldiers who were *not of low degree.*

Ushalik, Heb. חלק, to divide the spoil.

Line 32.

Ir Sisirtu, ir Kukunli, iri dannuti, adi iri tsakhiri sha limiti-sun; Beth-Barrua nagu ana gimirti-su, valtu kireb mat-su abratu, eli mitsir Ashur-ki uraddi.

The strong cities of Sisirta and Kukunli and the smaller towns in their neighbourhood, together with the whole province of Beth-Barrua, I cut off from his land and added them to the empire of Assyria.

Line 33.

Ir Ilinzash ana ir sarti u dannat nagie suatu ashbit. Sum-su makhra unakkir, ir Kar-Senakhirba attabi nibit-zu.

I raised the city of Ilinzash to be the royal city and metropolis of that province. I abolished its former name and I gave it the name of the city of Sennacherib.

Line 34.

In tayarti-ya, sha Madaya rukuti sha in sarin abi-ya mamman la ishmu zigir mati-sun, mandatasun kabitta amkhar, ana niri belluti-ya ushaknitzunuti.

During my return I received a great tribute from the distant Medians, who, in the days of the kings my fathers, no one had ever heard even the name of their country; and I made them bow down to the yoke of my majesty.

Line 35.

In tami su-hu Ninua makhatzu tsiru, ir naram Ishtar, sha kharkhar kududie ilu u ishtarut basu kireb-su,	In those days Nineveh the exalted city, the city beloved by Ishtar, which cherishes every kind of worship of the gods and goddesses within it,

The phrase, *in tami suhu*, generally indicates the commencement of an entirely new subject. *Suhu* means *ille* or *ipse*, as in such phrases as the following: —"I defeated the army of that king; he himself (*suhu*) fled to a distance," etc. It is, therefore, quite a different word from *su* (him or his).

In tami suhu, in illis diebus, is a loose or general expression meaning "much about that time." In fact, as the kings relate on their Tablets their civil works, and the magnificence they displayed at home, *after* giving an account of all their wars, it is plain that the former must have been intermixed in point of time with the latter.

Ishtarut, goddesses, plural of *ishtar*, a goddess. But there was one goddess more exalted than the rest to whom the name of Ishtar (*the* goddess) was especially given. *Her* name, also, occurs in this line.

Kududie, from the Hebrew verb *kudud*, קדד, to prostrate oneself in reverence, for example, before Jehovah.

Basu means they love and cherish. It is a form of the Hebrew בשם, otherwise בסם, dropping the final *m*, or only sounding it slightly; as the Latins dropped the final *m* in *regnum*, and other neuters, till it became a vowel sound, as in the Italian *regno*.

בשם properly means sweetness, but it is applied to the love of God and of his Law (see Buxtorf). It is used in the phrases "sweet sleep," "sweeter than honey," etc. etc. It is also metaphorical sweetness (as that of the words of the law).

בסימותא, *besimut*, is delightfulness, *ex. gr.* jucunditas Domini; jucunditas horti Edenis (Psalms). To confirm this explanation of the verb *basu*, I will refer to its use in the great inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, E. I. H. viii. 32, where he calls his god Marduk, *basu libbu-ya*, "the delight of my heart." So it stands in the original engraving, but has got a little altered in the copy published by the British Museum. In the syllable *ba*, the upper and lower horizontal strokes frequently touch each other, and appear to form a connecting line; but this is accidental, and not intended by the original scribe.

The passage before us, in a few expressive words, gives a remarkable picture of the city of Nineveh: "Every kind of worship of the gods and goddesses is cherished within it."

Line 36.

Timinnu daru duru's, zati sha valtulla, itti sidhir burummi itsrat-zu isshidu, subu tsindu-su.	In its *timin*, meant to last for ever and ever, those of old time deposited a clay tablet, impressed with the figure of a dove; and along with it they placed its fellow-tablets.

The *timin* was the clay tablet or cylinder deposited in the foundation stone, or sometimes at the four

corners of a building. It was regarded with peculiar reverence. So the Hebrews appear to have regarded the "corner stone." It was intended to remain for ever. If found by a subsequent king, it was to be read with reverence and restored to its former place.

Daru duru, eternal. Heb. דר and דור have the same meaning.

Duru's is for *duru-su*.

Zati, illi, illæ, illa, a pronoun, is a form of the Heb. זה, femin. זאת, *zat*.

Valtulla or *valtu valla*, "of old time."

Valtu is a preposition meaning "from," and of very frequent occurrence. *Valla* or *ulla* signifies "before," as in the phrase *vallanu-ya*, "before me." We shall find it in line 38, "the kings of old time who reigned *vallanu-ya*,—before me."

I rather think that the syllable *ul* or *ulla* meant prior, anterior, and if so, this will give us the simplest etymology of the Hebrew word *tamul*, תמול, "yesterday," which has hitherto baffled the researches of etymologists. I think it signified "dies prior," *tam ul* or *tamu-ul*, for *tamu* is the Assyrian word for *dies*. Gesenius says: "Etymon obscurum. Radix תמל ejusque in linguis cognatis significationes nil lucis præbent, nisi forte *obvelandi*, *obtegendi* significatum ei tribuere vis, ita ut tempus præteritum tanquam obscurum cogitetur." But assuredly the events of *yesterday* cannot as yet be considered to have become *obscure*.

Zati sha valtulla, "those of former days."

Itti, signum. *Sidhir*, adj., insculptus, inscriptus, *ex. gr. musharu sidhir sumi-ya*, lineæ inscriptæ nomine meo; see the Esarhaddon inscription in Trans. Roy.

Soc. of Literature, Vol. VII. p. 616. Both words are very common.

I read thus: *itti sidhir burummi*, signo insculpto columbæ; *isshidu*, deposuerunt; *itsratzu*, argillam ejus.

Itsrat, potter's clay, or a tablet or figure formed thereof. Heb. יצר, to make a vessel of clay, as a potter does. יוצר, a potter. These tablets are called *ussurati* or *utsurati* in other inscriptions.

Isshidu, deposuerunt; from the Chald. שדא, to lay a foundation stone, *ex. gr.* Job xxxviii. 6, quis jecit lapidem angularem ejus? This example is taken from Buxtorf, p. 2330. Perhaps, however, *isshidu* comes from the Heb. יסד, fundavit ædificium. For the substantive *ishdi*, "foundations," is very common in these inscriptions.

Subu, collocarunt; probably from ישב, collocavit; for the common word *subat*, sedes, locatio, certainly comes from that root.

Tsindu-su, pares suos, its companions. For there were usually four cylinders similarly inscribed, deposited at the four corners of a building. *Tsindu*, from Heb. צמד, par (a pair), also conjunctus, copulatus.

Burumi. I would derive *burum*, a dove, from its plaintive murmuring note, which sound the Latins expressed by *murmur:* compare also the German *brummen* (to murmur). I also find in Schindler, p. 252, the verb ברם, which he translates by *murmuravit*. I think ברם may be pronounced *bŭrŭm*.

Line 37.

Ashru naklu, subat pireshti-sha sutaksu, banut — A splendid place, a rich building, for her sanctu-

Denton, his brother, and J., son of Osan, *for the essart near Warthcolman*.

6. *The charter of Hubert de Vaux for land in Trevernan*, which Roland de Vaux, his uncle, gave for the support of a chaplain and clerk in the chapel there. (See xv. 17.)
7. *The charter of Mabel, sometime wife of Walter de Wyndesore, for the third part of two acres in Clovesgill* in Farlam, with licence to fold mares.

The bounds are given scil. sicut sica oritur sub Birkanhirst (Birchanhirst, v. 26) et descendit per Pirihon, et sic juxta quercum que vocatur Wiskerhitton (Wreskenhutton, v. 26), et exinde ad quercum jam dictam et ab illa quercu in directo usque ad supercilium Collis de Darlinhon, et sic usque ad vallem que jacet inter ij colles, et ab illâ valle usque ad supercilium collis occidentalis, et sic usque ad viam quadrigarum que ducit ad Darelin in Pirihon et usque ad Glangles et a Glangles usque ad antiquam[1] fossam, et per eandem fossam usque ad nodosam quercum et ab illâ quercu usque ad predictam (*Sicam de* v. 26) Wiskerhitton.

8. *The charter of Walter de Wyndesore for two acres in Farlam* to make a fold and pasture for one milch sheep. (See xiii. 14.)
9. *The charter of Eda, daughter of Michael de Dale for five acres of land in Aynstapellyth*, scil. v rodas in tofto et crofto que jacent inter domum Elene sororis dicte Ede, et domum Thomæ filii Ynggeih. Et in Presteridding, acram et dimidiam et rodam ad dimidiam acram juxta berkeriam[2] Galfridi de Crogelyn et extendit se versus australem et borealem, et iij rodas que se extendunt super dictam dimidiam acram, et super viam de Ruhecroft versus solem, et le Goldidale que se extendit super le Ellerisic et versus viam de Rudecrofte et le Buttes in Arasti, et illam terram que se extendit super Maynresgate et Kelduspaksic.
10. *The charter of Ellena, daughter of Michael de Dale, for five acres of lands in Aynstapelith*, given by her sister Eda.

[1] V. 26 reads for "antiquam . . . . . quercu," predictam Birchanhirst et sic in directo.

[2] A sheepfold.

He pulled down their work (line 49) and rebuilt it all anew, in a style of great splendour.

Line 38.

Sha valtulla sarini alikut makhri abi-ya vallanu-ya billut Ashur-ki ebusu, umahiru bahilat Bel,	Of all the kings of former days, my fathers who went before me, who reigned before me over Assyria, and governed the city of Bel (*i.e.* Nineveh),

Valtulla, see line 36.

Billut ebus is the usual phrase for "he reigned."

Umahiru, they directed, is a very common verb.

Bahilat is the Heb. בעלת, "a City" (see Gesenius, p. 163). Another passage may be compared with this. In the third line of the Phillips cylinder, Nebuchadnezzar is called *mustishir bahulat Bel*, ruler of the city of Bel.

Line 39.

u matti la naparkaya erebsu libbati, tikunu's ki kiprat arbah imdanakharu kireb-su.	and with no sparing measure increased the size of their buildings, and there treasured up all their revenues, which they received from the four countries.

Matti, Hebrew מד, mensura.

La naparkaya, unsparing, *i. e.* profuse, extravagant. This phrase, *matti la naparkaya*, occurs in the Esarhaddon inscription (Trans. Roy. Soc. of Literature, vii. p. 612).

Erebsu means, I think, they greatly augmented. From an Assyrian root רבש, to enlarge, exalt, etc. Thus, *rapsu nagu* means "a large kingdom;" *rapashtu*, "very large," seems to be another form of the word. Hence, also, *urappish*, I augmented, *murappish*, an augmenter, etc. This root is very common.

Libbati, I think, means *buildings*, the same nearly as *libnati*. Perhaps, indeed, *libnati* is the reading on the cylinder, or the scribe may have written *ba* for *na*, as the difference between those two signs in *this* inscription is a very slight one.

Tikunu's, for *tikunu-su*, their revenues.

Kiprat arbah, the four countries, is a very common phrase for the Assyrian empire. It often seems to mean the whole world, but in the present passage must be restricted to the dominions of the monarchs who are spoken of.

Imdanakharu. This word, according to the usual rules of the language, should be *imdakharu*, a tense of the T or D conjugation of the verb *makhar*, מחר, to put into a treasury: to treasure up.

Imdanakharu may be correct, or perhaps the syllable *na* may be a mistake of the scribe. The regular form would be *imdakharu*. So we find *umdasharu*, from the verb *mashar*, to abandon.

Line 40.

Yamu in libbu-sun ana bit-rab girbi su, kummi ribit belluti-sha, sukhar subat tzulit-zu val idakha libbu's val akhitzu's.

Not one among them all repaired the great central edifice which was the royal dwelling of their greatness, nor ever

brightened up the interior, nor yet the exterior, of the dingy building which formed its keep.

Yamu, nullus. *In libbi sun*, inter eos.

Kummi, a dwelling. Sargon says to the god Ninev, "I am the builder of thy apartment," *banu kumi-ka*. (See Trans. Roy. Soc. of Liter. Vol. VIII. p. 111.)

Ribit, royal. *Ribitu*, a king, occurs frequently.

Sukhar is the Heb. שחר, niger, obscurus.

Tzuli or *tzulit*, præsidium, a fortress, from Heb. צל, tutela, præsidium. The *tzuli*, or defence, or citadel of Babylon, is frequently mentioned in the great E. I. H. inscription.

Idakha, he made bright, from Chald. דכא, purus, mundus, whence *dakuta*, דכותא, purgatio, purificatio.

Libbu's for *libbu su*, the interior of it.

Akhitzu's for *khitzu su*, the exterior of it. The initial *A* is a breathing.

Khitzu, Heb. חיץ, exterior, see Gesenius, p. 336; and חוץ, the outer wall of a building, Gesenius, 325.

Line 41.

Ana sutishur kutar u takkiribati kharie, zakap tsippati, utzun-su val ibsimu, val ustabil karatzu.

As regards the health of the people and the bringing of streams of water into the city, and the finding of new springs: they neither kept the fountains sweet, nor led the water in fertilizing streams.

Sutishur, a very frequent word, means good government, care, protection.

Kutar, the multitude. This root seems wanting in Hebrew and Chaldee; the Arabic, however, has preserved it. כתר, multitudo, see Schindler, p. 909.

Takkiribati, the introduction (viz. into the city), from *kireb*, intrà.

Zakap, to cause to rise, to lift up. See the note on line 59. Here it is a substantive, "the uprising."

Tsippati, fountains, or natural springs (Ges. 859), from *tsup*, צוף, to overflow, to spring forth.

Utzun, sources, springs, from Heb. יצא, exire, to spring forth. *Mutzu* is also used; for instance, in line 49 of this inscription, *mutzu-sha*, its springs.

Ibsimu, they made sweet, from Heb. בסם, *besim*, dulcis, suavis. Buxtorf gives an example which is very much in point, ובסימו מיא, *u besimu mia*, "et dulces redditæ sunt aquæ istæ," Exod. xv. 25.

Ustabil seems to be an *istaphel* conjugation of the root יבל, copiosè fluxit; also flumen, rivus. From יבל, Gesenius derives הוביל, produxit (terra); and יבול, proventus; and תבל, tubal, terra fertilis. We, therefore, see that *ustabil* probably means "he caused fertilizing streams to flow."

Karat, rivulets, from Heb. ברת, foveæ, cisternæ, etc. (Ges. 501), from ברה, fodit. Artificial watercourses or rivulets may be meant.

Line 42.

Yaati SENAKHIRBA sar Ashur epish miri suatu ki bilim ili in uzni-ya

Then I, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, by command of the gods, took

ebsim. Kabitti upla-amma . . . . . delight to complete this work. Multitudes I collected together . . . . . .

Ebsim, I took delight, from בשים, *besim*, delight; of which word I treated in the line preceding this.

In uzni-ya, is added. If this is the Heb. אזני, *uzni*, the ears, we must translate "I heard with delight the command of the gods." But in some other passages *uzni* seems to be *pectus*, and then the sense would be, "I took delight in my heart."

Line 43.

tebshid Kaldi, Aramu, Mannaya, Kue, u Kilakku sha ana niri-ya la iknusu, assukha-amma musikki, ushasli sunutim ilbinu libitti.

of the workmen of the lands of Chaldæa, Aram, Manna, Kue and Cilicia, who had not bowed down to my yoke: I brought them away as captives, and I bound them together in gangs to make bricks.

Tebshid, workmen; from *ebshid*, work. A palace is said to be *tsirti ebshid*, "of lofty architecture or work." The root is עבש, to work, in Hebrew, עבד.

Assukha, I led away captive, I led into exile. This word occurs very often. Its Hebrew correlative was first made out by Dr. Hincks. This is נסח, which Gesenius interprets, evellit aliquem e domo suâ; vel e terrâ; hoc est, in exilium egit.

Musikki, captives; literally "bound together with cords," from חזק, *hezek*, "arctè ligavit," "fortius constrinxit vincula." This word often occurs.

Ushasli, I bound together with cords. The Hebrew verb corresponding is אסר, "ligavit," and thence "captivum fecit;" but the Assyrians always use אכל instead of אסר. From thence comes the adverb *ashlish*, "bound together," said of a gang of workmen. *Ushasli* is the *sha* conjugation.

They were tied together lest some should run off, the overlookers being few in comparison.

The phrase is varied in many ways, as "udibbu bakhulati," from דבק, conjungere, etc.

Line 44.

Api kupie sha kireb Kaldi akshidu, appari-sun ukhuti in bakhulati nakiri kishitti kati-ya ushaldida ana epish miri-sha.	In baskets made of reeds which I cut in the land of Chaldæa, I made the foreign workmen bring their appointed tasks of clay, in order to complete this work.

The clay was wanted in order to raise the mound on which to build the palace. This toil of the slaves is represented in one of Sennacherib's bas-reliefs, now in the British Museum.

Api, plural of Hebrew אבה, arundo vel papyrus. The rivers of Chaldæa were full of tall reeds, which are represented in the sculptures found at Nineveh. Pliny says that the real *papyrus* was found at Babylon.

Kupie, baskets; see Schindler, p. 1634, sub v. קפף. He says קפא, canistrum ex *juncis* factum, cophinus, sporta.

Appari, clay, from Heb. עפר, lutum; argilla undè parietes fiunt; agger (Gesen.).

Ukhuti or *ukhut*, measured task; participle from the Heb. verb חקק, which seems to have been pronounced *hukh*.

Gesenius says חקק, demensum; pensum laboris.

If we refer to Exodus v. 14, "Wherefore have ye not fulfilled *your task* in making brick both yesterday and to-day as heretofore?" we shall find that the original Hebrew employs this very word חקק, in the sense of a daily task.

Bakhulati nakiri, foreign workmen: *kishitti kati-ya*, taken prisoners by my arms.

Line 45.

Haikal makritu, sha 360 . . . . hu vas, in kutsi zami beth-ziggurrat; 80 . . . . hu rapashtu, in kutsi beth namari beth Ishtar; 134 . . . . hu rapashtu, in kutsi beth namari beth-mishmiri; 95 . . . . hu rapashtu . . . .

The former palace, of 360 measures long, adjoining the gardens of the Great Tower; 80 measures wide, adjoining the watch-tower of the temple of Ishtar; 134 measures wide, adjoining the watch-tower of the house of worship, and 95 measures wide * * * *

The measure employed is the *half* of the *hu* or cubit.

Kutsi, finis, terminus. *In kutsi*, conterminous with, adjoining to.

Zami: the translation "gardens" is conjectural.

Beth namari may be a watch-tower or specula, perhaps a minaret, if such existed in those days. The "Song of Songs" speaks of a watch-tower in a garden of cucumbers.

Mishmiri, worship, from the Heb. שמר, coluit Deum.

It will be observed that the sense of this line is truncated, the scribe, not having room for more in the line, omitted the remainder, which probably stated what building was opposite the fourth side of the palace.

Line 46.

sha sarin alikut makhri abi-ya ana rimiti belluti-sun ushapisu, la unakkilu panut-sha.	which the kings my fathers who went before me built for their royal residence, but did not beautify its front (or façade).

Rimit may be רמה or רמת, a high place, from root רום or רמם, altus fuit.

Unakkilu, from *nakal*, splendidus, whence the adverb *naklish*, splendidè, which is used of buildings.

Panut is a doubtful reading. If correct, it would mean the front or façade, פן, of the building.

Line 47.

Nahar tibilti agurat miru, sha in nali IV gigunie kabulti ir, huabbitu.	The (so named) Canal of Fertility, lined (or banked up) with brick-work, which once traversed the central part of the city in four delightful streams, had fallen into ruin.

The symbol for "water," followed by the syllable Ti

generally means "a canal." Here it seems part of the name, *tibilti*.

Tibilti may mean "fertility" (a name given by its first constructors, though in the days of our inscription become very unsuitable). Gesenius says that from the root יבל "fluxit" we have תבל, terra fertilis.

But if *ti* is not part of the name, the remaining part *bulti* may be derived from the same root, for Gesenius has בול, *bul*, pluvia; and another sense of it is "proventus," the produce of the land.

Gigunie is an unknown word, but I think it must be nearly related to the following word (see Buxtorf, p. 404): געגעא, rivus aquæ rapidus. Another form of the same word is געגועים, meaning "deliciæ;" in which it will be observed that the first two syllables differ, and seem to represent the *gi*. *gu*. of the Assyrian word. The *n* in *gigunie* seems to be a relic of the plural form in *in*. Buxtorf says, the root of these words is געג, to delight. The name of Gyges, king of Lydia, is written on the cuneiform records, *Gugu*. If this should be a Semitic word, it may have meant "Joy" or "Delight," which would be a good name for a king, and *boni ominis*.

Huabbitu, was destroyed, a conjugation of אבד, to destroy.

Line 47,—*Continued*.

Its ki makhi-sun nak-muti ukallimu anna-su.	Their beautiful *Ki* trees had been cut down for fire-wood, all the finest of them.

Its, a tree, Heb. עץ. But perhaps this word is here a simple *sign*, not to be sounded.

Makhi or *makkhi*, an epithet of the *Ki* trees, meaning "prime" or "excellent." Compare *ga makkhi*, prime oxen: *sar makkhi*, beautiful *Sar* trees (see line 58. *Ki makhi-sun*; the plural *sun* refers to the four canals, along whose banks these trees were planted.

Nakmut, a burning.

Ukallimu, "men cut them down with axes." From *kalma* or *kilma*, an axe; hence *likilmu*, may they cut down! From the same root comes another Assyrian word, *kalabat*, an axe.

Anna is "beauty." *Anna-su*, the beauty of them; *i. e.* the finest of them; flos eorum.

Line 48.

U valtu tami tsiri dikhi haikal ibakhu. In adan-sha muli, in vassi-sha abbu ushipsu, uribbu timin-sha.

And from extreme old age the front of the palace was split and rent. Its base was traversed by cracks and its foundations by wide fissures, while its *timin* (or sacred platform) was all in confusion.

Most of these words I have explained in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xviii. p. 99.

Uribbu, from the Heb. ערב, to mix, to commingle; *ex. gr.* water מערב (mixed) with wine. Hence it means confundere conturbare, perturbare: *ex. gr.* Exodus xiv. 14, "confundamus eos" (Buxt.).

Line 49.

Haikal turra shatu ana sikhirti-sha agguru.	That shabby palace I pulled down the whole of it.

Turra is probably poor, mean, or shabby. צער or צעיר, vilis, contemptus: see Gesenius. In Syriac צערא, ignominia, dedecus (Schindler).

This word has become טער in Assyrian. The same change occurs in many other words, as the city of Tyre, from צור, rupes. Gesenius says, "Aramæi plerumque ponunt ט pro Hebræo צ."

Line 49,—*Continued.*

Sha nar tibilti ashrat-shusti sanna ha abbuslu; ushatzir mutzu-sha.	Of the Canal of Fertility, during sixteen years its water had been dried up by the sun. I collected together its springs (or sources).

Were the sixteen years those of his father Sargon's reign? The commencement of the neglect of the city may, perhaps, be dated from the revolution which placed Sargon on the throne. Rawlinson attributes nineteen years to Sargon's reign, but admits that the proof from the monuments only extends to fifteen. (Herodotus, vol. i. p. 472.)

Ha, water. I think this pronunciation is more probable than *ya*, which I formerly proposed (Journal Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xviii. p. 366). It seems an

Indo-Germanic word, but hardly Semitic. It agrees with the old German *A* and *Aa*, which are now only the names of certain rivers, but formerly meant water in general. To these may be added the *Aar* in Switzerland and the ancient river *Arar*, and also *Aach*, the German form of the Latin *Aqua*, whence *Aachen*, the French Aix [la Chapelle] meant "the waters."

Abbuslu, it was dried up by the sun: from the Heb. בשל, coctus est solis ardore (Gesen.).

Ushatzir, I collected together, the *sha* conjugation of *atzer*, עצר, congregare.

In the Bamian inscription, Sennacherib boasts that he collected together no less than eighteen springs or small rivulets, and led them into one channel, which he brought near to the city. This appears to have been a different work from the present one, though similar to it.

Line 50.

Kireb katiti ashur rakki sha shiplanu gi(ri) elanish abni mati danni itti (*mie nari*) Sima alib.	Among the rocks I found a copious source which (*running*) down the hills over rocks of mighty size, unites itself with the waters of the river Sima.

Katiti, rocks, or broken ground. The word is found in Gesenius, כתת, broken. Also רתת, with the same meaning.

Ashur, I caused to spring up, *rakki*, a copious source, *i.e.* I *found* one in the mountains. The word *ashur* is from שור, exsilire facere (Buxt. 2354).

Rakki, a copious source, from רוק, effundi vel Fundere se (Gesen.).

Shiplanu, adverb "down" or "downward," from שפל.

Gi (with the plural sign added). This I read *giri* or ***ini*** (mountains).

Elanish, adverb "above."

Mati danni, of vast size, Heb. מד, mensura. We find a similar phrase in the Esarhaddon inscription, col. v. 9, "*pili mati danni*," stones of great size.

The sign for *water*, followed by the syllable *ut*, I translate "waters." Then comes again the sign for water, followed by *sima*, which I render "the river Sima."

Alib, unites itself, from *lib*, the interior of anything.

Line 50,—*Continued.*

Valtu mami ushala-amma nabalish utar.	With the waters of it (*which*) I conducted (to Nineveh), I filled the canal again to overflowing.

Mami. Heb. מים, waters.

Ushala. This verb may be compared with the Heb. שלח, aquam ducere vel aquam mittere. Esarhaddon (col. vi. 20), in describing how he united the streams, uses the expression *ushashar-amma*, which may be from the verb אשר, duxit.

Nabalish, adverb, "most copiously," or "to over flowing," from נבע, also נבא, copiosè effudit.

Utar, I restored as formerly, from Chald. הדר, redditio, restitutio.

Line 51.

1700 as shukli rabti vas: 162 as shukli rabti rapashti, anta im Sidi: 217 as shukli rabti rapashti, kabalti,	1700 measures long: 162 measures wide, on the upper side towards the north: 217 measures wide. in the centre,

These measures are much larger than those of the old palace (if the *half-hu* and the *shuklu rabtu* are of the same length), but they correspond in one respect, viz. that the first side of the building, and much the longest, is described as *vas* (or long), while the three others are described as *rapashtu* (or broad).

Line 52.

386 as shukli rabti rapashti, kita, im irlu, vassadu nar Mastiggar; tala umalli, amsukh misikhta.	386 measures wide on the lower side towards the south, fronting the river Tigris. I completed the mound and I measured the measure.

Line 53.

Labarish tami, in adir kishati, timin-su laenish ashdupat.	I deposited once more its sacred *timin*, which was still well remembered, owing to the popular veneration for it from the most ancient times.

The following I believe to be the grammatical con-

struction of this passage. *Ashdupat*, I deposited (*i. e.* once more) *timin-su*, its inscribed tablet, *la enish*, which was unforgotten (or still well remembered), *in adir kishati*, owing to the popular veneration for it, *labarish tami*, from the most ancient times.

There is here so much terseness and brevity in the original text, that it is difficult to render it into English without using circumlocutions.

Ashdupat or *ashtapat* is the T conjugation of *shapat*, שפת, posuit: collocavit. It is used in Hebrew for "laying a thing low in the dust," etc.

La enish, unforgotten, from *nisha*, נשה, to forget (Ges. 692). We find in another inscription, *labarish tami timin-sha enishu*, "from length of time its *timin* was lost," or its place was now forgotten. (B. M. plate 42, l. 32.)

In adir kishati, through the veneration of the people. *Adir* may be Heb. הדר, honor. "From the honour paid to it by the people."

Line 53,—*Continued.*

Pili rabbati ashuru-su ushaskir, udannin subuk-su.	Then with large stones I closed it all round and I made its deposit secure.

Ashuru-su, its place; usually written *ashar-su*.

Ushaskir, I enclosed with a wall, is a very common verb; *ex. gr.* in the Phillips cylinder, col. iii. l. 40, we find "*kar dali*, with a high wall, *ushaskir-su*, I enclosed it." It is the *sha* or causative conjugation of Heb. *sagar*, סגר, clausit, and means, "I had it enclosed," or "I gave orders to enclose it."

Udannin, I made very strong, from *dan*, strong.

Subuk, a deposit; relictum, anything that is left by itself, alone. From Heb. שבק, reliquit, deseruit.

Line 54.

Mushari sidhir sumi-ya 160 tibki tali kireb-su althuru; shiplanu in vassi-su etzib akhralik.

The written records of my name, 160 fathoms of bas-reliefs, I sculptured within it; but the lower part of the wall next to the ground I left to be filled up in future times.

The *tibik*, Heb. טפח, is a measure derived from the verb טפח, expandit, extendit. The Hebrew טפח was the full stretch of the fingers. Gesenius says, "manus expansa." But it is plain that the Assyrian *tibik* was the full stretch of the *arms*, like the Greek οργυια (from ορεγειν), and the Italian *braccio* and French *brasse*, which we render a fathom.

The 160 fathoms, or 960 feet, seems an extent of sculpture probable enough in an Assyrian palace.

The *tali* were either bas-reliefs or pictures. It is the Chaldee טל, from the verb טלל, umbrare, for which the Hebrew uses צל. So the Greeks called a painter σκιαγραφος, from σκια, a shadow; and so the Latins said *adumbrare*, because a picture is but the *umbra* of the real thing which it tries to represent.

Etzib, I left. Heb. עזב, *ezib* or *etzib*, to leave.

Akhralik, posterity, from *akhar*, Heb. אחר, sequens, alter; and *alik*, Heb. הלך, to come. "Ætas veniens." I find in another inscription the phrase *akhralik tami*.

Line 55.

Arkănu susku tali kabiti upla-amma. 20 tibki tsitsa makri isutzibu; 180 tibki ushakki elanish.	Of new imagery I brought together a great number of bas-reliefs. Twenty fathoms in extent of the ancient sculptures were preserved, so that I spread out in all 180 fathoms of them.

Arkănu, future, or new. *Sar arku*, the future king. *In arkut tami*, in future days. *Nu* is added as in *shiplanu*, "down," from שפל; *elanu*, "up," from על. *Arkanu* follows the same analogy; *ex. gr. arkanu ediya*, after my departure.

Susku is properly sculpture or imagery, from root שכה, Chald. סכא; whence the Heb. שכיה, imago (Gesen.). Compare the Greek *σκια*, and the verb *σκιαγραφειν*.

Tali, as I have said, were sometimes in all probability *pictures*. For, Mr. Layard says ('Nineveh and Babylon,' p. 131) that "the walls of the chambers were in part *painted* with subjects resembling those sculptured on the *alabaster* panels." See Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. i. p. 474.

I observe *en passant* that these sculptures were *on alabaster*. Now, Sennacherib in his inscriptions says that his workmen made bas-reliefs (which he calls *shallat zazati*) on the beautiful *albutar* stone, which was white or brilliant as the sky or heaven. I think that the Greek *αλαβαστρον* is derived from *albutar* (or else *vice versâ*). This stone was quarried by Sennacherib, in the mountains of Nypûr, somewhere in Media.

Upla generally means "I brought home." It represents the Heb. הובל, a conjugation of the verb יבל Gesenius says, הובל, allatus est. Another conjugation is הביל, attulit.

Tsitsa, Heb. צעצע. This is an interesting word, for it occurs in 2 Chronicles iii. 10, in the account of Solomon's temple. The authorized version has, "And in the most holy house he made two cherubims of image work, and overlaid them with gold." Here Gesenius renders מעשה צעצעים "opus statuarium," which is the same as the English version "work of images," or "image-work."

The צעצע were, therefore, sculptured images.

This word also occurs in another important passage, where one of the gods is called *nuni tzitzu, i. e.* the Sculptured Fish. For, in fact, he was so sculptured, half-man and half-fish, and there is one of these sculptures in the British Museum.

Isutzibu, they were preserved. Heb. שוב, to save.

180 *tibki ushakki*. I think we have a proof here that a single vertical wedge means 60, and not 50, as some have stated. For the numbers here given are 160 and 20, whose sum is 180. But in order to get 180, we must give the value of 60 to the vertical wedge.

Ushakki, I spread out in width, from *shakki*, wide.

Elanish, in summâ, or altogether.

Line 56.

Tarkha suhu il sha as tami pani usarbi: The enclosure itself I tsir augmented beyond what

misikhti haikal makriti uraddi, ushandib sikta's. it was in former days; above the measure of the former palace I enlarged it, and I liberally increased its coursing grounds.

Tarkha suhu, the enclosure itself, *i. e.* the enclosed grounds (or park) which surrounded the palace. See the word טרקא, an enclosure, in Buxtorf. The root is טרק, clausit.

Il is a remarkable word, it is usually written *eli*, and means "beyond" or "above." It is the Heb. על, super, suprà.

Uraddi almost always means "I augmented."

Ushandib, I enlarged much, from the root *nadab*, Heb. נדב, largus fuit, "to be liberal."

Sikta's for *sikta-sha*, its *sikta*. Respecting this word I will quote what Esarhaddon says concerning *his* palace (col. vi. 19): *tallakta-sha mahatish urappish, ana masuk kurra kireb-sha*, "its coursing grounds I greatly extended, for the exercising (*masuk*) of horses within it."

Sennacherib alludes to something similar in the present passage. *Masuk* is the Heb. משך, discursitatio (Gesen. 632). The root is שך, discursitavit.

Sikta is from the same root. שקת, cursus sive locus exercitationis. *Ushandib sikta-sha* is, therefore, "I liberally extended its coursing grounds."

Line 57.

Bit-rabi ka-amsi, itz dan, itz ku, itz meshu- Fine buildings of ivory, *dan* wood *ku* wood, *meshu-*

kanni, itz *kinrat?* itz shurman bishli, u itz butani: bit-rabi zakdi nur-ya, ana miship sarti-ya ushapisha kireb-su.

kan wood, cedar wood, cypress wood dried in the sun, and pistachio wood; these buildings (as sparklets of my splendour) for my royal residence I erected within it.

The cedars of Lebanon are generally called *irni* and *irsi* in these inscriptions. Here they seem to be called *kinrat*, but this is very uncertain, because the component signs of the word vary so much in other texts that they may be mere arbitrary symbols for this precious kind of wood.

If *kinrat* is the true reading here, a slight change of pronunciation, viz. *kinrat*, *kindrat*, *kidrat* (plural feminine), would give us the name of the *Cedar*, known to the Greeks as *Κεδρος* (feminine), mentioned even by Homer.

The *shurman* wood appears to be a kind of juniper or cypress. It is named in Hebrew, and may even be the same as the Latin *sabina*, whence English *savin*.

It is true that this name is usually derived from the Sabine nation, or territory, but what proof is there that the ancients obtained this wood specially from the Sabine country? On the contrary, Crete is given as its native place.

Bishli, I think, means "dried in the sun," from בשל, solis ardore coctus est.

Butani is the pistacia lentiscus, or terebinth or mastic-tree. Heb. בטני, named in Genesis, chap. xliii. 11.

Zakdi nur-ya is of uncertain meaning. It may be

a fancy name for these smaller royal apartments, these lesser lights as it were encircling the central splendour of the Palace itself. *Nur* is a well-known word, Chald. נור, fire or brightness, splendour, and *zakdi* may represent an Assyrian form of the Heb. זקוקי, scintillæ; for a good many Assyrian words ending in *khi* vary to *di*, thus, *bel-khikhi* varies to *bel-khidi*. So in Greek, θ and χ sometimes interchange, as *ορνιχα* for *ορνιθα*, etc.

Line 58.

Itz shar makkhu nakut mati Khamanu, sha gimir shimdi zir-bel tsippati itzi ratlat shadi u mati Kaldi kireb-su kharru-su, itakhasha ashkup.

I made its porticoes with lofty *shar* trees, cut down in the land of Khamana, which all persons who are judges of the best sort of pine-trees prefer, as being the choicest trees either in the hills or in the land of Chaldæa.

"Land of Chaldæa" stands for the low countries in general.

Nakut means "cut down." It is a participle from the Hebrew verb *nakah*, נכה, percussit.

But the essential part of the root *nakah* seems to be only אכה. This is found in Chaldee, viz. אכי, feriit, percussit, which is also very frequent in Assyrian in the sense of "feriit victimam," *ex. gr.* "victims of rare perfection I sacrificed to their divinities" (makharsun *akki*).

Shimdi, having knowledge of (a thing), skilled in it,

or good judges of it: in French, *connaisseurs*: from שמדע, cognoscere (Buxt. 2443).

Zir-bel. This complicated sign, with nine wedges, is more distinctly sculptured in some other inscriptions, and then it is seen to be compounded of the four wedges of *zir* (a race or family) and the five wedges of *bel* (first or principal). But how it was pronounced I know not, probably not as *zir bel*. At any rate, however, its meaning is evident: "the best kind."

Tsippati. The sense of this word is totally different from that of *tsippati* in lines 59 and 61 (though written with the same symbols). There it signifies springs of water, from the Heb. צוף, *tzup*, to overflow (Ges. 859). So in the Talmud we find *mim tzipin*, "flowing waters."

But in our present line 58, *tzippati* signifies *fir-trees*, or any tree which yields pitch, from *tzipa* or *zipa*, "pitch," in Chaldee זפא (see Buxtorf, 683 and 684), which name was also given to the tree itself, as is plain from the passage there quoted, "they light no light on the Sabbath-day; neither זפת, *zipat* (torches of the pitch-pine), nor waxlights."

I need not observe that the letters ז, *zain*, and צ, *tsaddi*, interchange frequently: see Gesenius, 850, who gives for example עלץ for עלז. So זפת became צפת in Assyrian.

As the Assyrians named the fir tribe (or conifers) from the *pitch* they produce, so did the Greeks and Latins call them πιτυς and πευκη and picea. Pliny says, "picea montes amat," etc. Ovid has,

"Est nemus et *piceis* et frondibus ilicis atrum."

Is it not possible that the celebrated city of Barzippa

or Borsippa may have taken its name from some overflowing well of pitch or bitumen which originally existed there? Heb. בּאר, *bar*, a well, and זפא, *zipa*, pitch. For such pitch-wells were found in the neighbourhood, especially at the town of Is or *Hit*, as Herodotus mentions.

Ratlat, adj. in the feminine plural, "very excellent or noble." This word occurs frequently, but I find no equivalent to it in Hebrew. "*Ir ratlati su*" is equivalent to "*ir dannuti su*," his principal city.

Kireb-su, among themselves; *i. e.* in their business or craft. But these two words seem quite superfluous.

Kharru su, they love it, they prefer it. *Kharru*, they love, is from Heb. יקר, carus fuit, pretiosus fuit. That this is the true meaning of *kharru* is proved beyond doubt by the substitution for it in another passage of the verb *ishmukhu*, they delight in. See the first series of the British Museum inscriptions, plate 42, line 46, where the passage stands: *marab ishmukhu*, from the verb שׂמח, hilaris fuit, gaudet. (Schindler, p. 1888.)

Itakha. Heb. אתיק, peristylon, porticus, a colonnade or portico.

Ashkup, I built or put up (said of wooden buildings). Heb. שׂקף, contignavit (Ges. 1036). But here the bull inscription B. M. pl. 42, seems to have *ashkun*, I made.

The above passage, about the preference given to the *shar* trees, is found in many other inscriptions. We read in the annals of Esarhaddon (Trans. Roy. Soc. of Liter. Vol. VII. p. 605):—

Shari makkhi takut mati Khamanu, sha kala	With lofty *shar* trees cut down in the land of

shimdiu itzidi kharru-su, itakha-sha emit.

Khamana, which all who have knowledge of trees like best, I erected its porticoes.

In comparing the two passages we see that the Esarhaddon replaces *gimir* (all), Heb. גמר, by *kala*, (all), Heb. כל, and the verb *ashkup* by *emit*. It also omits the word of double signification, *tsippati*. In other respects they confirm each other.

Line 59.

Ashsu zakap tsippati ekil tamirti elin arpita-an; ana tari Ninua-ki bilku ubulliku, ushatkil panussun.

By my care I caused the uprising of springs in more than 40 places of the plain; I divided them into irrigating canals, for the people of Nineveh, and gave them, to be their own property.

Ashsu, curavi, I took care for, took pains about, managed. So in the Constantinople inscription, line 66, *ashsu karniski*, "curavi equos." This verb is the Chaldee חשש, *ashash* or *hashash*, curare, curam gerere. Buxt. p. 846.

Zakap, the uprising, is from the Heb. זקף, elevare, attollere. It is often used in a very good sense; for instance, "to *lift up* the afflicted heart," Psalm cxlv. 14.

Tamirti, meadows, plains, or fields, from *amir*, עמיר, grass, *ex. gr.* "all flesh is grass," עמירא, quoted by Buxtorf, p. 1628.

As the root פלג is specially used of water, both as

a noun and a verb, I think I recognize it in *bilku* and *ubullik*. We find in Gesenius פלג, divisit (ut canales). פלג, rivus, fluvius parvus, etiam fluvius major. He adds, "propriè *canalem* esse volunt, a *dividendo* dictum; cf. verbum, Job xxxviii. 25. פלגות, rivi (Judges v. 15)."

Line 60.

Ana birati takmukhi, valtu padi ir Kishri adi tamirti Ninua-ki, ir-ya, (. . . .) birut in akzirlati ushattaru, ushatsir nari karru.	To obtain water to turn the flour mills, I brought down from the borders of Kishri unto the fields of Nineveh, my city, pure streams conveyed in pipes, and I collected them into reservoirs.

Birati, plural fem. of Heb. בור. Here it means mill-ponds.

Takmukhi, of or belonging to flour. From the Chaldee *kamakh*, קמח, farina (Buxt. p. 2053). The word before *birut* is effaced. Whatever it was, it must have meant "waters."

Birut, plural fem. "*pure*," from Heb. בר, purus.

Akzirlati. This is a most important passage. It is repeated on one of the bulls (see the British Museum inscriptions, first series, plate 42, line 42). But though the inscription on the bull is nearly the same, yet it adds a word of the greatest consequence. After saying, "I brought water from the distant city of Kishri to the plains of Nineveh in *akzirlati*," it adds, "OF IRON." From this it follows that the *akzirlati* were *pipes* or tubes, since nothing else *constructed of*

iron could have been of any service in conveying water to Nineveh.

It has often been said that the gigantic aqueducts of the ancients show them to have been unacquainted with the fact that water will rise nearly to the level of its source if conducted through a pipe. But here we have decisive proof that pipes of metal were known to the Assyrians in the eighth century before Christ. Moreover, pipes made of cast-iron imply a great advance in the arts, and since they extended many miles they could hardly have been made of wrought-iron.

Ushattaru, I brought down, I conveyed downwards; *sha* conjugation of נתר, *natar*, defluere (see Buxt. p. 1409), also decidere. The *sha* conjugation would mean "descendere feci."

Ushatsir, I collected together (the waters). This is the *sha* conjugation of *etsir*, Heb. עצר, congregavit.

Nari karru, great reservoirs of water; *karru* is the Chaldee כרא, *kara*, Heb. כרה, cisterna.

Line 61.

(*Dimidium*) kasbu hak-karu valtu kireb nar Ku-tzuru mami daruti ashar-sha ushirda kireb tsippati shatina; ushabiba patti-sh.

I brought down the perennial waters of the river Kutzuru from the distance of half a *kasbu*, into those wells, and I surrounded their margins (*with walls*).

The *kasbu* was a measure of time, two hours. This was discovered by Dr. Hincks, who found a tablet in

the British Museum saying that on the day of the equinox the day and night are equal; six kasbu of day and six kasbu of night. In order to be able to measure time so accurately, the Assyrians must have employed *clepsydræ*, vessels filled with water and emptying themselves through a small orifice in a determined period of time. And Dr. Hincks has made a felicitous conjecture as to the origin of the word *kasbu*, which he derives from the Heb. *kazab*, inanis, כזב. In Hebrew this root is used for "delusive," "deceitful;" in Assyrian it means "empty:" thus a region completely uninhabited is said to be *takkazabit*, "emptied." Hence *kasbu* would mean one emptying of the clepsydra.

The *kasbu hakkaru*, or "kasbu of land," was naturally the distance which an ordinary pedestrian would walk in two hours at an ordinary pace, say six miles. So the Germans measure distances along high-roads by the *stunde*, which is one hour of time, meaning one hour's walk to an ordinary pedestrian.

Hakkaru, earth. This word I formerly transcribed as *ebkaru*, but later I came to the conclusion that the first syllable should be read *hak*, and finding that M. Oppert also gives that as one of its values, I have adopted it. The word seems related to the Heb. אכר, agricola.

Tsippati shatina, those wells. The bull inscription, B. M. pl. 42, l. 43, substitutes *birati shatina*, those wells, from Heb. *bir*, a well.

Ushabibu, I surrounded: Heb. סבב, to surround. Gesenius says circumdedit, cinxit.

Pattish, for *patti-sha*, their margins. From Heb. פת, otherwise פה, ora sive margo. In Proverbs viii.

20, it is the margin (of the sea). פה ל פה, from one brink to the other.

Line 62.

Sha Ninua ir belluti-ya subat-zu usrabbi, ribati-su ushan labiriti, u tzukani uspardi: unammir kima tami.	Of Nineveh, my royal city, I greatly enlarged its dwellings. Its streets, I renovated the old ones, and I widened those which were too narrow. I made them as splendid as the sun.

Tzukani, narrow. Heb. *tzuk*, צוק, angustus (Ges.).

Uspardi, I widened, I opened out. Heb. פרד, *parad* aperuit, solvit, expandit (ut avis alas suas). The verb occurs on the Phillips' cylinder, col. ii. 38, under the form *usparzikhu: tsattuk ilim rabim usparzikhu*, "the just rights (or the offerings) of those great gods I *augmented* or *extended*." The final *khu* or *hu* appears to be only a breathing. *Uspardi* and *usrabbi* are in the *sha* conjugation.

Line 63.

Ana arkut tami, in sarin tari-ya sha Ashur ana ribitut mati u nisi inambu zigir-su; enu haikal shatu ilabbiru innakhu,	In future days, under the kings my sons, whom Ashur shall call to the sovereignty over this land and people; when this palace shall grow old and decay,

Enu, when, may be derived from a word עדה, time,

for which the Chaldee has עת (Buxt. 1636). Translate, therefore, *enu haikal shatu ilabbiru*, "*eo tempore quo* hoc palatium perierit." Buxtorf gives for example ב עתא, etc. etc. "*tempore* prandii," *when* it was dinner-time. I think I see this same ancient word, עדה or ענא, "time," in other phrases of the Assyrian inscriptions. The usual name for "a year" is *mu*, but as that syllable has other meanings also, for the sake of clearness *anna*, "time," is added, and the word becomes *mu anna*, "a year's time," *i. e.* "a year." Hence, perhaps, was derived the Latin *annus*, a year, a word received, probably, from the Etruscans, who brought it from the East.

Another use of the word ענא, tempus, is seen, as I think, in the syllable *an*, hitherto unexplained, by which numerals are sometimes terminated. Thus, when Sargon says that 350 kings reigned before him over the land of Assyria, the numeral employed is, 350 *an* or *han*. It appears to me somewhat similar in its use to the Latin *plex*, in *duplex*, Greek διπλους. Pecuniam quadruplicem auferam (Plautus), "four *times* as much." *Plex* is added to Latin numerals even when it is quite unnecessary, *ex. gr.* quadruplices stellas, "four stars."

Line 64.

Ankhut-sa luttish, mushari sidhir sumi-ya likharu, (. . . .) libsu, vas lu (. . . .) likki, ana ashri-su litar, Ashur ikribi-su ishimmi.

He who shall renew its solemn dedication, shall read aloud the written record of my name, shall make a stone altar and sacrifice a male victim,

and shall then replace it in its place, Ashur will hear and accept his prayers.

Ankhut or *anakhut* is the Chaldee and Heb. word חנכת, "a dedication." It is the term employed in Daniel, chap. iii. 2, where it is said that Nebuchadnezzar sent for all the princes, rulers, etc. to come to the dedication (*ankhut*) of the golden image which he had set up. Also in 1 Kings viii. 63, where it is said that Solomon and the children of Israel dedicated the house of the Lord. The verb חנך is *initiavit* as well as *consecravit*, etc.

A ruined palace when about to be built again required a new *initiation* and a new sacrifice of consecration.

Luttish, he (who) may or shall *renew*: optative or potential of a verb of which we find some other tenses, *uttish* "I renewed," and *muttish* "the restorer, repairer, or renovator." I consider that this Assyrian verb represents the Heb. חדש, renovare. If this was pronounced *hedish* or *hetish*, it would become *uttish* in the first person of the preterite, according to the Assyrian mode of forming that part of the verb, by prefixing the vowel *u*, as in *ushan* and *unammir* (see line 62).

Likki, he (who) may or shall *sacrifice*: optative of the verb of which *akki*, "I sacrificed," is the first person preterite. This verb is the Heb. *nakah*, נכה, percussit: the *n* falls off in most of its tenses, as in *ikku*, "they were smitten," etc. (see Gesenius, p. 667.)

Litar, he (who) may or shall *restore*: optative of the

verb of which *utar*, "I restored," is the preterite. Chaldee הדר, reddere, restituere (Buxt.).

Having thus given a version of this important inscription, I come to consider the meaning of the first line, which is unconnected with the rest.

Line 1.

LXIII mukal mishari, arkhi sibuti, limmu Neboliha shavat ir (. . . .).	Sixty-three inscribed lines: (*written*) in the seventh month of the year of which Neboliha was the *eponymus*, who was *Suffete* (or prefect) of the city (*Arbela ?*).

This inscription actually has 63 lines, as the Assyrian scribe has stated. It was a frequent custom to number the lines on a tablet. Thus for instance, the tablet 195 *b* says, "I *sus* 41 *mikal mishari:*" sixty and forty-one inscribed lines. Tablet 227 (otherwise K 268) says: "(lines) XX *mukalim*," *i. e.* twenty inscribed lines. The first word is, however, effaced. On counting I find that 18 lines are left, and part of the 19th, the rest being broken off. Tablet 170 (otherwise 137 *a*), which contains a list of the sacred numbers of the gods, is headed *Mukal*. Other examples might easily be adduced.

Mukal, sculptured: from Heb. *kalah*, קלע, insculpsit or sculpsit (Ges. 893), whence we find in 1 Kings vi. 18, and in three other passages, the derived word *mukalut*, מקלעת, sculptura.

Mishari is a common word, meaning "lines of writing."

Nebo-liha: this name means "Nebo is victorious." Hincks reads it Nabuliah (Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy for 1856, p. 36). According to a statement in the 'Athenæum' (p. 725) the name of Nabuliah has been found on a tablet, as eponym in Sennacherib's third year. This is a remarkable confirmation of the truth of the annals inscribed on Bellino's cylinder.

Shavat, a word composed of the signs *sha* and *mat* or *vat*, appears to be the Heb. שפט, *shafat*, the chief magistrate of a city or region, a term which became known to the Romans, who altered the word into *sufes*, Gen. *sufetis*. There was also a nominative *sufetus:* "referentibus sufetis." The שופטים, sufetim, "judges," were once the chief rulers in Israel.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Line 36. *Dur* frequently means a habitation or resting-place, from Chald. דור, habitare, commorari. But that does not alter the meaning of the passage: "its *timin*, which was intended *to remain* for ever."

"Those of old time" is quite a Scripture phrase, for we know that landmarks placed by "those of old" were to be held sacred by the Israelites.

Isshidu. I suspect that this verb means "they stamped." The phrase will then mean "they stamped the clay with the figure of a dove." This meaning is, at present, conjectural, but reposes on the following grounds: many clay tablets are found containing contracts between private individuals, to which they have

affixed the impression of their seals on the soft clay. Over each of these is written, "seal of the man A," "seal of the man B," etc. The word for *seal* is and the most usual sound of this sign is *shid*. It is always preceded by the sign for "stone," by which we perceive the impression from a stone seal is meant. From this substantive it would be natural to make a verb *isshidu*, "they sealed." But for the present this is only a conjecture.

Itti sidhir, etc. etc. It is possible that this may be the preposition *itti* (with) and not the substantive *itti* (signum). The phrase will then mean, "they stamped the clay *with* the mark of a dove," etc. etc.

Line 41. Several words in this line are of doubtful meaning. In the first place *karash-su* may mean *alveus suus*, *i.e.* the bed of the river, or its channel. Heb. כרש (Gesen. 505). If so, *sutishur kutar* may mean the preservation of the rain-water; since one of the meanings of *kutar* is "rain."

Then, *takkiribati karie*, "the introduction of rivulets," would mean their being turned into the channel of the river to augment its waters.

In the same line *val ustabil* may mean, "they never thoroughly cleansed (or flooded) its channel." From the verb יבל, copiosè fluxit, Gesenius derives *bul*, pluvia, and *mabul*, מבול, Noah's deluge, which sufficiently shows that the conjugation *ustabil* may have the force of "a thorough scouring by means of floods of water." In a similar passage of the E. I. H. inscription we find *palga-su la etsikir*, "its channel was not cleansed or purified," from Heb. צחר, to make bright or pure.

Line 48. Another explanation of *uribbu timin-shu* is, "its platform was ravaged." In Sargon's cylinder, line 19, he is called *murib*, the ravager, of the land of Beth Kumria, from the root חרב, to destroy or ravage.

I will now add a connected translation of the whole inscription.

SENNACHERIB the great king, the powerful king, the king of Assyria, the king irresistible, the heaven-appointed monarch, the servant of the great gods. The observer of the Law, the lover of justice, the noble warrior, the valiant hero, the first of all kings, the great punisher of the unbelievers, the breaker in pieces of their wicked conspiracies.

Ashur the great Lord has given to me enduring power. Over all heretical nations he has raised triumphantly my arms.

In the beginning of my reign I destroyed the armies of Marduk-Baladan, king of Babylonia, and his allies the Susians, in the plains near the city of Kush. In the midst of that battle he quitted his army, fled alone on horseback, and escaped to the city Gutzumman; and hiding among the reeds and rushes of the river, he saved his life alone.

The chariots, waggons, horses, mares, mules, and camels, which in the confusion of the battle they had abandoned, were captured by my hands. Then I plundered completely his palace in the city of Babylon; I broke open his royal treasury; gold and silver; vessels of gold and silver; precious stones; goods and valuables and much royal treasure: his wife, and the male and female inhabitants of his palace; the noblemen and

the royal treasurers who stood first among all his men of trust and were clothed with the chief authority in the palace, I carried off and I counted them as a spoil.

Then I marched after him to the city Gutzumman, and I sent off my soldiers to search through the marshes and reeds. Five days they moved about rapidly, but his hiding place was not discovered.

In the name of Ashur my lord, 89 large cities and royal dwellings in the land of Chaldæa, and 820 small towns in their neighbourhood, I assaulted, captured, and carried off their spoils.

The skilled workmen, both Aramæans and Chaldæans, who were in the cities of Bel, Kush, Kharrishun, and Tiggaba, and also the common people of the land who had been in rebellion, I carried away and I distributed them as a spoil.

Belibus, the son of the high priest of the Temple of the Seven Planets in the holy city, who had been educated as a young nobleman in my palace, I placed over them as king of Lesban and Akkadi.

During my return, the tribes of the Tuhamuna, Rihiku, Yadakku, Hubudu, Kipri, Maliku, Gurumu, Hubuli, Damunu, Gambulu, Khindaru, Ruhuha, Bukudu, Khamranu, Hagaranu, Nabatu, and Lihutahu (Aramæans all of them and rebels), I completely conquered. 208,000 inhabitants, male and female; 7200 horses and mares; 1173 mules; 5230 camels; 80,100 oxen; 800,600 sheep; a vast spoil, I carried off to Assyria.

In my first year I received the great tribute of Nebo-bel-mu, chief of Ararat; gold, silver, *meshukan* wood of great size, mules, camels, oxen, and sheep.

The people of the city of Khismi, enemies and

heretics, who from old times had never bowed down to my yoke, I destroyed with my arms. Not one soul escaped.

That city I built again. One bull, ten sheep, ten fatlings, twenty animals called "strongheads," I offered in sacrifice to the gods of Assyria, my lords.

In my second year, Ashur the lord giving me confidence, I marched against the land of the Bisi and the Yatsubi-gallaya, enemies and heretics who from old times had never submitted to the kings my fathers. Through the thick forests and in the hilly districts I rode on horseback, for I had left my two-horse chariot in the plains below. But in dangerous places I alighted on my feet and clambered like a mountain goat.

The city of Beth-Kilamzakh, their great city, I attacked and took. The inhabitants small and great, horses, mares, mules, oxen, and sheep, I carried off from it and distributed them as a spoil. Their smaller towns without number I overthrew and reduced them to ruins. A vast building which was their Hall of Assembly I burnt with fire.

Once more that city of Beth-Kilamzakh I erected into a strong fortress. Higher than in former times I rebuilt it on a hill. People drawn from lands subdued by my arms I placed to dwell within it.

The people of Bisi and Yatsubi-gallaya who had fled away from my arms I brought down from the mountains, and in the cities of Kar-Thisbe and Beth-Kubitti I caused them to dwell. In the hands of my officers, men of distinction of Arrapakha city, I distributed them. A stone tablet I made, I wrote on it the victories which I had gained over them, and within the city I set it up.

Then I turned round the front of my chariot, and I marched straight before me to the land of Illipi. Ispabara their king abandoned his strong cities and his treasuries and fled to a distance. All his broad country I swept like a mighty whirlwind. The city Marupishti and the city Akkuddu, his royal residences, and 34 great cities, with numberless smaller towns in their neighbourhood, I destroyed and I burnt them with fire. I cut down their finest trees, and over their cornfields I spread blackness. In every direction I left the land of Illipi a desert.

The inhabitants small and great, male and female, horses, mares, mules, oxen, and sheep, beyond number, I carried off and divided them as a spoil. The strong cities of Sisirti and Kukunli, and the smaller towns in their neighbourhood, together with the whole province of Beth-Barrua, I cut off from his land and added them to the empire of Assyria. I raised the city of Ilinzash to be the royal city and metropolis of that province. I abolished its former name and I gave it the name of the City of Sennacherib.

During my return I received a great tribute from the distant Medians, who in the days of the kings my fathers no one had ever heard even the name of their country: and I made them bow down to the yoke of my majesty.

In those days Nineveh the exalted city, the city beloved by Ishtar, which cherishes every kind of worship of the gods and goddesses within it,—in its *timin* (or sacred platform) meant to last for ever and ever, those of old time deposited a clay tablet impressed with the figure of a dove; and along with it they placed its fellow-tablets.

A splendid place, a rich building for her sanctuary, and a treasure house for all the jewels, the regalia of Ishtar, they erected within it.

Of all the kings of former days, my fathers who went before me, who reigned before me over Assyria and governed the city of Bel (*i. e. Nineveh*), and with no sparing measure increased the size of their buildings, and there treasured up all their revenues which they received from the four countries; no one among them all repaired the great central edifice which was the royal dwelling of their greatness, nor ever brightened up the interior, nor yet the exterior, of the dingy building which formed its keep.

As regards the supply of water, they neither kept the fountains sweet, nor cleansed the river-channel, so as to preserve the rain-water, collect the streams and rivulets, and search for new springs and cause them to rise.

Then I, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, by command of the gods, took delight to complete this work. Multitudes I collected together of the workmen of the lands of Chaldæa, Aram, Manna Kue, and Cilicia, who had not bowed down to my yoke: I brought them away as captives, and I bound them together in gangs to make bricks. In baskets made of reeds which I cut in the land of Chaldæa, I made the foreign workmen bring their appointed tasks of clay in order to complete this work.

There was an ancient palace, of 360 measures long, adjoining the gardens of the Great Tower; 80 measures wide, adjoining the watch-tower of the Temple of Ishtar; 134 measures wide, adjoining the watch-tower of the house of worship; and 95 measures wide (*on*

the remaining side), which the kings my fathers who went before me built for their royal residence but never beautified its front (or façade).

The (so named) Canal of Fertility, lined (or banked up) with brickwork, which once traversed the central part of the city in four delightful streams, had fallen into ruin.

Their beautiful *ki* trees had been cut down for firewood, all the finest of them. And from extreme old age the front of the palace was split and rent. Its base was traversed by cracks and its foundations by wide fissures, while its *timin* (or sacred platform) was all in confusion.

That shabby palace I pulled down the whole of it.

Of the Canal of Fertility, during 16 years its water had been dried up by the sun. I collected together its springs (or sources). Among the rocks I found a copious source, which, running down the hills over rocks of mighty size, unites itself with the waters of the river Sima. With these waters, which I conducted to Nineveh, I filled the canal again to overflowing.

I made a mound of earth 1700 measures long; 162 measures wide, on the upper side towards the north; 217 measures wide, in the centre; 386 measures wide, on the lower side towards the south, fronting the river Tigris. I completed the mound, and I measured the measure.

I deposited once more its sacred *timin*, which was still well remembered, owing to the popular veneration for it from the most ancient times. Then with large stones I closed it all round, and I made its deposit secure.

The written records of my name, 160 fathoms of

bas-reliefs, I sculptured within it; but the lower part of the wall next to the ground I left to be filled up in future times.

Of new imagery I brought together a great number of bas-reliefs. Twenty fathoms in extent of the ancient sculptures were preserved, so that I spread out in all 180 fathoms of them.

The enclosure itself I augmented beyond what it was in former days: above the measure of the former palace I enlarged it, and I liberally increased its coursing grounds.

Fine buildings of ivory, *dan* wood, *ku* wood, *meshukan* wood, cedar wood, cypress wood dried in the sun, and pistachio wood; these buildings (as sparklets of my splendour) for my royal residence I erected within it.

I made its porticoes with lofty *shar* trees, cut down in the land of Khamana, which all persons who are judges of the best sort of pine trees prefer, as being the choicest trees, either in the hills or in the land of Chaldæa.

By my care I caused the uprising of springs in more than 40 places of the plain, I divided them into irrigating canals for the people of Nineveh, and gave them to be their own property.

To obtain water to turn the flour-mills, I brought down from the borders of Kishri unto the fields of Nineveh, my city, pure streams conveyed in pipes, and I collected them into reservoirs.

I brought down the perennial waters of the river Kutzuru from the distance of half a *kasbu* into those wells, and I surrounded their margins with walls.

Of Nineveh, my royal city, I greatly enlarged its dwellings. Its streets, I renovated the old ones, and

I widened those which were too narrow. I made them as splendid as the sun.

In future days, under the kings my sons, whom Ashur shall call to the sovereignty over this land and people, when this palace shall grow old and decay, the man who shall renew its solemn dedication, shall read aloud the written record of my name, shall make a stone altar and sacrifice a male victim, and shall then replace it in its place, Ashur will hear and accept his prayers.

—◆—

In studying this inscription, it is necessary to consult either the original cylinder or Bellino's faithful facsimile; for the copy published by the British Museum (first series of inscriptions) is full of errors.

In order not to exceed the limits of this paper, I have left many words and phrases without note or comment. But of most of these an explanation will be found in a former translation, to which I have already referred.

A BREVIATE OF THE CARTULARY OF THE PRIORY CHURCH OF ST. MARY MAGDALENE, LANERCOST.

BY MACKENZIE E. C. WALCOTT, B.D., F.R.S.L., F.S.A., PRÆCENTOR AND PREBENDARY OF CHICHESTER.

(Read February 21, 1866.)

THE following paper relates to a class of literature which has been always neglected, owing to the apparently uninteresting, and, at first sight, uninviting character of the documents in which it is contained, Conventual Cartularies. The one before our notice belonged to the Priory wherein was compiled the excellent chronicle which bears its name, and was published in 1837 by the Maitland Society: the original, formerly at Naworth Castle, and in parts annotated by Lord William Howard, "famous Belted Will," had disappeared in the time of Hodgson, the historian of Northumberland; and Mr. Sydney Gibson, the celebrated antiquary of the Northern district, informs me that it was missing when he made a search for it. The same fate has attended those of Newminster and Brinkburne. We possess now only a transcript in the library of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle, which was presented to them in 1777, by Joseph Nicolson, of Hawkeshead, Esq., one of the editors of the history of Cumberland; from this MS. I have made the breviate which follows, omitting no particular of importance, and merely cut-

ting out repetitions and recitals of former grants. The scene of the Charters lies in the historic and most beautiful part of Cumberland, from Triermain and Gillesland, immortalized in the verse of Walter Scott, by Naworth, the walks of Corby, the banks of Eden to Warwick Bridge and the gates of merry Carlisle, while the names of De Vaux, Blamire, Denton, Castlecayrock, Multon, Brus, Baliol, Dacre, Ireby, Lascelles, Luveless, Windsor, Ulvesby, and Vipont are recorded as benefactors or witnesses to grants.

The Priory of St. Mary Magdalene, Lanercost, founded by Robert de Vallibus, 1116, for Austin Canons, is most beautifully situated under the shelter of low hills, near the Irthing, and within the distance of a mile from Naworth (or Naward) Castle. The single round arch of the great western gate-house remains: and the Prior's lodgings at the south-west of the nave have been rebuilt. The nave, like that of Hexham, has no south aisle: the transept and the eastern arm (which has aisles attached through half its length, forming our Lady's Chapel on the north, and St. Catharine's on the south) are wholly unroofed. The entire eastern side of the capitular buildings has disappeared: the beautiful cellarage of two alleys, resembling that of Carlisle, is preserved, with the platform of the refectory, which was reached by stairs from the cloister garth; the western buildings, probably the guest-houses, have evidently been rebuilt since the devastations and fires, which will be found mentioned as having occurred in the 14th century.

The Cartulary gives us little information with regard to the Church except mentioning St. Mary Magdalene's or the high altar (iv. 21), St. Catharine's altar in 1186

(viii. 17), St. Mary's altar (xii. 1, ii. 11), and the Prior's Chapel, dedicated to St. Cuthbert (iii. 4), but a marginal note to the first charter mentions its dedication by Bernard, Bishop of Carlisle, 1169. It contains references to the harass endured by the Convent, owing to the stay of the King and his army, on one occasion, during several months; the fires and ravages inflicted by the Scots; and its ruinous hospitality to strangers, the poor pilgrims and travellers (viii. 6, x. 14, xii. 2, 3, 4); whilst the remarkable letters of Popes and English Bishops bear ample evidence to the piety and zeal of the Prior and Canons, affording us a bright view of the Conventual system in its better times. Pope Alexander III. permitted the Priory to receive lay persons desiring admission (or as it was technically termed "conversion"); and after "profession" no Canon might leave without the Prior's license. Their Vicars of parish churches were to be responsible to themselves in temporal matters, and in spiritual to the diocesan. In times of a general interdict they might celebrate with a low voice in their church, without ringing of bells and with closed doors, persons under interdict or excommunicate being excluded. Burial within their church might be given to all persons who had desired it, and the Priors were to be elected by the Convent (viii. 18), a right originally granted by the founder (i. 14). Lord Robert, son of Ralph de Vaux, bequeathed his body to be buried in the Priory Church (ii. 14).

Lord William Howard gives the following list of Priors from the Register; the dates I have added:— Symon; John; Thomas; Walter [1158]; John; Symon [1186]; Henry (viii. 4, xi. 4); Robert; William

[1256]; John; John [retired on a pension, 1283 (Chron., p. 113),]; Symon de Driffield [1283, Aug. 16].

One of the last scenes in the history of the Priory is thus related:—

Letter of Henry VIII. to the Duke of Norfolk, 1536-7. Forasmuch as all these troubles have ensued by the solicitations and traitorous conspiracies of the Monks and Canons of these parts, we desire and pray you, at your repair to Sallay, Hexham, Newminster, Lanercost, St. Agatha, and all such other places as have made any manner of resistance, or in any way conspired, or kept their houses with any force, you shall without pity or circumstance, now that our banner is displayed, cause all the Monks and Canons that be in any wise faulty, to be tied up without further delay or ceremony, to the terrible example of others.[1]

There are many interesting notices of boundaries and landmarks; the sike, fossatum, stipulæ, and drata; the poles found in moor and moss as now in the New Forest, the pollard oak (*quercus detonsa*, iii. 14), the oaks marked with crosses (i. 16, iv. 14, vi. 25); the St. Mary oak (i. 6); the oak named Wiskerhutton (iii. 7); the Peter Gate, the Red Gate, the Maiden Cross on the Maiden Way, dividing Cumberland and Northumberland, the stone cross, and the cairn or heap of stones (iii. 19), such as doubtless have puzzled the enterprise of archæologists mistaking it for a funeral mound, and were in later times supplanted by "great grey stones" and "Edole stane." The various kinds of roads and paths are mentioned: magna strata (v. 25),

[1] Lemon's State Papers, i. 537.

probably a Roman highway; the via regia (iv. 11, vi. 7); the green mountain path; the road of the wains (*quadrigarum*, iii. 7, iv. 14), which we find were drawn by eight oxen (xii. 13); and the Buttes (iv. 9). The fines for cattle straying are also mentioned (ix. 5, 15, 16); and the condition on which hedges were maintained and common rights of pasturage permitted. The curious rights of Husbote and Haybote (ix. 19); a rent of salt (vii. 15); the Neotegeld (ii. 11); Housegabel (xii. 1), and burgage (v. 27); the nominal rent of 1*d.*, or 2*d.*, or 4*d.* (v. 25, 26), 40*d.* (xiv. 14), or one pound of cumin paid at a fair (v. 24, xii. 12, vi. 18, xiii. 7, xii. 12), or one pound of pepper, or 6*s.* (iv. 19), or one pound of wax (xii. 25). The principle on which repairs of church and provision of ornaments were adjusted between a convent and its vicars (ix. 14); the transfer of villeins ["drengage" or giving of drudges, see Burn and Nicholson, i. 21] with their following (i. 17, iv. 17, vi. 3, 13, xiv. 8); the definition of a carucate as containing sixty-four acres (xiii. 6); and "putura" (xv. 11); the right of refreshment claimed by the forest officers [see Burn and Nicholson, i. 22], are all told us.

There are several curious illustrations of the history of topographical nomenclature in the *Dyngchere* (xv. 7), *Pylgrym St.* (xv. 7), *Bretherchere* of Newcastle, a lane so called from the Friars Minors, who had a house in it, *Munkhareshonch* (P. x. c. xii.), the new name given in the thirteenth century to Haresione or Harechonch by the people of the locality, because belonging to the canons, vulgarly called monks, *Eustace-Ridding* (xii. 23), called after its former tenant (ii. 14), as we have Prest-ridding, and *Frere-buske* (x. 7.), a wood so

named immediately on its appropriation to the brethren or canons of Lanercost; *Vicus Ricardi* (xv. 8, 9), now corrupted into Rickergate; *Vicus Bocardi* (vi. 11), which appears now as Botchergate, and may be connected with the famous Northgate of Oxford, which was called Bocardo [(Peshall, 198; Ingram, iii., St. Michael's, 8). W. de Bochardeby is mentioned (viii. 14);] *Via Piscatorum* (xii. 1); and *Via Francorum* [1287] (x. 19); there was a street of the same name at Bury St. Edmund's. A fountain of St. Makedran is mentioned (iv. 9), and a subterranean aqueduct for the use of the convent (ix. 17). The same family appears as Aketon and Acton (xv. 8, 9). The name of Poer was derived probably not from *pauper* but *puer*, as in several charters *puer* is used as a designation (iv. 21, 22; ii. 12); and that of Capel from the chaplain or chapel; and Drake from *draco*; and Fleming from Flandrensis, through Flamand and Flamang.

The lands before transfer by the lord to the Priory were perambulated by lawful and honest men, and the extent of damage by the convent cattle was viewed and assessed by a jury of the neighbours (ix. 2). Bark for their tannery was given by the founder (i. 13), and by a benefactor in 1278 (x. 11). The proportion of cattle on certain lands was sixty cows and one bull, with their following (calves) of two years old, ten mares with foals of three years old, and plough horses and oxen. On other pastures there might be two hundred cows, one bull and eight oxen, two averes (horses), and thirty goats (ii. 3, iv. 14). The lambs were not to be removed until the feast of St. John Baptist, and the kids only at Easter; mares also might be folded (vii. 8). The crops mentioned are grass and cereal, "bladum

et fenum," and we hear of gardens "lini et canabi." Milch sheep are mentioned (iii. 10, vi. 8), and ewe-milk cheese is still in use on the other side of the Cheviot Hills. Lands given as marriage dowries occur (v. 24, 26; vi. 26; xii. 18); and some were granted for money already given (vi. 2; vii. 17). Granges and tithe barns were allowed to be built (vi. 17; x. 11), at which the garbs were tithed (x. 3; xiv. 4). Pasture was allowed after the removal of crops (ix. 3; ii. 1); fuel and building materials were also given (ii. 5). The Prior's foresters might walk through the woods with bows and arrows; and a restriction was placed on their making covers or interfering with the range of beasts of the chase (ix. 4); and on trespassing in park or orchard; while the right of the lord's mills was jealously maintained until the first grain was in the hopper (xi. 1).

Pen is a Celtic word, but *keld* (spring), *byre* (the cow-house), *wath*, *dale*, *with*, *croft*, *holme*, *gate* (a street), *by*, *bec*, *toft*, *garde*, *ton* (a farmyard), *scale*, *brigg*, *kirk*, the *ridding* or *trithing* (xii. 19, 23; xiii. 24), betray a Danish influence, whilst *garth*, *burgh*, *hirst*, and *dene* were Saxon importations. For the former see Nicholson's Glossary, a paper already read by me before the Royal Society of Literature. As regards Latin, there are peculiar terms employed, such as *aurasimentum*, *appruyamenta*, *barra*, *patria* and *patriotæ* (for country and countryfolk), *drata*, *bleda*, *cundus*, *herbergare*, *salterium*, *siketta*, *eskeppa*, *stipulæ*, *clobest*, *garcifer*, which will be unfamiliar to many archæologists, some being untranslatable.

In matters ecclesiastical we have a remarkable verdict of division between the parishes of Cambock and

Lanercost in 1259 (xv. 18); the notice of an almost unique example of a church built of wattlework at least as late as the eleventh century (vi. 6; xv. 17), the land attached to which was called kirkland as designed for the maintenance of the chaplain; when the chapel was given to Lanercost the canons served it either personally or by secular priests, the parishioners resorting for sacraments, and paying their offerings to the mother church. We have also early notices of the urban deans of Carlisle and the rural deans of Gillesland; of a hermitage (i. 5); of a composition of two marks a year in lieu of tithes paid by Newminster Abbey for the grange of Keylaw (xv. 15); in 1311 the convent was to pay twenty-five marks a year to the vicar of Mitford (who was to hold a manse and twelve acres of church soil) under pain of excommunication (xv. 12); a payment of two bezants of gold out of Leysingby church to Kelso Abbey was made on St. James's day at Rokeberow fair (x. 16; xiii. 25).

In 1287 the vicar of the parish church of Walton received all the altarage, with land and garden of eight acres (viii. 12), four shillings of silver paid half-yearly, and twelve marks yearly as his portion, the canons still providing for the services in Treverman chapelry (xi. 2). The vicar of Irthington was to have tithes within certain limits, paying an eskep and a half of oatmeal yearly to the canons, 1275 (x. 8). The vicar of Leysingby, 1272, received two eskeps of oatmeal in lieu of the tithes of garb which went to the priory, being levied in the fields; he held the house and land ("pratum"), the altarage and all offerings, tithes of flax, and small tithes, paying synodals, and finding lights, vestments and other ornaments, and maintaining

hospitality; the parishioners to find the missal, the Priory repairing the chancel, and dividing with the vicar any extraordinary expenses, as in providing books or putting land into cultivation (ix. 14); in 1228 he was bound to pay two eskeps of oats and two of brasium (x. 9). In the vacancy of the dependent churches the canons held the keys (viii. 3); they presented their own nominees to the diocesan (viii. 6, 16, 18). At first they paid half a mark to the vicar of Old Denton (viii. 16), but in 1273 received out of the church a pension of three marks (x. 4).

We hear of a quit-claim by King's letters sought to be evaded, or because a charter had been burned; or gained by a gift of money (vi. 17; xiii. 24), or freely (xii. 16, 17); an honest promise not to burden a gift of land by the acceptance of corrody or livery in 1289 (xiii. 19); pensions which in many instances hopelessly loaded a convent with debt; a most amusing account of the inquisition touching tithe in Gelt, in which witnesses are examined from great Sir Roland de Vaux and canons down to the humble forester, cook, and cook's boy of the convent (xiii. 10); an award by four referees that if the lord of the manor believed that the canons' sheep exceeded the numbers to which he allowed common pasture, he might take stock of them yearly (xiii. 9). For the right of having a chantry, 1293, one pound of wax was paid to the convent (xii. 25), which was to have all the offerings.

The confirmations of charters by Popes Innocent III., 1202 (xiii. 26; viii. 22), Alexander III., 1181, (viii. 23, 18), Honorius III., 1224, (viii. 21, 19, 24), Lucius III., 1184 (viii. 39), and Gregory XI., 1370 (xv. 16); and of Kings Edward III., 1336 (x. 6; xv. 6), Edward

I., 1282 (xv. 4, 5), 1307 (xv. 2), 1309 (xii. 6), Richard I. (viii. 1), Henry II. (viii. 25, 26), show the high estimation in which the Priory was held.

We trace in these pages the gradual growth of surnames, such as Tailor, Forester, Hunter, Chamberlain, Weaver, Despenser, Falconer, Cook, Miller, etc. Pelliparius has no representative, but Trute has become Troyte; and the assumption of local names as patronymics, such as Farlam by a branch of the Windsors, and de Denton by the sons of one Anketin; Cougate, Leversdale, Croglyn, Carlatton, and Vaux, only another form of de Vallibus, a Latin translation of Gill(esland); or of the father's christian name by affix or prefix, Fitz Ralph, Richardson, Fitzwilliam, Williamson, Robertson, Rogerson; or personal characteristics, Black, White, and Brown. Among the rarer names of women occur Ysanda, Avicia, Theffania, Rachgilda, Pavia, Ada, Helewisa, Mariota, Havisa, Christiana, and Gyliana. The names of men include a curious series of Jewish names, in one family, Samuel, David, Solomon, and Israel; Enoch and Elyas also occur. The seneschal or land-serjeant of Gillesland had to govern the tenants and to levy forfeitures; he was bound to bring the tenants to attend their lord prepared for travelling under pain of the loss of the best of their goods (MS. charter of W. de Dane, 1397). The clergy certainly were married, for their sons are distinctly named, whether chaplains or parish clergy, 1271, (xii. 13), as will be seen by reference to the index. The dedications of two churches, St. Kentigern's, Greendale (ii. 19), and St. Thomas, M., Farlam (i. 20), and the names of several heads of monastic houses, and ecclesiastics of Carlisle, and sheriffs

of Cumberland, will be found for the first time in these charters; in which occur also the noble or ancient names of Vaux, Multon, Ireby, Denton, Mulcaster, Flemyng, De la Ferte, Ulvesby, Windsor, Featherstonhaugh, etc. Earl Ranulph de Meschines of Cumberland gave the barony of Gilsland to his relation Hubert de Vaux; the grandfather of Thomas de Multon married Matilda, the heiress of that family, and Thomas was summoned to Parliament as Baron Multon, 25 Edw. I.; his daughter and heir married Ralph de Dacre, summoned to Parliament as Lord Dacre of the South, 1 Edw. II.. The male line of the Dentons of New Denton died out after five descents from the middle part of the eleventh century. The Warwicks descended from Odoardus, to whom was given the manor by Earl Ranulph de Meschines. The Castlecarrocks, extinct temp. Edw. I., are supposed to have been the descendants of Eustace de Vaux and Vaux of Hayton. The Boyvills or Levingtons, whose heiress maried a Baliol, died out in the reign of Henry III., and the younger branch in that of Edward IV. One of the coheiresses of Ireby married a Lascelles and a Chartres; and a coheiress of Morville, extinct temp. John, married a Multon. Staffold became extinct temp. Hen. V. A coheiress of Tylliol of Scaleby, extinct 14 Hen. VI., married a Moresby. Vaux of Tryermain became extinct temp. Edw. IV. A House in Pilgrim Street, Newcastle, in 1336 paid a rental or ground rent of 40*d.* to Lanercost, and 6*s.* 8*d.* to the original possessors (xv. 7). There are curious examples of legal decisions, one in 1269 of Thomas, official of Carlisle, on William de Neuby of Leversdale for refusing to tithe his garbs at the grange door of the

canons instead of in the fields, with threat of excommunication (xiv. 15); a judgment in the Archidiaconal Court of Carlisle, 1303, on Eudo de Skyrwith for non-payment of half a mark yearly, which then was equal to 3*s.* 4*d.* (xiv. 11). We find cases before the justice itinerant and a selection of jurymen, two by each party to the suit, and the remainder selected by these referees (x. 12, 1255). The canons kept hounds, and if they trespassed into the domain of Lady Matilda de Vaux, the dogs were to be given back, but the chase ("fera") was to be delivered to the lord of the manor (x. 7). In 1256 Thomas de Multon permitted the pack to consist of four harriers and four brachetts to hunt hares, foxes and all other animals coming under the designation of clobest (ix. 4). For escapium or trespass they paid 1*d.* for all kinds of cattle, and the same for ten sheep (x. 16), and in 1273 for four horses 1*d.*, for eight kine 1*d.*, for four pigs 1*d.*, for twenty-four sheep 1*d.*, and if ready-money was not forthcoming, surety for double the amount was exacted, and forfeited if satisfaction was not made within a week (x. 15).

THE CHARTER OF ROBERT DE VAUX CONVEYED

The land of Lanercost between the old wall and Irthin, and between Burth and Poltros.

The land of Walton from the old wall by the long sike next Cospatricseye to Irthin, by Irthin to the junction of the Camboc and Irthin, and up by Camboc to the sike which goes down by Black Oak on the way to Cumquecath, and on the other side of Black Oak to the sike of Polterheved falling into King, and by King to the wall and common pasture round it.

The churches of Walton with Treverman chapel, Irthinton, Brampton, Karlaton, Farlam, and their appurtenances.

The lands of Warthecolman, Roswrageth, and Apeltrethwayte, as Sechenent falls into Herthinburn, and towards Tindale by the bounds which Gille, son of Bueth, held, and those which K. Henry gave to Hubert de Vaux, and the common pasture of the whole moor, and a winter scalinga in a fitting place beyond Hertingburn.

Licence to have thirty cows in the forest of Walton, twenty swine ("suibus"), with their produce of two years, and pasture for ploughing oxen, and free passage for swine ("porcis") reared or bought.

All bark in woods of the barony from the lands belonging to Gille, son of Bueth, dry wood and lying wood in the forest to maintain their house.

Permission to have a right of way and paths to go to their churches and houses, towards Brampton, Walton, Treverman, Wathcoleman, Roswrageth, Denton, and Benkibeth, and from land to land.

Land in Brampton wood to make barns and collect their tithes near Laysing's hedge, to have [a sheepfold (K. Richard's charter),] a mill, and fisheries in the Irthing, King, Hertingburn, and elsewhere in their own lands, without detriment to the lord's mills or Cumquenecach town.

To make a pool in the domain.

Henry II. confirms these grants and that of Ada, daughter of William and Eustachia Engayn; viz. three acres of land for cultivation in Burgh Marsh, two acres in Etana to build houses, two salt-pans, pasture in the marsh for two hundred sheep and ploughing oxen, a free net in the Eden and the right of drying it on their own land, two mansuræ to make bothies in Scadebothes, and a carucate of land in Blencraic (Blencraye) and common pasture there for the service of St. Catharine's altar in Lanercost Church, and celebration of a daily mass for the soul of Simon de Morevil, her husband, three marks of silver in Burgh Church, Lay-

singby Church, and Grenesdale Church, and Little Haresion, with common pasture also of her gift.

Richard I. confirms these and c. ii. p. 1, and the hermitage which Laysinges held of the gift of David, son of Terricus, and Robert, son of Anketil, and common pasture of Denton; the tithe of Corkeby Mill of the gift of Alexander de Wyndesoveres; the toft with the land once belonging to the hospital by Corkeby Mill at an annual rent of William, son of Edard (or Hodard); eight acres of arable land and half a meadow in the same town of the gift of Simon de Teillol; two acres of the gift of Henry Norreys; a carucate in Hayton with wood of the gift of Eustace de Vaux; half a carucate in Denton with pasture for a milch sheep, twenty cows, one bull, and their produce of two years, the gift of Robert, son of Bueth, and Robert, son of Asketill.

In 1181 Pope Alexander confirms also Distinton Church, of the gift of Gilbert, son of Jeserlun; Cumquenecach, given by Israel, chamberlain of Robert de Vaux; a toft "in Scalis sane novalium," given by Peter de Teillol, confirmed by Pope Lucius, 1184.

The remaining charters give full details of later gifts extending to the later half of the fourteenth century. Where Roman type is used, additions have been made from the body of the charters to the headings printed in italics. For convenience I have put references within brackets to connect charters relating to the same matters.

FIRST PART.

1. *The charter of Robert de Vallibus, sen.* [Printed in Monasticon.]
2. *The charter of Lord Robert de Vallibus for the tithe of all*

hunting, as well in flesh as in hides and skins of foxes, and touching lakes and waste.

Universis S. M. Ecclesiæ filiis Robertus de Vallibus filius Huberti de Vallibus salutem. Sciatis me concessisse dedisse et hac mea carta confirmasse in puram et perpetuam elemosinam Deo et Ecclesiæ S. M. Magdalenæ de Lanercost et Canonicis ejusdem loci decimas totius venationis meæ tam in carnibus quam in coriis et vellibus vulpium; et decimas de lacis meis et piscationibus; et omnes decimationes de vasto meo in pullis in vitulis in agnis et purcellis, in lanis et caseis, in butiris. Et si forte infra vastum meum aliqua terra culta fuerit, concedo etiam eis decimas ipsius terræ. Quare volo ut predicti Canonici predictas decimas libere et plenarie habeant de me et hæredibus meis, pro anima Huberti de Vall. patris mei, et pro salute animæ meæ et Adæ uxoris meæ et omnium antecessorum meorum.

3. *The charter of Lord Robert de Vallibus, son of Hubert de Vallibus, for the tithe of Hunting in flesh, hides, and skins of foxes,* of lake and fishery, and waste in foals, calves, lambs, pigs, wool, cheese, and butter.
4. *The charter of the Lord de Vallibus for the church of Denton and the hermitage, which Leysingus held,* bounded, as David son of Terri, and Robert son of Asketill, showed in my presence, and confirmed by charter, *with the tithe of the mill of Little Corkeby, etc.* (See iii. 1, 13, 16.)
5. *The charter of Robert de Vallibus for the church of Denton and a hermitage, with the tithe of Corkeby Mill,* which Alexander de Wyndesover gave them, and two shillings in Leversdale, which Bernard de Leveresdale gave. (xiv. 13)
6. *The charter of Robert de Vallibus for Lanrechaythyn.* (See xv. 18.)

The boundaries of Lanrechaythyn (see xv. 17, ix. 19) are thus given:—Per divisas quas ego cum probis hominibus meis perambulavi, scil. A Cruce de Petrâ usque ad Burthesved, et inde, sicut Burth descendit ad caput ejusdem landæ versus Walton, ad quercum cruce signatam, cui in ipsa perambulatione imposuimus nomen, scil. Quercus S. Mariæ; et ab illa quercu per quercus

cruce signatas usque in Ring, et inde per Ring sursum usque ad locum, ubi Transpoll cadit in Ring, et inde per Transpoll sursum ad Crucem juxta caput fossati et inde per fossatum usque ad prenominatam Crucem de Petra.

7. *The charter of Robert de Vallibus for a carucate of land in Hayton,* given by Eustace de Vallibus with a wood; and received by him for service; with common pasture in that town.
8. *The charter of Lord Robert de Vallibus for the waste between Hertleburn and Blackeburn,* from the Canons' ditch to the Bires of Hertleburn.
9. *The charter of Lord Robert de Vallibus for land between Seclenent and Nenthemenon* to make their houses; and a scalinga beyond Herthingburn in a fit place; with the common pasture of Tinnelside.
10. *The charter of Adam de Tindale for a quit-claim of land in Brenkybeth Moor.*
11. *The charter of Adam de Tindale for certain land in Brenkybeth Moor,* with common pasture of the moor.
12. *The charter of Nicolas de Bolteby for land in Brenkhibet Moor,* which Adam de Tyndale gave to the Canons.
13. *The charter of Lord Robert de Vallibus for bark in Gillesland.*

The grant runs thus:—Corticem de meiremio[1] meo proprio et de toto illo quod dedero cuicunque illud dedero in boscis meis omnibus infra baroniam quam dom. rex Henricus Angliæ dedit patri meo et mihi in terra que fuit Gille filii Bueth. Hanc vero concessionem et donationem eis feci pro salute dom. Henrici regis II^di^, et pro anima patris mei Huberti, et pro animabus predecessorum meorum. Quare volo quod Prior et Canonici predicti habeant prenominatum corticem ad sustentacionem Tanarie domus de Lanercost.

14. *The charter of Lord Robert de Vallibus granting the election of a prior to the Canons of Lanercost.*

Noverit universitas vestra me concessisse et hac presenti carta

[1] Timber.

confirmasse Canonicis de Lanercost liberam electionem quare volo quod, obeunte dom. Priore vel quolibet successore ejus, ille sic Prior quem jam dicti Canonici vel major pars eorum vel sanior secundum Deum elegerint.

15. *The charter of Robert de Vallibus for Cumqueneiach.* (See iv. 3.)
16. *The charter of Robert de Vallibus and Ada his wife for the tithe of Little Corkely Mill.* (See 4, 5.)
17. *The charter of Robert de Vallibus for Geoffrey Pich, his wife, and children.*

Sciant præsentes et futuri quòd ego Rob. de Vall. filius Huberti de Vall. concessi et dedi et hâc meâ cartâ confirmavi Deo et B. M. Magdalenæ et Ecclesiæ de Lanercost et Canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus in liberam et puram et perpetuam elemosinam Galfridum Pich et uxorem suam et pueros suos in perpetuum.

18. *The confirmation of Lord Ralph de Vallibus, son of Hubert de Vallibus, for all lands, churches, and tenements given by Lord Robert de Vallibus to the church of Lanercost.*
19. *The charter of Lord Ralph de Vallibus for the two Askertons.*

The grant is made per has divisas, scil. sicut Poltros inter duas Wiliavels de mussa descendit in Camboc et per eandem mussam usque ad caput Troutbeck, et a Troutebeck usque in Ring, et a Ring usque ad rivulum qui oritur subtus Nigros Colles, et inde sicut idem rivulus descendit in Knavren, et inde sicut Knavren descendit in Camboc, et ab eo loco sursum per Camboc usque ad locum ubi Poltros vadit in Camboc.

20. *The confirmation of Lord Ralph de Vallibus for the land given by W. de Wyndesovre to* St. Thomas the Martyr's *Church, Farlam.*
21. *The confirmation of Lord Robert de Vallibus for* 30 *acres of arable* (lucrabilis) *land, and two acres of Woodland, given by W. de Wyndesovre to Farlam Church.* (See ii. 9, 19, 20.)
22. *The confirmation of Lord Roberi de Vallibus, son of Ralph de Vallibus, for lands, rents, and churches given by Lord Robert de Vallibus to Lanercost Church.*

SECOND PART.

1. *The charter of Robert de Vallibus, son of Ralph de Vallibus, for common pasture of Camboc and Walton.*

The charter gives liberum ad istam pasturam ingressum et regressum absque ullâ vexatione aut impedimento, et pasturam scil. ad eadem averia sua et hominum suorum per totum boscum meum de Walton in landis moris muscis et mariscis. Sed licet mihi et hæredibus meis si voluerimus terras lucrabiles infra predictum boscum assartare et imbladicare, ita tamen quòd essartas tali clausurâ claudere debemus, quòd averia predicta non impediantur uti pasturâ predictâ extra sepes essartarum, et post amotionem bladi singulis annis predicta averia utentur herbagio infra ipsas essartas usque ad aliam imbladiationem.

2. *The charter of Robert de Vallibus, son of Ralph de Vallibus, for all land between Lanercost and Denton.*

The grant is made per divisas scil. a Stagno eorundem Canonicorum sursum per Erthinam usque ad locum ubi Polthledick vadit in Erthinam, et inde per Polthledick usque ad magnum Cundos quod vocatur Barras, et sic per illud magnum Cundos descendendo, sicut ego illud perambulavi cum liberis et probis hominibus meis usque ad Polterternan, et exinde ubi ipsum Polterternan[1] vadit in Erthinam, et ab illo loco per Erthinam usque ad predictum Stagnum.

3. *The charter of Lord Robert de Vallibus, son of Ralph de Vallibus, for land of Brukerthwait and Summersletes, and for cows, etc.*

This land David filius Teveth inclusit de sepe et fossa; with it are to go cattle, cum lx vaccis et iij tauris, cum secta ij annorum, et cum x equis matricibus cum secta iij annorum, et cum x suis cum secta iij annorum, et cum equis et bobus qui illam terram arabunt, habendam in forrestâ meâ in Geltesdale et de Tinelside. (See iv. 14.)

[1] Mr. Burn, in a MS. note, says the land (including six acres given by the Multons) between Polterternan and Becfarlam is called Tenterbank. Cundus may be the Trough in Gillesland.

4. *The charter of Lord R. de Vallibus, son of Ralph de Vallibus, bequeathing his body to be buried in the church of St. Mary Magd. of Lanercost.*

Sciatis me concessisse Canonicis de Lanercost ubicunque et quandocunque ex hâc vitâ migraverim corpus meum.

5. *The charter of Lord Robert de Vallibus, son of Ralph de Vallibus, for a half carucate of land in Hayton,* which Laurence de Hayton held.

The bounds are given scil. per semitam quæ descendit ad Woodhuses versus Molendinum de Gelt usque ad magnam dratam, quæ est infra boscum de Brampton, et sic ascendendo per dratam illam usque ad parvam vallem quæ est prope exitum illius bosci versus occidentem, et sic per vallem illam ascendendo usque ad Maydane Cross,[1] et de Maydan Cross usque ad Musekelde, et de Muskelde usque ad Sywardkelde, et de Sywardkelde descendendo per quandam vallem usque ad Jonewinekelde et inde usque ad sicam de Hamesby, et inde sicut terra se extendit per divisas de Wodehuses. Et preterea dedi et concessi et presenti carta confirmavi predicto Alano et heredibus suis xx acras terræ, xvj scil. acras in Crosflat, et iiij acras quas Stephanus Venator[2] tenuit de dominio meo jacentes prope Crossflat versus orientem, et preterea j vaccariam de xxv vaccis, et j tauro cum secta sua in Laurecornisan. . . . . Et licebit Alano et heredibus suis et eorum hominibus exsartare et edificare colere et sepes claudere infra predictas divisas ubi meliùs voluerint ad commodum suum; ipse, heredes sui et homines eorum molent ad Molendinum de Gelt sine multura et quieti erunt panagio, et capient in eodem bosco de Brampton de viridi sufficienter ad edificandum per visum forestiariorum, et de sicco et mortuo sufficienter ad comburendum et sepes claudendum sine visu forestariorum, et habebunt pasturam omnigenam alibique habuerint secundum quantitatem tenementi sui intra boscum de Brampton.

[1] Probably so called from standing on the Roman Road called the Maiden Way [Lysons, 135], and that Cross which is said elsewhere to divide Northumberland and Cumberland, near Blackburn.

[2] He is a witness to the charter of Eustace de Vallibus (xiii. 6).

6. *The charter of Lord Robert de Vallibus, son of Ralph de Vallibus, for land given and granted to Alan Malecake* and his heirs for their homage and service, two carrucates *in Woodhuses, and* two essarts being westward *in Gelt, and* one carrucate *in Brampton and elsewhere,* with the increase of the earth and wood. [One of the witnesses is Lord Robert de Brus, who signed a charter 1273. (xiv. 4.)]
7. *The charter of Alan Malecake for lands in Brampton, Wodehuses, and Maydencross.* [Land for building houses in Crosflat between Woodhuses and Maydencross, two essarts in Gelt, and an acre of building ground beside Laypol towards the east.]
8. *The charter of Eustace de Vall. for one carucate of land in the territory of Castlecayroc* [viz. lx. acres (xiii. 6) which Robert, son of Hubert de Vaux, gave him for service] it is called Greenwell. (iii. 6.)
9. *The charter of Walter de Wyndesover for the land of Farlam,* a latere occidentali illius ecclesiæ usque ad aliam terram illius ecclesiæ sicut via ducit de illa ecclesia usque ad aliam Farlam, et exinde usque ad rivulum fortis S. Makedrani in prato et in alneto . . . . . et terram quam Tebbe tenuit beyond the churchyard southward.
10. *The charter of John de Vallibus for land in Kingeston.* (See vii. 18.)

The land was j toftum et j culturam in territorio de Kingiston que vocatur Withelan, et j culturam in territorio de Fenton juxta mariscum, scil. totam terram illam que jacet inter terram Roberti Flandrensis et exitum de Kingiston usque ad maresium, et de maresio usque ad viam que tendit de occidentali parte de Fenton usque ad Karurmdath et iij acras terræ juxta sedem ovilis quod fuit Ricardi filii Micaelis.

11. *The charter of Ada Engayne, daughter of Wm. Engayne, for Little Haresio*[1] *with its appurtenances.* (See 12, and x. 12.)

[1] Now called Harescough or Harescow, in Kirk Oswald parish (Lysons, 128), passing through the stages of Harescowe and Hareschonch.

Predicti vero Canonici pro prefata terra tale servitium facient scil. quòd invenient Canonicum qui ad altare S. M. Virginis in predicta ecclesia de Lanercost celebrabit Missam de S. Maria cum horis et matutinis cotidie in perpetuum . . . . . et me prefatam terram dedisse dicte Ecclesie de Lanercost pro me et sponso meo Roberto de Vall. et pro animabus patris et matris et anima Symonis de Morville sponsi mei. . . . . The Canons were to hold the land freely, salvo servitio dom. regis scil. viij denarioriis de[1] Neoutegeld predicte terræ pertinentibus.

12. *The confirmation of Hugh de Morville for Little Haresion.*

The bounds are given scil. sicut magna via venit de Appelbi usque ad Raven (see v. 22, iv. 11) et inde sursum per Raven usque ad caput ejusdem aquæ, et a capite Raven usque ad Croserin et a Croserin usque ad Hartishevede usque ad Snartegill, et sic per aquam quæ descendit a Snartegill usque ad Mussam, et deinde usque ad Sicam que descendit usque ad Kenerhan, usque ad viam predictam de Appleby, et in marisio de Burc. duas salinas liberatas cum airiis et cum aisiamentis certarum comodius et vicinius quantum sufficit ad ij salinas, et quoddam rete liberum in Edene et exsiccationem ejusdem retis liberam in terra mea de Burc.

13. *The charter of Hugh de Morvill for Haresion and two salt-pits in Burgh Marsh, and a net in the Eden.*

14. *The charter of Hugh de Morvill for Laysingby Church, and pasture for* 200 *sheep in Burgh.*

The bounds are given scil. per rivulum qui vocatur Wilkinebec (xii. 23) juxta terram Eustachii sursum versus aquilonem, usque ad Antiquum Murum, et sic per eundem Murum versus occidentem usque ad Lairigappe, et exinde versus austrum usque ad quercum detonsam, et ab illâ quercu usque ad Haithwartegarth et inde usque ad terram Johannis de Denton et sic usque ad locum antique sepis, et inde per sicam usque in Irthinam, et sic per Irthinam usque ad proximam sicam versus occi-

[1] A payment in cattle (neat-gelt), when money was scarce, in lieu of personal service of cornage. (Burn and Nicolson, i. 18.)

dentem juxta terram predicti Johannis de Denton, et inde usque ad antiquam sepem, et sic per eandem sepem usque ad predictum rivulum qui vocatur Wylkenebec.

15. *The charter of Ada Engayne for the rent of three marks in Burgh and Leysingby Churches.*
16. *The charter of Hugh de Morvill for the gift of Laysingeby Church.* (See ix. 14, xiii. 25, xiv. 2.)
17. *The charter of Hugh de Morvill for Grenesdale Church* (St. Kentigern's), *with its appurtenances.* (See v. 4.)
18. *The charter of Alexander de Wyndesovre for the tithe of the whole meal ground* (multura) *of Corkeby Mill.*
19. *The charter of Walter, son of Walter de Wyndesovre, for the right of patronage of Farlam Church*, which he abjured with touch of the Holy Gospel, and for ii acres in Closegill which his father had given.
20. *The charter of Walter de Wyndesovre for his domain within the territory of Farlam.*

The bounds are given scil. a Fulpot sursum versus meridiem per quoddam fossatum factum inter terram Templi (see vi. 221) et Lambergarth, usque ad quoddam antiquum fossatum, et sic per illud fossatum versus occidentem usque ad terram dictorum Canonicorum, et sic juxta terram illam contigue usque in Closegill descendendo usque ad quoddam novum fossatum tendens versus Aquilonem, ex utraque parte aquæ de Clovesgill, et sic per quoddam novum fossatum quod circuit Elresbusche versus occidentem usque ad Patefyn, et inde per ipsam aquam usque in Fulpot, et per Fulpot sic descendendo usque ad prenominatum fossatum inter terram Templi et Lambertgarth. (See xiii. 13.)

21. *The charter of Roland de Vallibus for the land held by Nicholas Nemele near the land of Warthcolman, with two essarts, enclosed with a ditch and hedge.*
22. *The charter of Alexander de Vallibus for the commoning of turbaries of Treverman, and for the common pasture for cattle of Warthecolman and Roswragel* (c. 1263. See ix. 5, 18).

THIRD PART.

1. *The charter of Buethbarn for Denton Church.* (See i. 4, 5.)
2. *The confirmation of Robert, son of Bueth, for Denton Church.*
3. *The charter of Robert, son of Bueth, for one carucate of land in Denton,* with common pasture.
4. *The charter of Robert, son of Bueth, for land given and granted to maintain a light* before St. Cuthbert's altar in the Prior's Chapel (which Robert Albus holds).
5. *The charter of Robert, son of Bueth, for land in Dalewas cunin,* to find a light before St. Cuthbert's altar in the Prior's chapel, *and a messuage in Laurekerein,* lying between two sykes which descend to Dalrelin, etc.
6. *The charter of Robert, son of Bueth, and Robert, son of Asketyll, for dry wood and lying wood, and for strengthening the pool on their domain.*
7. *The charter of John de Denton for the whole land of Pyrikon.* (See v. 26; xi. 8.)
8. *The charter of quit-claim of John, son of Robert, son of Askelin, made to Lord Robert de Vallibus, of the whole land in Buetholmes, between Polternan and Polthedith.*
9. *The confirmation of John, son of John de Denton, of all lands in Denton, given by John, his father, and Anketyn, his uncle, to the House of Lanercost;* with free access and egress from their house in Pirihon to Denton Pasture for all cattle.
10. *The charter of Robert, son of Bueth, and Robert, son of Askatyn, for thirty-two acres of land in Carthutelan,* with pasture for one "milking sheep" and plough oxen, twenty cows and a bull.
11. *The charter of Robert, son of Robert, son of Anketyn de Denton, of the whole land in Carutelaw,* enclosed with hedge and ditch.
12. *The charter of Anketin, son of Robert, son of Anketyn, for* nine *acres of* arable *land,* five in Lanerton, *in Hulverhirst, and* four *in Denton,* one acre in Whiven, one in Cretton,

and two in Pendraven, and three roods in Cretton, which Henry the Clerk held. (See v. 24.)

13. *The charter of David, son of Teri, and Robert, son of Alketill, for the Church of Denton and the hermitage, which Leising held.* (See i. 4. 5.)
14. *The charter of Robert de Denton for Hulverhirst, with its liberties and free common, and other easements, belonging to the town of Treverman.* (See xv. 19; v. 23.)
15. *The charter of quit-claim of John, son of Eustace de Denton, for land in Denton and Hulvershyrst.*
16. *The charter of Robert, son of Asketyll, for a certain toft, with a croft in Denton,* which Werricus the priest held.
17. *The charter of quit-claim of Robert, jun., de Denton for the essart of Werri.*
18. *The charter of Anketyn, son of Robert, son of Anketyn, for the land of Lanreton,* which William, the Prior's nephew, held. (See v. 24.)
19. *The charter of Robert, son of Robert, son of Anketin, for the land held by William, the Prior's nephew, and the land of Denton.* (See vi. 23; v. 24.)
20. *The charter of Alice de Denton, daughter of Robert Albus* (iii. 4), *for a quit-claim of land in the territory of Denton.*

FOURTH PART.

1. *The charter of William Ward, son of Richard de Denton, for a quit-claim of land in the territory of Denton.*
2. *The charter of Sycherych, sometime wife of Robert Wyichard, and Agnes, her daughter, of land below the brow of the wood in the territory of Denton.*
3. *The charter of Agnes, daughter of William, son of Jonette, of Carlisle, for a quit-claim of Cumqueneiath.* (See i. 15.)
4. *The charter of Eudo, son of Angketin de Denton, and John, son of William Leyr, for quit-claim in an essart near Warthcoleman,* given by Roland de Vaux, with right of enclosure and emparking.
5. *The charter of Robert, jun., of Denton, and Lord John de*

Denton, his brother, and J., son of Osan, *for the essart near Warthcolman.*

6. *The charter of Hubert de Vaux for land in Trevernan*, which Roland de Vaux, his uncle, gave for the support of a chaplain and clerk in the chapel there. (See xv. 17.)
7. *The charter of Mabel, sometime wife of Walter de Wyndesore, for the third part of two acres in Clovesgill* in Farlam, with licence to fold mares.

The bounds are given scil. sicut sica oritur sub Birkanhirst (Birchanhirst, v. 26) et descendit per Pirihon, et sic juxta quercum que vocatur Wiskerhitton (Wreskenhutton, v. 26), et exinde ad quercum jam dictam et ab illa quercu in directo usque ad supercilium Collis de Darlinhon, et sic usque ad vallem que jacet inter ij colles, et ab illâ valle usque ad supercilium collis occidentalis, et sic usque ad viam quadrigarum que ducit ad Darelin in Pirihon et usque ad Glangles et a Glangles usque ad antiquam[1] fossam, et per eandem fossam usque ad nodosam quercum et ab illâ quercu usque ad predictam (*Sicam de* v. 26) Wiskerhitton.

8. *The charter of Walter de Wyndesore for two acres in Farlam* to make a fold and pasture for one milch sheep. (See xiii. 14.)
9. *The charter of Eda, daughter of Michael de Dale for five acres of land in Aynstapellyth*, scil. v rodas in tofto et crofto que jacent inter domum Elene sororis dicte Ede, et domum Thomæ filii Ynggeih. Et in Presteridding, acram et dimidiam et rodam ad dimidiam acram juxta berkeriam[2] Galfridi de Crogelyn et extendit se versus australem et borealem, et iij rodas que se extendunt super dictam dimidiam acram, et super viam de Ruhecroft versus solem, et le Goldidale que se extendit super le Ellerisic et versus viam de Rudecrofte et le Buttes in Arasti, et illam terram que se extendit super Maynresgate et Kelduspaksic.
10. *The charter of Ellena, daughter of Michael de Dale, for five acres of lands in Aynstapelith*, given by her sister Eda.

[1] V. 26 reads for "antiquam . . . . . quercu," predictam Birchanhirst et sic in directo.

[2] A sheepfold.

11. *The charter of Walter de Wyndesore for certain cultivated ground in Little Farlam, called Raven* (see v. 23; ii. 12), which Salomon, son of David, and Bernard, son of Raun', gave; per has divisas scil. sicut sepes extendit a capite magni montis usque in Becfarlam, etiam per Becfarlam usque ad sicam juxta Regiam viam, et inde usque ad predictum caput magni montis, sicut viridis semita descendit a regia via usque ad terras cultas. (See v. 18.)
12. *The charter of Walter de Wyndesore for two acres of land in Severig, in the territory of Farlam,* lying between the land which Robert the Clerk held and the brook which flows from Clashet, on the east, to the land given by the father of W. de Wyndesor on the west. (See xiii. 14.)
13. *The charter of Walter de Wyndesor for Farlam Church, with the tithes thereto appertaining.*
14. *The charter of Robert de Castelcayroc for land in Castelcayroc* (in exchange for land which Wm. de la Veille (xiv. 22) gave the convent), scil. inter Midelbec et sicam australem descendendo a quercubus cruce signatis in latere montis usque in Staynedathbec, et pasturam ad cc oves et xx viginti cum sequela j anni et viij boves et j taurum (see ii. 3) ad predictas vaccas, et ij averes, et xxx capras et j scalinguam apud Brentscale ad memoratas vaccas cum tauro suo, et liberum et expeditum exitum a capite sicæ australis, per viam quadrigarum versus austrum usque ad crucem ad austrum sitam, et ab illa cruce versus orientem usque ad montem et terram 1 pedum in latitudine per latus australe essartum Orm' usque ad moram occidentalem. . . . Volo et concedo ut dicti Canonici et pastores eorum et homines eorum qui mansuri sunt et habitaturi super prefatum terram libere et sufficienter habeant et capiant ad edificandum; volo etiam ut agni predictarum ovium sint cum matribus suis quolibet anno usque ad proxime sequens festum S. Johannis Baptiste, et capellæ dictarum caprarum ad proximum Pentecost de terra mea amoveantur. (See xiii. 8.)
15. *The charter of Robert, son of Robert de Castelcayroc, for confirmation of land in Castelcayrock.*

Dabimus annuatim ego et heredes mei pro predicta terra de Caruthelauc ad firmam xx solidorum argenti per medietatem ad Pentecosten et medietatem ad festum S. Martini pro omnibus servitiis, consuetudinibus et demandis; dicti autem Prior et conventus habebunt ij acras terræ infra Caruthelauc ad quandam berchariam faciendam, et cc oves per advocationem donationis predictæ terræ de Caruthelauc, si autem dictæ oves matrices fuerint, erunt cum eis agni earum donec ablactati sunt.

16. *The charter of Robert, son of Roland de Castelcayroc, in exchange for land given to the canons of Lanercost by William de Veyle.*

17. *The charter of Robert de Castelcayroc for Gamelin de Walton and his following* (et ejus sequela).

Noveritis me caritatis intuitu concessisse et de me et heredibus meis quiete clamasse Deo et S. Mar. Mayd. de Lanercost et Canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus Gamelin de Walton cum totâ sequelâ ejus in posterum potuerimus postulare, sed licebit eis in terram meam redire et de terra mea exire quandocunque voluerint, sicut liberi et quieti de omni nativitate et servitute. Et ego et heredes mei dictas libertates dicti Gameli et universe sequele sue dictis Canonicis contra omnes gentes in perpetuum warantizabimus. Test. dom. Joh. de Mora. tunc Seneschallo de Gillesland dom. Rolando de Vallibus et Ada de Cumren, Will. de Warthwyk, Walt. de Wyndesore, Joh. de Blatune et aliis.

18. *The charter of Christiana de Wyndeleshora for ij bovates, with toft and croft, in Scotland,* in Patestun, which Martin, son of William, held near the land of Hugo de Hodene on the west, and common pasture, and right of using the mill of Patestun (c. 1202).

19. *The charter of Geoffrey, son of Gerard, for half a carucate of land, in the vill of Cumquenecath,* which he sold to Walter Benny, to be held by him under the Canons of Lanercost, at a yearly payment of one pound of pepper, or six shillings, at Carlisle Fair.

The bounds are given scil. Messuagium quod fuit Willelmi de Barnevill, cum crofto, et parvum essartum et longas terras juxta Spinam, et quandam terram sicut fossatum descendit usque ad

luchrabilem terram, et exinde usque ad Fulfwith et de Fulfwith usque ad Frether et sic sursum per summum marginem bruscæ usque ad viam que tendit inter duas Dentonas et de ipsa via sursum usque ad fossatum, et inde usque ad aggerem lapidum, et de ipso aggere usque ad predictum fossatum et essartum quod fuit Samuelis ex utraque parte Fulbrig juxta terram Anketini, et pratum quod jacet in directo ecclesiæ a fonte in occidente. . . . Et predicti Canonici et heredes eorum qui manebunt super predictas terras quieti erunt de pannagio et multura et molent post premium bladum quod fuerit in tremuil.

20. *The charter of Walter Benn for the land of Cunquenecath* which Galfridus held, and land which Bernard held in the territory of Askerton, to be granted at his death to the canons of Lanercost.

21. *The charter of Israel, the Chamberlain, for all lands in Cumquenecath,* with the consent of his brothers, according to the bounds contained in the charter of Robert de Vaux, which he (Israel) offered at the altar of St. Mary Magdalen, Lanercost.

22. *The charter of Israel, the Chamberlain, for land in Cumquenecath.*

23. *The charter of Roger, son of Roger de Levington, for ten acres of land in West Leverton,* with a meadow near the mead of Will. de Astinebi, scil. iij acras juxta caput de Lewinebrigg, et iij acras de sub Smalethornes et ij acras super Cliff que dependunt super predictas iij acras, et ij acras in Nereherbrokes, with common pasture.

24. *The Charter of William, son of Antin, for xiii acres of land in Astinebi,* with the consent of Eva his wife, scil. iij acras et quartam partem unius in tofto quod Johannes filius Umfrei tenuit, et ij acras et quartam partem j acræ in holmo et vij acras et dimidiam in campo versus Karliolum . . . . . quiete ab omni consuetudine et exactione, donando multuram solummodo ad molendinum domini mei de blado proveniente de predicta terra; with common pasture.

25. *The charter of William, son of Astin, of Astinebi, for j acre of land in Astinebi.*

PART FIFTH.

1. *The charter of Draco, and Agnes his wife, for* two and a half acres in *Scalegarth* in exchange for two and a half acres given by Waleis in Conkatenes. (See vi. 9.)
2. *The charter of Will. Musey for a quit-claim of land in Scaleby.* (Comp. vi. 4, 39; xi. 1.)
3. *The charter of Will., son of Ordardus, for a toft and land rented at 2s. a year near Warthwyc Bridge.*
4. *The charter of Lord Richard de Denton for Grinesdale Church* (St. Kentigern's).
5. *The confirmation of Robert le Sor for Grinesdale Church.*
6. *The confirmation of William le Sor for Grinesdale Church.*
7. *The charter of Will. le Sor for land in Grinesdale, which Jocelin* the priest *held.*
8. *The charter of Will. le Sor for land between the Old Wall and the Church lands,* except the acre of Alan, son of Oninus.
9. *The charter of Will. le Sor for four acres of land with a messuage in Grinesdale,* quod fuit Gocelini sacerdotis, scil. j acram terræ juxta Murum et iij acras pertinentes in superiori Havercroft juxta terræ Ecclesiæ, partim in With Havercroft partim versus Kardul super certas buttas, partim juxta ij acras juxta Murum, et j acram in Haverige.
10. *The charter of Will. le Sor for a new house in Grinnesdale, and land of xxvii feet* broad and long, next the land of Ralph, the chaplain.
11. *The charter of Will. le Sor for an acre of land in Haverig.*
12. *The charter of Will. le Sor for all the land in Haverig* between the lands of Richard and Reginald, brothers. (See xiv. 20.)
13. *The charter of Will. le Sor for a house and land of xxiij perches in Grinesdale,* in length from the road lying through the midst of the town as far as the ditch westward, and in breadth three perches and eight feet near the land of Ralph the chaplain.
14. *The charter of Will. le Sor for a new house, with the land*

appertaining in Grinesdale, between the land of Ralph the chaplain and my dwelling-house, from the street of Grinesdale town towards the town of Kirkandrees, except two feet next my dwelling-house wall.

15. *The charter of Will. le Sor,* son of Will. le Sor, *for a toft and croft in Grinesdale,* which his mother held, lying between the Toft of Michael, son of Jocelin, the chaplain, and the toft of widow Matilda.

16. *The charter of Alan, son of Gilbert de Talkan, for seven and a half roods of lands in Talkan, and for Marishcroft* (vi. 3) *there.*

17. *The charter of Adam and Gilbert de Talkan for five acres of land in Talkan,* scil. in Castelcayrociona de terra lucrabili proximas semitæ que se extendit a Talkan usque ad Castelcayroc.

18. *The charter of Salomon, son of David, and Bernard, son of Ratmer, for cultivated land called Raven.* (See iv. 11.)

19. *The charter of Salomon, son of David, for four and a half acres of land in Sputekelde,* inter domum que fuit patris mei et locum qui appellatur Sputekelde sicut haga extendit versus collem in parte meridionali cum toto crofto Christianæ matris mee, et totam terram quam habeo inter lacum et locum qui appellatur Hallebanke, sicut ij culturas j que appellatur Redegate et aliam que appellatur Rufaldek, quas Rob. de Vallibus reddidit mihi sicut jus meum. (See vi. 8.)

20. *The quit-claim of Adam, son of Hermerus, made to Lord Robert de Vaux for land in Hamesby* in exchange for land and the wood of Northwode, and two bovates of land which belonged to Odard de Karcherin.

21. *The charter of Robert, son of Bueth, granted to William Crispin for* ten acres of *land in* Denton, viz. *Dalewascumin,* for service and homage; at a rent of one pound of cumin at the feast of the assumption et molendo bladum suum ad xvi vasculum.

22. *The charter of Robert, son of Bueth, for ten acres in Denton called Dalewasion* (Dalewascumin), on the same tenure, to Robert Albus.

23. *The charter of Anketill, son of Robert, son of Anketill, for nine acres of land in Lanreton* granted Eustachio cum Agnete sorore mea in liberum maritagium, scil. v acras in Hulverhirst, et iv acras in territorio de Denton, scil. j acram in Ulwen, et j acram in Crechon et ij acras in Pendraven[1] quas Henricus Aicūs pro iv acris tenuit. . . . . Mihi annuatim et heredibus meis reddent dim. libram piperis ad nundinas Karl. pro omni servitio consuetudine et exactione que ad me vel ad heredes meos pertinent. (See iii. 12.)

24. *The charter of Robert de Denton for a messuage and land in Denton,* granted Willelmo Prioris nepoti in liberum maritagium cum sorore mea. The land is the same as that described iii. 19, but provision is made for the rent of one pound of cummin to be paid at Carlisle Fair yearly: the doing the King's service for a carucate of land in the town, and moleat post primum bladum quod fuerit in tremillo (the hopper).

25. *The charter of Anketin de Denton* to Gilchrist, son of Richard Brun, for homage and service, *for a messuage in Woodhuses,* quod fuit Westinuger filii Met'; et totam terram a rivulo usque Peter-gate in latitudine et de ipsa Petergate usque ad Brinkelbust et inde usque ad eundem rivulum et a rivulo illo versus aquilonem usque ad Petergate, et iij rodas apud Akestul in parte aquilonari Magnæ Stratis et viij acras in Kincoilan . . . . . habendas sibi et Will. filio suo et heredibus suis de Agneta filiâ meâ provenientibus, at a yearly rent of 1*d.* at Epiphany. Si vero contingat quòd ipse Willelmus heredem non habeat de ipsa filia mea, dom. Gilchrist et heredes sui habeant et teneant prenominatas terras . . . . . de me et heredibus meis in fœdo et hereditate per idem servitium quo tenere solent antequam matrimonium contractum inter predictum Willelmum et predictam filiam meam, scil. pro xiv denariis per annum, scil. medietatem ad Pascham, et medietatem ad Festum S. Michaelis.

26. *The charter of John, son of Robert, son of Anketin, for land*

[1] The head of Raven. (See iv. 11; ii. 12.)

in Pirihon (see iii. 8), granted Eustachio cum Agnete sorore mea in liberum maritagium, at a rent of one pound fe cummin at Carlisle Fair. Ipse et heredes sui quieti erunt de multura in molendino meo de Denton de blado suo proprio tam de empto de tota culturâ suâ provenienti, et quieti erunt de operibus stagni et molendini.

27. *The charter of Adam Salsarius for a messuage and toft in Kirkoswald,* quod Willelmus de Hamsam, homo[1] Willelmi de Hamsam de Cumrehon tenuit . . . . . reddendo inde annuatim ij denarios de Burgagio.

SIXTH PART.

1. *Charter of quit-claim of Adam Salsarius for land in Kirkoswald,* quod Averay, serviens, tenuit.
2. *Charter of quit-claim of Alice, sometime wife of Adam Salsarius, for land of Kirkoswald,* infra illud burgagium in burgo de Kirkoswald, quod Alfridus pater meus et postea Adam vir meus tenuerunt de domo de Lanercost pro quadam summâ pecunie, quam mihi dederunt in mea necessitate.
3. *The charter of Alan, son of Gilbert de Talkan, for land in Talkan,* quam Ricardus de Bosco de me tenuit, scil. per has divisas, sicut rivulus molendini intrat per mediam sepem et descendit in Kelt, et sursum per Kelt usque ad sepem que est super Senebirholmeg, et totam partem meam infra sepem que descendit de Senebirholmeg usque ad locum ubi rivulus molendini intrat per mediam sepem. Et licebit Canonicis et eorum tenentibus ubicunque voluerint infra has divisas domos edificare, toftum et croftum facere, et omnia alia aisiamenta facere et quicquid potuerint essartare. Præterea dedi eis ij acras terræ in territorio ejusdem villæ, j acram scil. que jacet juxta Arthesic in parte aquilaris, quam Will. de Octona essartavit, scil. a Crogelandside usque in Gelt. Insuper et dim. rodam terræ in occidentali

[1] *Homo,* Spelman says, means—1, a vassal, a tenant bound to render homage and military service; 2, a tenant; 3, a servant, underling. (Glos. 297–8.)

capite de Mariolcroft (v. 16) ad horreum suum faciendum et introitum liberum et exitum cum carris et carrettis usque ad dictum horreum, et communi dicte ville de Talkan in bosco et plano, in pratis et pascuis et aquis, et molent bladum suum de dicta terra ad molendinum de Talkan sine multura post primum bladum in tremello inventum, excepto blado domini, et quarterium de pannagio.

4. *The charter of Simon de Teilloll for a toft with the increase of eight acres in Scaleby* (see 29; xi. 1; v. 2), quam pater meus eis dedit in villa de Sesscales et de incremento viii acras terræ lucrabiles in eadem villa iv scil. acras in cultura que nominatur Newlandes, et ij in cultura que appellatur Brictriceflat, et ij in cultura que dicitur Halleflat, et dim. acram de Prato cum communi pastura.
5. *The charter of Hermerus de Hamesby for two bovates of land in Hamesby,* quas Thomas molendinarius tenuit.
6. *The charter of Robert de Karlaton for land in Little Farlam,* which Richard, son of Gilchrist, held.
7. *The charter of Robert de Karlaton for land in a croft in Little Farlam,* which Daniel held,
8. *The quitclaim of Robert de Karlaton, for two cultivated lands in the territory of Farlam,* one called Redgate, the other Rufaldik. (See v. 19.)
9. *The charter of* widow *Agnes, daughter of Waleis, for land in Schalegarth,* two and a half acres in exchange for two and a half acres which her father gave in Conkatenes. (See v. 1.)
10. *The charter of Richard, son of Trute,* of Bampton, *for lands without the gate of Bochardus, Carlisle,* two tofts which belonged to Elstarius the miller.
11. *The confirmation of Richard, jun. son* of Richard, son *of Trute, for two tofts without Bochard's gate.*
12. *The charter of John, of Crofton, for land within Carlisle, in vico Francorum,* lying between Augustine's house and the house of Peter de Huntington.
13. *Charter Anselmi de Neuby for Henry, son of Ledmer et ejus sequela, nativo suo.* Sciatis me, consensu et assensu Ricardi filii mei, concessisse, dedisse, et quietum clamasse

Deo et Ecclesiæ S. M. Magd. de Laner. Henricum filium Ledmeri cum tota secta suo. Quare volo ut ipse et omnes qui de eo exierint sint de me et heredibus meis pro salute et successorum et antecessorum meorum.

14. *The charter of Walter de Pykering* for a rent of 12*d.* in my house next the fosse of Carlisle Castle, to be paid half at Pentecost and half at Martinmas.

15. *The charter of Richard de Haldanefeld and Havise his wife for land within the territory of Farlam* cultam et incultam infra hayam in parte occidentali ville de Talkan sine aliquo retinemento, et j acram ad Ragarth extendentem ad Hilmire usque ad ostium Nicholai de Ragarth, et si quid defuit ibidem de j acra preficimus in cultura que appellatur *Toftes* et totam pertinentem nostram de Linholm ante ostium Nich.

16. *The charter of Alan de Talkan for land in Tindalebeck,* in parte orientali de Tindalebec, scil. infra hayam sicut extendit se ad Hulverbancke yate usque ad Tindalebec, et sicut Regia Via extendit usque ad Presteschalegarth.

17. *The charter of Alan, son of Gilbert de Talkan, for half a rod of land in Talkan* in orientali capite de Smithecrofte juxta Regiam Viam ad quoddam Horreum faciendum ubi decimas suas colligere potuerunt.

18. *The charter of Alan de Talkan for five acres with the appurtenances in Castelwra* [Castelcayrocwra] to Hugo his brother, and which his brother Adam held aforetime.

19. *The charter of William Norrensis for a meadow in Digate* to Ankelin de Scales.

20. *The charter of Walter le Sauvage for half a carucate of land in Newbiging,* which he bought of Thomas de Dickeburg, viz. three bovates which Thomas de Kerebi held, and one bovate adjoining, which Adam, son of Lambert, held. (xiii. 23.)

21. *The charter of William,* son of Elias, *de Crogelin for five acres in Crogelin,* que jacent in parte occidentali terræ Templi (see ii. 20), et iij acras in eadem cultura de Sub Quinnefel.

22. *The charter of Robert de Karlaton for all the land in the territory of Farlam called Ympegarde.*

23. *The quit-claim of Robert, son of Adam, for one carucate of land in the territory of Hayton.*

24. *The charter of Alexander, son of Roger, son of Baldwin, for seven acres of land between the wall* [on the north and the way from Walton Wood through the midst of the land to] *and King.*

25. *The charter of Walter de Gresley for licence to essart in the territory of Cumquenecach,* inter has divisas, scil. a sepe Hugonis filii Molmes usque ad quercum cruce signatam versus orientem, et sic ab illa quercu descendendo usque ad vallem juxta Hardkrist, et sic ab ista valle descendendo usque ad vallem que descendit a capite dicte sepis; et insuper promisi Priori et Conventui de Lanercost et tactis ss. Evangeliis juravi me nunquam moturum querelam contra eos super predicta terra nec super aliqua essarta sive sepe levata in territorio de Cumquenecach a principio mundi usque ad Festum S. Martini A.C. MCC. xliij [1243].

26. *The charter of quit-claim of Walter, son of Will. le Sancer, for half a carucate of land in Hayton* and a rent of 2*d.* yearly in that town, payable at Carlisle fair from the four acres which he gave to Roger, son of Turgit, with Ada his sister as her dowry, in consideration of money which the Convent gave him in his great necessity.

27. *The charter of Herbert Runcus for three and a half acres in Laysingby,* one acre in Forsflat, one acre in Setenkon, one acre under Setenhow, and three roods on Linglandes, and one rood at Paddorpoltes, and half his croft adjoining the land of Thomas de Sevenes on the west and half an acre of meadowland.

28. *The charter of Walter Benny for cultivated land in Burthoswald,* scil. ad aquilonem Antiqui Muri per istas divisas, viz. sicut sica argillosa descendit de Muro versus aquilonem usque ad Mussam de Vethcoch, et sic versus orientem inter ipsam Mussam et prefatum Murum usque ad fontem qui oritur sub domo Gilberti, et ab ipso fonte versus aquilonem usque ad Mussam de Vethcoch.

29. *The charter of Simon de Tylloll for the land of Scaleby,* a toft and croft in Scales which Eustace and Margaret held in exchange for a toft and croft which his father had given. (See vi. 4.)

SEVENTH PART.

1. *The charter of Walter de Flamant and Rachvilde his wife for* five acres of *land in Milneholne.*
2. *The charter of Walter Banny for half a carucate of land in Cumquenecach,* which he bought of Geoffrey, son of Gerard. Canonici accommodaverunt mihi tantam in vita mea terram quam teneo de eis in Askerton.
3. *The charter of Robert, son of Auger, for land in Schaleby* a sepe Prioris usque ad interiorem fontem super Schabery, et a fonte illo descendendo usque ad propinquiorem sicam versus meridiem, et sic per pratum illud usque ad divisas, et sic per ipsas divisas usque ad sepem Prioris.
4. *The charter of Will. de Rodis for twenty acres of land in Lanrequeythill,* which Robert de Vaux gave him for homage and service, viz. twelve acres which Ricardus Caretarius aforetime held, and eight adjoining on the E. and N.
5. *The charter of William, son of Edward de Warthwic, for a toft with a rent of 2s. near Warthwyc Bridge.*
6. *The quit-claim of Alice daughter of Henry the chaplain, for land called Cumheverin* and Smithelands in the territory of Walton.
7. *The quit-claim of Alice, daughter of Henry the chaplain, for six acres in Kingesgill.*
8. *The agreement made between the Convent of Lanercost and Robert, son of William, for the wood* (nemore) *and pasture between Torcrossoc and Cumquenecach,* quòd omne nemus et pastura inter Torcrossoc et Cumquenecach erunt in commune inter Canonicos et homines suos de Cumquenecach ad propria averia sua et estuveria, et Robertum et homines suos. Boscum vero de parva Glasiaith erit in commune inter Canonicos et homines suos de duabis Askertonis ad propria averia sua et estuvaria sua propria et Rob. et ho-

mines suos. Omne nemus inter Suiueseterig et Torcrossoc et King, quod vocatur Magna Glaskeith quietum remanebit Roberto et heredibus suis. Tota pastura in bosco et plano inter Camboc et King et Torcrossoc et duas Askertonas erit in commune inter Canonicos et homines suos de ipsis Askertonis ad propria averia sua, et Rob. et homines suos, nullæ vero sepes removebuntur nec scalingæ erigentur inter Torcrossoc et Cumquenecach nec inter Torcrossoc et duas Askertonas in aliis locis quàm fuerunt die quâ hec quieta Clamacio facta fuit inter ipsos. Robertus vero Canonicis faldare equas suas per totum boscum, per visum forestarii sui concessit etiam canonicis communam in pas-pastura de Torcrossoc ad propria averia hominum suorum de terræ ecclesie de Treverman.

9. *The charter of Will. de Irebi for pasturage of Glassaneby and Gamelsby.* [Temp. Hen. III.]

10. *The charter of Henry de Ulveton, son of Will. de Wyggeton, for the land of Appeltresic and Milnepol,* scil. 8^{m} partem totius terræ inter divisas jacentis, scil. sicut Appletresic ascendit de Wathelpol usque ad Pontem de Appletresic, et exinde sicut magna sica ascendit per medium Kneterlandemir, usque ad sicam proximam Eskerig, que ascendit per medium Filebrig, et ita ascendendo usque ad Stokkebrig, et inde ascendendo per Lantsic inter Werdeholm et Winncrig usque ad magnam Mussam, et ex altera parte versus aquilonem sicut Milnepol ascendit de Wathelpol usque ad caput Milnepol . . . . reddendo multuram domino ville de blado de ipsa terra prevenientem.

11. *The charter of Adam, son of Hermerus, for the land of Norsehon* inter dominicam culturam meam que tendit versus Whytekelde et terram Will. filii mei, que jacet juxta terram de Parva Farlam, et inter magnam sicam que cadit in Whytekelde et viam latam que tendit per medium Norsechon ab aquilone versus Parvam Farlam.

12. *The charter of Will. de Warthwyc for licence of building, cultivating,* and making easements, *in the land of Castelcayroc,* which the canons hold of the gift of lord Robert de

Castelcayroc, infra sepes suas quas non alibi removebunt quam nunc sunt.

13. *The charter of lord Ralph de la Ferte for the Peteres* (Pethes) *pertaining to the salt-pits* which Ada, daughter of Will. Engayre, gave.

14. *The charter of Lord Ralph de la Ferte for a toft and two acres in Benmund,* in capite ejusdem ville apud Burc, quas Donaldus tenuit, et j rete ubique liberum cum hominibus meis ejusdem ville in Edena, et ubique cum hominibus de Brunescayd in Edena et Esk, et exsiccationem ejusdem retis.

15. *The charter of the Abbot and Convent of Holm Cultram for ten bledæ of salt yearly,* to be delivered by their cellarer at Martinmas.

16. *The charter of Osbert de Pridewans for ten acres in Pridewans, with a messuage which Hegrel held.*

17. *The quit-claim of Will. de Rodis, made to Lord Robert de Vaux,* of the land which the said Robert gave to him in Brampton, in consideration of money given to him by the said Robert in his sore (maxima) need. (c. 1215.)

18. *The charter of Robert, son of Walter de Conkilton for land in Kingeston in Scotland;* he says he has received from the Convent of Lanercost for homage and service, to be compounded for in feodo et hereditate by a payment of one pound of cummin at Carlisle Fair, the land which Will., son of John de Vaux, gave to the canons, and was held aforetime by Robert de Clifford, a toft and croft with one bovate of land quam Radulphus Pelliparius tenuit et j culturam in territorio de Kingeston que vocatur Quitelan, et aliam culturam in territorio de Fenton juxta maresium, et totam illam culturam que jacit inter terram Roberti Flandrensis et exitum de Kingeston usque ad maresium, et a maresio usque ad viam que tendit de Occidentali Fenton versus Carnundac, et iij acras terræ juxta sedem ovilis quæ fuit Ric. fil. Michaelis.

19. *The charter of Robert, son of Anketin,* with the consent of his son John, *for commoning of Denton granted to his son Anketin,* infra divisas scil. Hermitebec et Polternan in bosco

et plano in pasturis, infra sepes et extra, in mora, in mussa, in marisco, in viis, in aquis, to be held by this service, quòd ipse et heredes sui servient in domo meâ et heredum meorum die Natalis Domini singulis annis, si annunciavero eis viij diebus proxime futuris ante predictum tempus quòd sint parati ad illum servitium faciendum. . . . . Præterea concessi eis focalia et mayremium ad edificia facienda de bosco meo ubicunque eis necessarium invenire possint, salvo mihi pomerio meo . . . . facere stagnum quoddam super partem meam aquæ de Hermitbec si aliquod molendinum super partem suam facere voluerint . . . . . et si ad meum cum blado suo venerint molent absque multura et molendinator meus bladum suum sicut ut meum pro nihilo parabit, et molent propinquiores illo blado quod est in illo vase quod vocatum est Hoper. Preterea pannagium non dabunt de bestiis suis ubicunque ierint infra dictas divisas.

20. *The charter of Will., son of Will. de Ulvesby, for twenty-five acres in the territory of Ulvesby*, which Richard, his grandfather, gave to Odo, son of Eucine, with his daughter Essanda in marriage, viz. fifteen acres which Dundan held inter Kylis, et five acres with a wood adjacent as far as Aykelebec which Rich. de Ulvesby gave them, with a scalinga of Borvanis.

21. *The quit-claim of Adam de Crakehove for eight acres of land, with wood and meadow, in Ulvesbi*, to Walter, Prior of Lanercost, viz. land which Juliana, daughter of Odo, of Ulvesby, gave, with a scalinga in Boryganis, and a piece which reaches from South Moor to the Prior of Carlisle's Park.

22. *The charter of Rich. de Ulvesby for ten acres in his domain of Ulvesbi*, near the land of the canons of Carlisle on the north, with his part of Borvanis which he held to make a scalinga, and all the wood as far as Aikegilebec.

23. *The quit-claim of Ivo de Crakehove for land in Ulvesbi*, for ten acres which Odo de Ulvesbi held aforetime. (xiv. 9.)

24. *The quit-claim of Odo de Ulvesbi for ten acres in Ulvesbi.* (xiv. 10.)

25. *The charter of confirmation of the Lord Henry* [*II.*], *by the grace of God King of England, for the gifts and grants of Lord Robert de Vaux in land, churches, and possessions,* dated Woodstock.

26. *The confirmation of the Lord Henry* II., *by the grace of God King of England, for the gifts of Robert de Vaux and others for lands and churches granted to the church of Lanercost,* dated Woodstock.

EIGHTH PART.

1. *The confirmation of Lord Richard, by the grace of God King of England, for the gifts of Lord Robert de Vaux of churches granted to Lanercost.* (Porchester Kal. Apr. (no year given.) Printed in the Monasticon.)

2. *The confirmation of Lord Americ, Archdeacon of Carlisle, for churches and vicarages appertaining to the church of Lanercost.*

3. *The charter of Bernard,*[1] *Bishop of Carlisle, for the lands and churches of Lanercost,* quòd liceat Canonicis omnes terras Ecclesiarum decimationes et proventus in proprios usus convertere, et in propriis personis vel per Capellanos si maluerint ministrare, ita tamen quòd predicti Canonici tam de sinodalibus et episcopalibus quàm de auxiliis et hospitiis nostris et de successoribus nostris pro ipsis ecclesiis respondebunt. Decedentibus vel cedentibus personis vel vicariis in Ecclesiis suis ministrantibus, ingredi possessiones ecclesiarum ipsarum auctoritate propriâ Canonicis liceat et claves in manibus suis retinere.

4. *The confirmation of the Chapter of Carlisle for the gifts and grants of B., Bishop of Carlisle.*

Item alia carta Henn. de prefato dom. B. Karleolen, Epo.

5. *Composition between the Prior* G. *and Convent of Carlisle and Lord Robert de Vaux for the churches of Irthington and*

[1] Bernard occupied the see from 1157 to 1186. Aumeric de Tailboys, R. of Dalston, nephew of Bishop Poictiers of Durham, became Archdeacon 1196, and held it till 1204. (*B. Willis*, 305.)

Brampton; a renunciation of their rights in those churches before Robert, Archdeacon of Carlisle, and many clerks and laymen [The date is determined to be before 1180], the church of Haiton being given to the Convent of Carlisle.

6. *The charter of Lord Hugh, Bishop of Carlisle, for the churches of Hirthington, Walton, Brampton, Farlam, and Grenesdale* [Hugh, Abbot of Beaulieu, was consecrated Feb. 24, 1218, and died June 23, 1223], cum omnibus pertinentiis et obventionibus suis ad sustentationem pauperum et peregrinorum quos frequenter canonici suscipiunt. Ita tamen quòd vicarios idoneos Epo. Diocesano presentatos in eisdem ecclesiis ponant, qui curam gerant animarum, et respondeant Episcopo et ministris ejus in hiis que pertinent ad Episcopalia jura, assignata eisdem vicariis competenti portione, sicut eis poterit convenire.
7. *The confirmation of Lord Hugh, Bishop of Carlisle, for possession of churches for their own use.* Vicarii dummodo idonei sint qui Episcopo respondeant de spiritalibus et Priori et Canonicis de temporalibus.
8. *The confirmation (rata et firma habitudo) of* Bartholomew[1] *Prior and the Convent of Carlisle for having churches for their own use.*
9. *The letters testimonial of Lord Christian, Bishop of Whitherne, for the gift of Robert de Vaux, for holding churches for their own use.* Symon was Prior of Lanercost.
10. *The taxation of Lord H., Bishop of Carlisle,*[2] *for the Vicar of Brampton,* Master Thomas, clerk, collated to all the altarage there, the tithes, oblations, and offerings at the said altar. [Mr. Burn says c. 1220.]
11. *The charter of* Sylvester, *Bishop of Carlisle, on the taxation of Farlam Vicarage;* a second mediety of land granted to augment the vicarage, except an acre assigned to the canons for building a grange on. [A.D. 1251, dated at Beaulieu on Whitsun Monday.]

[1] The 4th Prior of Carlisle, date unknown.

[2] Hugh de Beaulieu, 1218–23.

12. *The charter of Lord* Sylvester,[1] *Bishop of Carlisle, on the taxation of Walton Vicarage* [St. Thomas's Day, 1252]. The Vicar was to have the altarage and six acres next the church; the canons to have the tithes of their two mills in Walton, and the chapel of Treverman, except mortuaries for those dying in that parish, the Convent being responsible for the services in it. (See xi. 2.)

13. *The confirmation of Carlisle Chapter on the taxation of Walton Vicarage,* 1252. Laurence Oliver renounces the vicarage.

14. *The confirmation of Lord Roger,*[2] *Archbishop of York, for all lands, rents, and churches granted by R. de Vaux and others to Lanercost Church.*

15. *The charter of Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, for the land of Lanercost and Walton, churches, lands, and rents given by R. de Vaux, Ada Engayne, and others.*

16. *The charter of Hugh, by Divine grace Bishop of Durham, for the church of Old Denton on the presentation of R. de Vaux and Rob., son of Asketill.* The canons, on a vacancy, were to present to the Bishop of Durham a perpetual Vicar, qui nobis Episcopales consuetudines reddat qui etiam victum percipiat, et Canonicis annuam pensionem dimidiæ tantùm marcæ persolvat, nisi eis nos ex nostra autoritate juxta ipsius Ecclesiæ augmentum et facultatem in posterum plus percipere concesserimus, quod tamen in vitâ guerri, quem primum recepimus, ullatenus fieri volumus. [Hugh Pudsey, Bishop, 1153–94.]

17. *The charter of Gilbert,*[3] *by Divine grace Bishop of Carlisle, for the remission of a pension for Karlaton Church,* viz. two marks of silver hitherto paid to the Bishop of Carlisle from the chamber of the Prior.

18. *The confirmation of Pope Alexander III.,* A.D. 1181, *for the possession of the churches of Lanercost, Walton, Hyirthington, Brampton, Karlaton, Farlam, Grenesdale, and other sums, rents, lands, possessions, and other matters pertaining*

[1] Sylvester de Everdon, Bishop, 1246–54.
[2] Roger, Archbishop, 1154–81.
[3] Gilbert de Welton, Bishop, 1353–62.

to Lanercost Church, directed to Symon the Prior and the Convent.

Quotiens a nobis petitur quod religioni et honestati convenire dignoscitur, animo nos decet libenti concedere et petentium desideriis congruum suffragium impertiri, (I.) eapropter, dilecti in Domino filii, vestris justis postulationibus clementer annuimus; et prefatam ecclesiam in quâ Divino mancipati estis obsequio sub B. Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus et presentis scripti privilegio communimus, inprimis siquidem statuentes ut ordo Canonicus, qui secundum Deum et B. Augustini regulam in domo vestra institutus esse dinoscitur, perpetuis ibidem temporibus inviolabiliter observetur. Preterea quascunque possessiones, quecunque bona eadem Ecclesia inpræsentiarum juste et canonice possidet, aut in futurum concessione pontificum, largitione regum, vel principum oblatione fidelium seu aliis justis modis præstante Domino poterit adipisci, firma vobis vestrisque successoribus et illibata permaneat. In quibus hec propriis duximus exprimenda vocabulis. The grants are then recited. Liceat quoque vobis clericos et laicos e seculo fugientes liberos et absolutos absque alicujus contradictioni ad conversionem recipere, et in vestra ecclesia retinere. Prohibemus insuper ut nulli fratrum vestrorum post factam in eodem loco professionem sine Prioris sui licentia, nisi arctioris religionis obtentu, fas sit de eodem loco discedere. Discedentem vero communi literarum cautione nullus audeat retinere. In parochialibus autem ecclesiis, quas tenetis, liceat vobis Presbiteros eligere et diocesano episcopo presentare, quibus si idonei fuerint, Episcopus curam animarum committat, et ei de spiritualibus vobis verò de temporalibus debeant respondere. Cùm vero generale Interdictum terræ fuerit liceat vobis januis clausis, non pulsatis campanis, exclusis excommunicatis et interdictis, submissa voce Divina officia celebrare. (II.) Sepulturam quoque ipsius loci liberam esse decernimus ut eorum devotioni et extreme voluntati, qui se illic sepeliri deliberaverint, nisi forte excommunicati vel interdicti sint nullus obsistat, salvâ tamen justitia illarum ecclesiarum è quibus mortuorum corpora assumuntur. (III.) Obeunte verò te nunc ejusdem loci priore, vel tuorum quolibet successorum nullus ibi qualibet subreptionis astutia seu violentia preponatur,

nisi quem fratres communi consensu vel fratrum pars consilii sanioris secundum Deum et B. Augustini regulam providerint eligendum. Decernimus ergo ut nulli omnino homini liceat ecclesiam vestram temere perturbare, aut ejus possessiones auferre, vel ablatas retinere minuere seu quibuslibet vexationibus fatigare, sed omnia integra conserventur eorum pro quorum gubernatione et sustentatione concessa sint usibus omnimodis profutura. Si qua igitur in futurum ecclesiastica secularisve persona hanc nostræ constitutionis paginam sciens contra eam temere temptaverit, secundo tertiove commonita nisi presumptionem sua digna satisfactione correxerit potestatis honorisque sui dignitate careat, reamque se divino judicio existere de perpetratæ iniquitate cognoscat et a sacratissimo corpore et sanguine Dei et Dom. Redemptoris nostri Jesu Christi aliena fiat atque, in extremo examine distincte ultioni subjaceat. Cunctis autem eidem loco sua jura servantibus sit pax Dom. nostri J. C. quatenus et hic fructum bone actionis percipiant et apud districtum Judicem premia eterne pacis inveniant. Amen. Test. Cardinalibus ac eorum Presb. Diac. Subdiaconis, et clericis cum subscriptionibus eorundem in litera principali contentis. Datum Viterbii per manum Alberti S. Rom. Ecc. Presb. Cardin. et Cancellarii 2do Id. Aug. Indict. xiv^a^ Incarn. Dom. a° mclxxxi. Pont. vero Dom. Alex. P. III. a° xxii°.

19. [1184.] *The charter of Pope Lucius III. for possession of the lands of Lanercost, Warthcoleman, Brenkibeth, the town of Walton, Roswrageth, Appletrethwayte, and the churches of Walton, Brampton, Orthington, Farlam, and Grenesdale, with Treverman chapel, and other rents and lands,* addressed to Prior Simon. Dat. Verronæ, Id. Febr., Indict. iii^a^, Incarn. Dom a° mclxxxiiij., Pont. vero dom. Lucii P. III. a° iv°.

20. [1224.] *The confirmation of Pope Honorius III. for possession and rents of churches and lands belonging to Lanercost.* The same as that of Pope Alexander, except in the following passages:—

(1.) . . . Religiosam vitam eligentibus Apostolicum convenit adesse presidium ne forte cujuslibet temeritatis incursus aut eos a proposito revocet aut robur, quod absit, Sacræ religionis infringat.

(II.) . . . Chrisma vero oleum sacrum consecrationis altarium aut Basilicarum, ordinationes clericorum, qui ad sacros ordines fuerint promovendi, a diocesano suscipietis Episcopo, si quidem catholicus fuerit et communionem SS. Romanæ sedis habuerit, et eam vobis voluerit sine pravitate aliqua exhibere, alioquin liceat vobis quemcunque malueritis catholicum adire antistitem, gratiam et communionem apostolicæ sedis habentem, qui nostra freta auctoritate vobis quod postulatis impendat. Prohibemus insuper ut infra fines parochiæ vestræ nullus sine assensu diocesani episcopi et vestro capellam seu oratorium de novo construere audeat salvis privilegiis Pontificum Romanorum.

(III.) Decimas preterea et possessiones ad jus ecclesiarum vestrarum spectantes, que a laicis detinentur, redimendi et legitime liberandi de manibus eorum, et ad ecclesias ad quas pertinent revocandi, libera sit vobis de nostra auctoritate facultas.

Dat. Laterani per manum Gwydonis dom. Papæ notarii v° Kalend. Jun., Indict. xii., Incarn. Dom. mccxiiij°, Pontif. Hon. P. III. a° viii°.

21. *The letter of Lord Honorius, Pope, for the recovery of lands, possessions, rents, churches, and goods alienated from Lanercost Church.*

22. *The letter of P. Innocent for protection of the Church of Lanercost in lands, rents, possessions, and all other churches belonging to the same church.*

23. *The confirmation of Lord Pope Alexander for Walton* vicarage *with its taxation.*

24. *The confirmation of Lord Pope Innocent for Walton church.*

PART NINTH.

1. *The confirmation of Lord Thos. de Muleton for all lands, rents, possessions, and tenements, with their possessions which the Prior and Convent of Lanercost hold and held at the time of this writing.*

2. *A covenant cyrograph made between* J. *the Prior and Convent of Hexham, and the Prior and Convent of Lanercost, for bounds in Brenkibet and for Byres.* At the instance of Tho. de Muleton the Convent of Hexham have granted *to*

the Convent of Lanercost for the annual rent of one pound of cummin to be paid at Hexham at the nativity of St. John Baptist, transitum per medium terræ nostræ de Byris et de Langedon, ad averia sua propria et hominum suorum in terram suam de Loftoleis et de Brenkibeth, ibi manentium in remotiore parte moræ nostræ versus divisas de Cumberland, scil. incipiendo versus occidentem ad finem magni fossati nostri quod circuit Aligscelertan ex transverso per metas ibi appositas usque in Brenkibetburne, et inde ex transverso moræ nostræ in Langedon per metas ibi appositas usque in Karlelgate. The Convent of Lanercost granted, at a similar rent paid at Lanercost, to that of Hexham, licence to strengthen their mill-pool at Byres on their land of Lofteleis and Brenkibet, et liberum transitum cum carris et aliis necessariis per terram suam ad terras nostras circa Lofteleys, salvâ indempnitate bladorum et fenorum suorum, et si eis per transitum nostrum factum fuerit dampnum per visum vicinorum utriusque partis eis sine contentione satisfiet.

3. [1259.] *The final agreement,* in the presence of the Abbot of Holme,[1] the Prior of Wedderhall, and their commissioners, *between the Prior and Convent of Carlisle and the Prior and Convent of Lanercost for new cultivated lands in Grenewell,* in Hayton parish, viz. ten acres, of which the Convent of Lanercost should receive the great and little tithes, paying 5*s.* yearly to that of Carlisle, the latter being permitted to remove all buildings on Hayton Common within three years, and to have right of pasture in Grenewell after the removal of the crops.

4. [1256.] *The final agreement made between Lord Thos., son of Thos. de Muleton, and the Prior and Convent of Lanercost for a claim of the two Askertons before the justices* itinerant, John, Abbot of Peterborough, Roger de Thenkelby, Peter de Percy, Nic. de Haulo, John de Wyvill. The Prior Walter was to hold the land within these bounds: sicut Sikenet descendit in Hertleburn, et de Hertleburn

[1] Henry (Monast. v. 393).

linealiter usque in Blakeburn, et sic descendendo usque i. Byres, et de Byres ascendendo per Hertleburn usque ad divisas inter Gillesland et Tyndal, et ab eisdem divisis ad novum fossatum quod est inter Brenkybet et moram ejusdem vill. et sic versus occidentem usque ad vetus fossatum Canonicorum, sicut illud fossatum descendit in Sekenet: licence to build twenty messuages within these bounds, to have one scalinga in Tynelside next Hellegille where Helleg' water flows into Farnebek, etc. In case the Canons' cattle strayed into the lord's domains of Askerton, or from Bankes Burtholm and Eyketon, non dabunt eskapium sed dampnum quod fecerint per visum emendabunt. The Convent might enclose with ditch or hedge their park of Warthcolman and have a salterium[1] therein. Their two woodwards before they could exercise power in balliva sua, were to appear in Tho. de Multon's court at Irthington and there fidelitatem facient de venatione fideliter observanda ad opus Tho. et Matilde, but the Prior and Convent might have iv. leporarios et iv. brachettas[2] currentes cùm voluerint ad capiendum in dominicis terris et boscis suis, vulpes et lepores et omnia alia animalia que vocantur clobest. Et licebit hominibus suis portare arcus et sagittas in viis et semitis per totam baroniam de Gillesland sine dampno faciendo feris in eadem forresta de Gillesland; and inclose on their own land dum tamen fere bestie liberum possint habere ingressum et egressum, per omnes predictas terras preterquam in parco de Warthcolman quam Prior includere potest pro voluntate sua in perpetuum.

Transcript of charters, cyrograffs, and quit-claims for lands, rents, and common pastures, belonging to the church of Lanercost for ever, in the time of Lord John the second, Prior of Lanercost, bought or given with final agreement.

5. *The charter of Alexander* de Vallibus, *of Treverman, for commoning of Treverman.* 1263. Made in presence of Peter

[1] I. 9., saltus, a cover.

[2] Brachet, a dog that runs by scent. Brach is frequently used by Shakspeare.

de Percy, justiciary, and Robert, Bishop of Carlisle, his assessor (associato). Excepta placea vocata Warthdreggele and his park; et quòd omnia averia per totum pascantur infra sepes et stipulas[1] et extra in pastura singulis annis a festo Om. Sanct. perpetuo duraturis usque ad novum inbladiationem, salvis sibi et hominibus suis seminibus hyemalibus. Alexander might inclose forty acres in Thowedewire. If the cattle of Walton or Cumquenach should trespass on Treverman pasture, he should pay nomine emendæ donatum for six cattle of three years, or for ten goats, or for twenty sheep, or for ten pigs of one year and upwards.

6. *The quit-claim of John Layr for land in Lanreton* called Eustathe Redding, and that given by Anketin, son of Robert, son of Anketin.

7. *The quit-claim of Walter de Geysley for the land of Gartheys*, Bracanhirst, and Cumeverwan in Cumquenecatch.

8. *The quit-claim of Walter de Sanser for half a carucate in Hayton with a rent of 2d.*

9. *The charter of Lord Thos. de Multon and Matilda his wife for the land of Warthcolman, which was held by William the chaplain,* descendendo per Veterem Murum versus occidentem usque in Poltrosse, et sic per Poltrosse ascendendo versus aquilonem usque ad sepem erectam a parte aquilonari de Warthcolman usque in Poltrosse, et descendendo per sepem versus orientem usque ad terram Prioris.

10. *The charter of obligation of Eudo de Skyrwith for half a mark of silver, annual rent for land in Ulvesby* to the fabric of Lanercost Church.

11. *The sentence of the judges* (the Sub-prior of Carlisle acting for the Bishop of Carlisle) *against Wm. de Kenby and his men who would not tithe their sheaves at the Grange doors,* enforcing the custom under pain of excommunication. 1267. (See xiv. 14.)

[1] Stipulæ, probably wooden fences (comp. x. 1). The word is not in Ducange, who, however, gives "stipulum," καλαμη; in xiii. 8, stipulæ appears to mean stubble.

12. *An agreement made in presence of Lord H. de Bacon, justice of the Lord King, and his fellows (socios) between the Prior and Convent of Lanercost and Lord Thos. de Multon and Matilda his wife, concerning divers differences and the perambulation made by twelve lawful men*, 1255, four of them being Lord Wm. de Vaux, Roger de Levinton, Eudo de Skerewith, and Adam de Thirlewall, who chose eight others. The confirmation is in c. 4 above. The Prior is allowed hagas de quibus tulerit assisas novæ disseisinæ relevare. The agreement is to be enrolled in the King's Court.

13. *The charter of W. Grindegreth* de Dumfres, with the assent of Alice his wife, *for one stone of wax yearly* or four stone of salt from his houses in Dumfres, between the houses of John Grindegret, his brother, and Michael Geargun.

14. [1272.] *The grant of Laysingby Church*, on the resignation of Hugh de Moleton, sometime Custos, *to the Prior's use* (ii. 16) quòd Prior et Conventus manifeste premuntur onere paupertatis ac alias per concursum diversorum hospitum quorum admissioni resistere non valeant . . . . redditusque eorum fere tenues et exiles ac Prioratum in tali loco esse situm ubi concursus transeuntium est communis, ac ipsos etiam in receptando et hospitando potentes proceres et magnates et alios minimos et etiam mediocres ad ipsos in hujusmodi transitu declinantes gravibus sumptibus multotiens aggravatos . . . . attendentes laudabile testimonium quod de eis a viris fide dignis communiter perhibetur . . . . decimam garbarum parochie de Laysingby recipient in campis integraliter nomine personatus, de quibus Ecclesiæ vicario ij eskeppas farinæ avenæ ad festum S. Andree Ap. solvent annuatim; et toftum et croftum iij acrarum terræ que Thomas King tenuit libera ab omni decimatione in quibus edificare potuerint, et decimas cùm collectæ fuerint reponere sicut decet. Vicarius habeat domos et aream que consueverunt esse rectoris Ecclesiæ, terram totam, totum pratum, tenentes ecclesiæ, et eorum redditus que rectores habere solebant, libera ab omni decima et pensione, et pensiones cum pascuis et pasturis, decimas molendinorum et

parcorum, altaragium cum omnibus oblationibus mortuariis obventionibus, decimas garbarum, bladi crescentis, in ortis lini et canabi ubicunque crescat in parochia, et omnimodis minutis decimis preterquam de orto Prioris et Conventus. Synodalia, archidiaconalia, ac alia onera ordinaria persolvat, et ecclesiæ prout decet ydonee deserviat, luminaria subministret, et in ea hospitalitatem teneat prout suæ ingruerit porcionis; vestimenta etiam et alia ornamenta Ecclesiæ sustineat; et si coopertum cancelli immineat illud cooperiat; et si contigerit ipsum cancellum dirui in toto vel in parte casu aliquo Prior et Conventus cancellum in opere lapideo et grosso meremio suis propriis sumptibus reficient, ac etiam relevabunt. Et si contingat sepe dictam ecclesiam libris aliquibus indigere (excepto Missali cujus exhibitio ad parochianos spectat) vel aliqua onera extraordinaria casualiter imminere, seu aliquem partem pasture in parochia, de novo redigi ad culturam, Prior et Conventus pro medietate et Vicarius pro alia medietate, libros necessarios reparabunt, de extraordinariis omnibus pro medietate similiter respondebunt. Dat. ap. Rosam.

15. [1273.] *The charter of John,* son of John *de Denton, for common pasture in Denton,* and three men to attend the cattle in the Priory of Holme, between Pohedich and Polternan, in tempore estivo, ubique extra sepes et alias clausturas, et statim post amocionem bladorum et fœnorum infra sepes, et extra usque ad aliam inbladiationem. Si autem averia capientur super semina hyemalia et dampnum fecerint illud per visum bonorum et legalium hominum emendent, si dampnum non fecerint recapientur in pasturam suam sine dampno. If his cattle stray into the holm before the feast of All Saints, capiantur et infra predictum holmum impascentur, et antequam deliberentur detur pro quibuslibet iv equis s. equabus, j denarius, pro quibuslibet viii bobus vel vaccis seu aliis junioribus averiis ejusdem generis, j den.; pro iv porcis, j den.; pro xxiv bidentibus, j d.; si autem argentum non habeatur promptum, quantum debeat solvi detur sufficiens vadium servienti illud dupliciter valens

12. *An agreemen* ... dierum, ita quòd sub pœna amissi-
of the Lo ... ebdomadam primam post captionem
and Con
Matild ... *Matilda de Multon for escapium of cattle in*
ambu ... *John* was Prior.] If the cattle of the Priory
bein ... demesnes, the Prior and Convent are not to
Sk ... but for five cattle, viz. oxen, cows, horses,
T ... *1d.*, for ten sheep, 1*d.*

13. ... *for the gift of a spring*, by the same, which rises in ... part of her land towards Crechok, which Laurence de Bankis had held, near Craghyrst, ut possint aquam per medium terram attrahere, et per ductum subterraneum ad domum suam de Lanercost ducere; et circa fontem clausturam et lapidea constructione circumcingere et cooperire.

18. *The charter of Ranulph*, son of Alexander, *de Vaux, for the turbaries of Treverman* (see ii. 22) made to the Convent and their men in Kyrkeland, Lanrecaythin, Warthcoleman, and Roswrageth.

19. *The charter of Ranulph*, son of Alexander, *de Vaux, confirming the charter of his grandfather Roland, granting Husebote*[1] *and Haybote.* Roland gave totam terram quam Nich. Newell held juxtà terram de Warcolem scil. ab antiquo Muro infra fossatum versus orientem usque ad domum Petri de Warcolem, et inde totam terram in bosco et plano infra fossatum versus orientem cum ij essartis que Henricus de Cellar tenuit, que fossate et sepe concluduntur; et terram juxta Lanrecaythen (i. 6; xv. 17) versus orientem scil. a rivulo qui vocatur Merebec usque ad aggerem lapideum proxime jacentem, et inde totam terram infra fossatum in bosco et plano versus aquilonem, et inde per King usque ad divisas de Lanrecaythin et ij acras terræ juxta Capellam de Treverman ex altera parte torrentis versus orientem juxta semitam tendentem ad capellam versus Pridevans.

20. *The charter of Ranulph*, son of Alexander, *de Vaux*, of Treverman, *in warrantry of fifteen acres of land in Treverman,*

[1] Husbote, right to take wood to build a house. (Ducange, *s. v.*) Haybote, the right to take wood to make hedges. (Ibid.)

. Robert Russell, husband of Gyliana, his sister, and ners.

TENTH PART.

The charter of Ranulph de Vaux for common pasture of ten she-goats and other cattle in Treverman, except in his park of Wardragel and Towodemyre when enclosed et stipulis dominiorum.

2. *The charter of Lord Wm. de Kirketon,* lord of Cumren, *for* a rent of 12*d.* from land in Talkan Town, which Matilda, daughter of Alan de Talkan, held.
3. *The charter of Walter Niger, for tithe of corn* and sheaves in Fuelwode, to be paid no longer in the fields, but at the *Grange door.* 1273.
4. *The charter of Walter, Bishop of Carlisle, for a yearly pension* of five marks *out of Denton Church* to the Priories of Lanercost and Wederhall.
5. *The charter of Matilda de Multon confirming the land of Warthcolman.* (See ix. 9.)
6. *The charter of Lord Thomas de Multon,* lord of Gillesland, *for the land of Prestover,* in Irthington parish. (See xv. 6.)
7. *The charter of Matilda de Vaux, in her widowhood, for the land of Prestover,* incipiendo ad aquam de Heder, ubi Siketta que vocatur Warynoksike cadit in Heder, et sic per predictam Sikettam et certam divisam inter Prestover et Kirkecamboc usque in aliam sikettam que vocatur Clanbek, et sic descendendo per Clanbek usque in aquam de Camboc, et sic descendendo per Camboc usque ad Sikettam per quam descendit aqua de novo fossato usque in Camboc, et sic ascendendo per illam sykettam usque ad novum fossatum, et sic per illud fossatum usque ad caput occidentale illius fossati, et ab illo dicti fossati capite linealiter ex transverso usque ad dumum super Heder, qui die quo saysina facta fuit dictis Canonicis vocabitur Frerebuske[1], et a dicto dumo sursum per Heder usque ad locum ubi predicta syketta de

[1] *I.e.* Fratrum boscum.

Wraynok cadit in Heder. She also confirms the land which Reyniger Grene held between Quinquarth hill and the exit (exitum) de Walton towards Cambock moor; and the latter and Camboc water, which Richard Claudus held. The canons might make any appruyamenta[1] within their bounds, and enclosures sine saltorio vel aliquo alio impedimento ferarum: they might hunt within their bounds et si canes sui ad aliquam feram infra divisas currere dimissi divisas transierint, et super feram extra divisas vel sine feram capti fuerint infra baroniam meam de Gillesland, fera remaneat mihi et heredibus meis et canes Canonicis vel eorum hominibus quieti deliberentur.

8. *A composition and ordinance of Lord Robert,*[2] *Bishop of Carlisle, for the vicarage of Yrthington Church,* 1275. The Vicar is to have tithes of all sheaves a descensu aquæ molendini de Erthington in Erthin usque ad molendinum; et sic ascendendo per ductum aquæ molendini usque ad Kerbanc, et sic per summitatem de Kerbank versus aquilonem usque ad Cumrech, et per occidentalem costeram de Cumrech, et per palos ibidem fixos usque ad summitatem de Banks inter Cumrech et murum antiquum, et sic per illam summitatem usque ad Murum, et sic per eundem Murum versus occidentem usque ad divisam que est inter Erthington et Blaterne, et sic a Murum per divisam illam versus austrum, usque ad divisam que est inter Erthington et Neuby, et sic per illam divisam usque ad aquam de Erthin, et sic ascendendo per aquam de Irthin usque ad descensum aquæ predicti molendini in Erthin, et quòd cursus aquæ de Irthin pro certa divisa habeatur de cetero inter parochias de Erthington et Brampton ubi major pars ejusdem aquæ currit. The canons, as Rectors (nomine personatus) to have all the other tithes of sheaves in Irthington parish outside these bounds, except those grown in William de Neuby's garden, and those of others which fall to the

[1] ? Appruyamenta, another form of approvamenta, improvements rather than "fruits of the earth."

[2] Robert de Chancey, Bishop, 1258–79.

Vicar, who is to pay unam eskeppam et dim. avene farine yearly to the canons.

9. *The charter of Lord Walter,*[1] *Bishop of Carlisle, for the institution of Wm. de Meleburn into Yrthington vicarage,* vice Robert; the Vicar to receive all the small tithes of corn belonging to altarage; tithe of hay and mill in the parish, and of corn in the town, paying to the canons yearly iij eskeppas farine et ij eskeppis brasii. [1225.]

10. *The charter of Matilda de Multon for the grant of land beyond Knoveran, which was held by Roger de Mora* ab aqua de Cnaveron ascendendo per sepem orientalem terræ ad primum angulum illius sepis, et ab illo angulo versus aquilonem, linealiter ex transverso more per palos in mora fixos usque ad sepem predicte terre ex altera parte illius more, et sic per sepem illam descendendo usque in sikam que nominatur Depsyke que est inter terram predictam et terram de Wrangham, et sic descendendo per illam sikam usque in aquam de Cambock, et sic descendendo per aquam de Cambock usque ad locum ubi aqua de Cnaveron descendit in Cambock, et sic ascendendo per aquam de Cnaveren usque ad sepem prenominatam.

11. [1276.] *The charter of Matilda de Multon for common pasture in Brampton and Buethby,* which Robert, son of Hubert de Vaux, gave to the canons to make tithe barns, Robert de Vallibus then holding the lands of Buethby.

12. *The charter of Lord Thomas,* son of Thomas, *de Multon,* of Gillesland, *for the land of Harescowe* (Hareschonch), *with common pasture* per suas divisas que modo vocatur a patriotis Munkharechonch, of the gift of Ada Engayne and Hugo de Moreville. (See ii. 11, 12.)

13. *The charter of Lord Thomas de Multon for the land of Munkharesiowe; saving the* 8*d.* (paid out of Neutegeld to) *of the Lord King.* The place is called Little Hariscohul, Harischongh, and Harischoul.

14. *The charter of John, son of John Denton, for bark* of oaks *in his wood.* [1278.]

[1] Walter de Malclerk, Bishop, 1223–46.

15. *The quit-claim of Theffania Werry and Margaret, her sister,* daughters of Lucia Werri, *for the land of Clovesgill* in Farlam. (xiii. 21.)
16. [1279.] *The quit-claim of a charter* given by Nicholas, son of John Werri. The former grantees renounce a suit which they had instituted against the Convent before the Justices in Northumberland, Westminster, and York, for the recovery of the charter, as unjust.
17. [1279.] *The quit-claim of forty acres of land, Clovesgill, claimed against William de Mora* and Agnes his wife per breve regis, before the justices itinerant, a° vii Edw. unjustly, the same at their death to devolve to the Priory. (See xii. 13, 16, 17.)
18. *The charter* of Matilda de Multon *for tithe of hay in Northmore.* 1285.
19. [1287.] *The charter of Gilbert de Grenesdale,* citizen of Carlisle, *for* 1*s. yearly in Carlisle* from land in Via Francorum and the house formerly occupied by William the chaplain adjoining that of Michael de Haverington.

ELEVENTH PART.

1. *The charter of Lord Geoffrey de Tylleol for the remission of* 1*d., and multura of the land of Scaleby,* confirming the charter of Simon his grandfather.
2. *The ordinance and taxation of Lord Ralph, Bishop of Carlisle, for Walton Vicarage,* dated at Lynstock 3 Kal. Dec. 1287, the vicar to have totum altaragium cum tota terra et edificiis, et iv solidos argenti, paid at Easter and Michaelmas, or xii marcas in pecunia numerata loco taxationis competentis porcionis cum edificiis et orto adjacenti; the Convent to have the tithes of their two mills, and to provide for the service of Treverman chapel; the vicar to find all onera ordinaria et ornamenta ecclesiæ, and to repair the chancel where the expenses will not exceed 12*d.* (See viii. 12.)
3. *The confirmation of* Prior Adam and *the chapter of Carlisle for the aforesaid ordinance and taxation of Lord Ralph, Bishop of Carlisle, for Walton Vicarage.*

4. *The collation and confirmation of Lord Ralph, Bishop of Carlisle, for the appropriation of Churches.* (Dated, Lynstock, 14 Kal. Jan. 1287.)
5. *The confirmation of the above by the chapter of Carlisle.*
6. *The charter for a stone quarry,* by Matilda de Multon, in Gillesland, but not in her park or among corn. Dated, Yrthington, 1292, 12 Kal. Aug.
7. *The quit-claim of the land of Pevilhave* by Robert de Denton as he could not pay so large a rent as 16*s.* a year. Dated Lanercost, 1294. (iii. 7; v. 26.)
8. *The charter of Matilda de Vaux for tithe of all kinds,* to be accounted for by bailiffs and provosts of her lands before auditors of accompt. Dated, Bellum Salacium, in Fulewode, 1287.
9. *The charter of K. Edward, son of Henry, for a messuage in Carlisle, given by Robert le Whayte.* 1304. Dated Stivelyn, July 28.
10. *The charter of Rob. le Wayt for the said land in Vico Ricardi* lying between the lands of Will. le Taylleur and William Snapp. xv. 9.

TWELFTH PART.

1. *The charter of Lord John de Buethby, chaplain, for certain land in Carlisle city, in via piscatorium,* lying between Richard de Thoresby's land and Adam Codel's tenure, *given by him to the house of Lanercost to provide two tapers (tortos) at St. Mary's altar* at the elevation of Christ's body in the Lady mass, the canons to pay husegabell de libero burgagio to the Crown.
2. *The charter of Lord Edward, King of England, for the grant of the right of patronage of Mitteford and Carlaton churches,* dated Carlisle, March 17, 1307, in consideration of combustionem domorum et depredationem bonorum ejusdem Prioratus per Scotos, et diutinam moram quam nuper fecimus[1] dum adversa corporis valetudine detinebamur, and the

[1] On Sept. 11, 1280, the King with Q. Eleanor visited Lanercost for hunting in Inglewood (Chron. Laner. 106). On Sept. 29, 1306,

Priory being in consequence depauperatus multipliciter et depressus.

3. *The charter of Lord Antony,*[1] *Bishop of Durham, for the appropriation of Mitford Church,* of which Robert de Leyschoch is rector. It describes lamentabilem statum ecclesiæ de Lanercost per repentini incendii voraginem jam consumptæ, necnon alia loca nonnulla per[2] sævientem Scotorum incursum, depredationes innumeras, et hostiles invasiones eorundem multiplices in favillas et cineres jam redacta. Dated Midelham, Sept. 9, 1307.

4. *The charter of John, Bishop of Carlisle, for the appropriation of Carlaton Church,* of which Robert de London is rector. He says, Vos in vineâ Domini per regulares observantias Deo placabiles, hospitalitatem honorabilem et alia multiplicia caritatis opera novimus vigilancius laborare . . . pensantes ob cotidianum adventum regalis exercitus per vos ac frequentem aliorum supervenientium concursum onerosum vestra hospitalitas que ad premissa minus sufficit plus solito aggravatur, etc. Dated at Rose, 13 Kal. Oct. 1308.

he arrived with Q. Margaret at the Priory, and did not leave it till nearly Easter on March 1, 1307 (Ibid. 205, 206). In 1300, in June, he came with Hugo de Veer and stayed in the Priory on his way to the siege of Carlaverock (ibid. 194).

[1] Bec. Patriarch of Jerusalèm.

[2] In 1296, in April, they "destroyed" Hexham, Lanercost, and Lamblei (Chron. 174, 191). In 1311 Robert Bruce spent three days in the Priory doing infinite harm (218). In 1346 David Bruce robbed the treasury and sacristy, breaking the doors, and nearly committing everything to ruin (346). Half a century later, the same misfortune befell the monastery. Archbishop Bowet (Reg. p. i. 292) in an indulgence writes, "Monasterium cum majoribus edificiis gravem minatur ruinam, eorumque edificia et possessiones, quibus olim laudabiliter dotabantur, per crebros Scotorum incursus, quibus resistere sua non dubium facultas minime suppetebat dilapidantur, et per incendia consummantur, ac eorum terræ eo pretextu præsertim cum in dictorum Scotorum confinio sitæ consistant, jacent incultæ et sic eis efficiuntur inutiles." Dated 1409.

5. *The confirmation of* Prior Robert[1] and *the chapter of Carlisle for the same.* 5 Id. Nov. 1308.
6. *The confirmation of Lord Edward, K. of England, son of Edward, for Midford and Carlaton churches.* Dated Westminster, May 8, 1309.
7. *Quit-claim of Alexander,* son of Roger, son of *Baldwin, for land which Gilbert, son of Gamelin, held in Walton territory.* (See ch. 11.)
8. *Quit-claim of Beatrice, late wife of Roger,* son of Baldwin, *for the third part of the land of Roger, her late husband,* for a large sum of money given to her and the confirmation of the land of Cokkeschahye.
9. *Quit-claim of Alexander,* son of Roger, son of *Baldwyn, for the whole land which he held of the Prior and Convent of Lanercost* within Gillesland.
10. *Quit-claim of Thomas, son of Robert de Camboc, for the land which Alexander, son of* Roger, son of *Baldwyn, resigned to the Prior and Convent of Lanercost in Walton territory.* 1292.
11. *Quit-claim of Alexander,* son of Roger, son of *Baldwyn, for seven acres in Walton territory* inter Murum antiquum et viam que extendit de Walton versus boscum de Walton et aquam de Byris et divisam meam. 1272.
12. *Cyrograph between the Prior and Convent of Lanercost and Walter de Griselye for Brakanherste,* in Cumquenecan, in exchange for *and Heyning in the territory of Cumquenecach.* 1250. Walter de Gresley to be empowered to enclose in his lifetime within his holding of Garthys, with a hedge to prevent harm to the cattle of the convent, and to have right of common ultra Creveran usque ad sicam que oritur subtus Galnbery et descendit in Camboc, at a yearly rent for enclosure and pasturage of one pound of cummin to be paid at Carlisle fair, and to give the same privilege si terram suam de Garthays alicui ad firmam dimiserit, qui capitale domicilium de se tenuerit; but after his death the hedge shall be removed; and he will not move any suit with re-

[1] Robert Helperton.

spect to removing essart or hedge, or stagnum molendini in Cumquenhat firmatum a principio mundi usque ad principium hujus conventionis.

13. [1271.] *Quit-claim of Will. de Mora and Agnes his wife for the third part of Quinquathill,* or Quinchachill in Little Camboc, *and land in Clovesgill,* in Farlam, formerly belonging to Nicholas, son of John, vicar of Brampton, to be held of the Convent at a yearly rent of 20*s.* payable at Pentecost and Martinmas, et iij carrata feni per annum de pratis de Clovegille, hoc vix modo, quòd quando prata de Clovesgile fuerint falcata fena siccata et sumptibus predictorum W. et A. omnino perfecta, et ad cariandum prompta pred. W. et A. antequàm aliquid de dicto feno carriaverint pred. Priorem et Conventum munient, quòd ipsi veniant vel mittant ad dicta prata, et tunc de meliori feno eligerint et capiant quantum dehinc per iij vices super unum plaustram ad tractum viii boum cariare voluerint vel j vice super iij plaustra et ubi voluerint carriabunt. John was Prior of Lanercost. If after her husband's death Agnes in any way trespassed on the land then the Prior and Convent might expel her and retain it in their own hands, or if in any way she alienated or farmed it, until amends were made and security given; she might only cut in the woods to erect hedges or repair and make her buildings. (i. 17.)

14. *Quit-claim of Agnes Loveles,* widow, *for a third part of Quinquathile,* on consideration of an annuity from the Convent.

15. [1320.] *Quit-claim of Ranulf de Dakre,* lord of Gillesland, *for Quinquathyll,* in Little Cambok, which Adam Stacey held.

15. *Quit-claim of John Stacy of Quinqwaythill.*

17. [1331.] *Quit-claim of John Stacy for charters, actions, and demands for the land of Quinqwaythill,* freeing the Convent from any account for the loss of a charter in their custody, which was burned at Carlisle with other matters of the Convent during war-time.

18. *The charter of Roger, son of Poer, for sixteen acres in Cumquencath* to Gilbert Faber on his marriage with Matilda,

Roger's daughter, viz. i toftum, i croftum de j acra juxta domum meam, et ij acras juxta boscum, et 1½ acram super Middelflat, et dim. acram super Milneflat, et dim. acram super Bigridding, et j acram et dim. juxta viam, et j rodum super Hille, et dim. acram et j rodam super Horreum Gilberti versus mariscum, et viii acras infra meas divisas, at a rent to the Convent of 20*d.* at Easter and Michaelmas.

19. *Quit-claim of Juliana,* daughter of William, son of Iggeram, *late wife* of *Robert,* son of Gilbert *Faber,* of Garthes, in Cumquenkat, *for the third part of sixteen acres in Cumquencath,* whereof j acra jacet in Garthes apud Sumerkelde, et j acra in Milneflaten parte aquilonari, et j acra in Langelandes versus domum Henrici de Mora, et dim. acra in Middelflat, et dim. acra in Edolhmstede, et dim. acra in Bigridding, et dim. acra in Bigriddingholme, et dim. roda et quarta pars j rodæ in forinseca parte tofti quondam Gilberti. [C. 1263.]

20. *Quit-claim of Matilda, daughter of Roger, son of Poer, for twenty-two acres in Garthes.*

21. [1293.] *Quit-claim of Beatrice, daughter of Roger Faber and Juliana de Walton, for Cumquenehat and Garthes.*

22. [1252.] *Composition between the Canons of Lanercost and Ronald,* son of Alan, *and Isabella, his wife, for Torcrossoc for bounds between Torcrossoc and Cumquenecat* and the two Askertons. The Convent grants to Ronald and Isabella medietatem de Lungesochshale then enclosed.

23. *Quit-claim of Simon, son of Omi de Hulverhurst,* for land a divisa Prioris et Conventus orientali de Eustaceredding versus aquilonem linealiter usque in sepem inter pasturam et dictam terram, et sic descendendo inter illam sepem et terram de Eustace ridding usque ad Wilkinebekk, et sic ascendendo usque in divisam orientalem.

24. *The charter of Robert, son of Rob. jun. de Laverton, for land* between the lands of the Convent and that of Symon de Hulverhyrst, *called Yanaker,* with common in the marsh beyond Hyrthyn, *Overhenges, Netherhinges,* as the middle of the siketta on the west of the lane going down to the brook

Wylkynbek, *in exchange for Carretelawe*, which Walter Textor once held, and adjoins Hyrthyng river.

25. [1293.] *The concession of the Prior and Convent of Lanercost for having a chantry in Laverton Manor* to Robert, son of Robert jun. de Denton, who will give one pound of wax yearly, on the feast of the Assumption, to the Convent; the latter to receive all oblationes, proventus, et obventiones, made in the chapel.
26. *The confirmation of Robert, son of Bueth, for Denton church*, which his father Buethbarn gave to the Priory.
27. *The renunciation of Robert, juvenis, de Denton of the advowson of Denton Church*, made viro venerabili A. Archid. Northumbriæ.
28. *The charter of John de Denton jun. for Carrutelave*, land in his father's lifetime newly put into cultivation, between exitum de Caruthlawe and Silveroerhyrst.

THIRTEENTH PART.

1. *Quit-claim of Will., son of R. de Berhall, for Carrutelawe* (or Karnothelaw), given by his father.
2. *Charter of Robert de Berrhall* (or Berhalwe) *for Carrutelaw.*
3. *Quit-claim of John, son of John Shakelot* (or Scaclot), of Karuthlawe, *for the land of Carritelawe*, which his father John and his mother Alexandra had given.
4. *Quit-claim of Alexandra, relict of J. Skakelot, for the land of Carritelaw.*
5. *Charter of Rob. de Vaux for Grenewell, in Hayton territory*, which Eustace de Vaux had given.
6. *The charter of Eustace de Vaux for Grenewell*, unam carrucatam[1] terræ in territorio de Castelcayrock, scil. sexaginta

[1] In the MS. Register of Weddrall, fol. 198, is written, Mem. quod una carucata terræ continet $\frac{xx}{iiij}$ xv acras. Sciendum est quòd magnum fœdum militis constat ex iiij hidis, et j hida ex iiij virgatis, et j virgata ex iiij ferudella, et j ferudella ex x acris terræ. Et sciendum est quòd quando dabitur ad scutagium pro magno fœdo militare xl s. tunc una virgata lunce ij s. vi d., et dimidia virgata terræ xv d.,

quatuor acras terræ (see ii. 8, 11), which Lord Robert, son of Hubert de Vaux, had given him for service.

7. *The charter of Lord* William *de Kirketon, and* Christiana, *his wife, for one pound of cumin and a pool* on Gelt *in Grenewell.*

8. *The confirmation of Rob.*, son of Richard, *de Castelkayrok on the enfeoffment of Lord Robert, his great-grandfather, in Castlekayroc.* (See iv. 14.) He allows the cattle of the Convent to eat the stubble, stipulis, after the corn is removed on those lands before All Saints' day, and if they stray within Thorinsual or his park they are to be given back, and not impounded (imparcabuntur).

9. [1277.] *Cyrograff between the Prior and Convent and Robert,* son of Richard, *of Castelcayroc, on the numbering of sheep at Newstead, in Castlecayroc territory.* The Prior and Convent appointed as their nominees Lord Richard de Baumfield and John de Swyneburn, and Robert of Castlecayroc named Robert de Warthewyk and Robert de Tylleol, each party assenting to the election of the other. They decided that if Robert of Castlerock in his conscience believed that the number of cattle exceeded that stipulated in the four preceding instruments, he might number them under the charge of their own shepherd once or twice a year either in their own pasture or in a close to be made by him in that pasture.

10. *The inquisition and verdict on the giving and receiving of tithe in the Vale of Gelt.* Rollandus de Vallibus, miles, juratus dicit, "quòd Canonici de Lanercost perceperunt decimas omnigenas de Valle de Gelt tempore Rob. de Vall. fratris sui." Requisitus, "qualiter hoc scit," dicit, "quod fuit senescallus et principalis forestarius dicti Roberti et vidit et

et pro ferdunella vij d. ob., et pro j acra ob. Et sic clxx acræ terræ faciunt j hidam faciunt j hidam, et iv hidæ faciunt j magnum fœdum militare, quod dabit ad relevium Cs. Mem. e converso quòd x acræ terræ faciunt j ferudellam, et iv ferudellæ faciunt j virgatam sive dim. carucatam, et sic iv virgatæ faciunt j hidam sive ij carucatas, et iiij hidæ viij carucatas, quod est feodum militis.

interfuit ubi dicti Canonici dictas decimas perceperunt, et ante tempus dicti Roberti fuerunt in possessione dictarum decimarum, et post usque Mag. Thomas Werry, quondam vicarius de Bramptona, habuit custodiam domus de Lanercost per Episcopum Karleoli qui tunc habuit custodiam Gilleslandiæ, et quamdiu dictus Mag. T. habuit dicte domus custodiam dictas decimas auctoritate propria percepit, et postquam ibidem prior creatus erat eas detinuit usque ad mortem suam, et antequam mortuus erat fuit citatus auctoritate Dom. Papæ literarum propter dictas decimas ad instantiam dictorum Canonicorum." Requisitus "Quanto tempore dicti Canonici fuerunt in possessione dictarum decimarum?" dicit "Quod multo tempore et multis annis, quorum numerum non recolit." Requisitus "Quare perceperunt dicti Canonici dictas decimas?" dicit "Quod Robertus, filius Huberti de Vall., omnes decimas de *toto* vasto suo de Gillesland per cartam suam eis dedit, quam cartam multociens vidit et audivit." Requisitus "Utrum Johannes modo vicarius de Brampton detinet dictas decimas et possidet?" dicit quod "sic." Requisitus "Quo jure?" dicit quod "Nescit nisi quod dictus Thomas quondam frater suus eas percepit ut dictum est." Nicolaus Canonicus de Lanercost juratus concordat cum Dom. Rollando prejurato in omnibus. Elias frater dicte domus juratus dicit quod "Nihil scit nisi ex relatione aliorum;" sed dicit quod "vidit ij pullos in domo de Lanercost postquam habitum domus de Lanercost suscepit, quos dicti Canonici referunt in Valle de Gelt nomine decimæ." Requisitus "Qualiter hoc sit?" dicit quod "unus ex dictis pullis vocabatur 'Brun[1] de Geltesdale,' et ideo vocatus erat sic quia captus erat. ut omnes communiter dicebant." Ricardus forestarius juratus, dicit quod "Tempore Huberti Walteri tunc Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis quando idem Archiepiscopus habuit custodiam Gilleslandiæ fuit ipse forestarius in Gillesland, et vidit Canonicos de Lanercost

[1] It is just possible that there may be an allusion to Brun, mentioned v. 25. Pulli are colts.

percipere omnigenas decimas provenientes ex Valle de Gelt." In aliis concordat cum Dom. Rollando prejurato. Ricardus Cocus juratus dicit quòd "Vidit dictos Canonicos percipere omnes decimas de Valle de Gelt tempore Roberti de Vall., qui fundavit domum de Lanercost, et tempore Ranulphi, fratris dicti Roberti, et tempore Roberti, fratris Rollandi prejurati;" et dicit quòd "Tempore primi Roberti fuit garisfer[1] in coquina de Lanercost et postea principalis cocus et multocies ivit cum Canonicis in Valle de Gelt ad percipiendum dictas decimas." In aliis concordat cum Dom. Rollando prejurato. Rogerus de Hareioye juratus concordat cum Ricardo coco, et dicit quòd "fuit tunc in domo de Lanercost serviens clerici Cellerarii ejusdem domus multo tempore et postea fuit cum quodam Canonico ejusdem domus, Symone nomine de Werye." Ominus de Walton juratus concordat cum Rogero prejurato de perceptione dictarum decimarum, et dicit quòd "ij pullos de Valle de Gelt captos nomine decime domavit." Rogerus, filius Baldewin juratus concordat cum Dom. Rollando prejurato de perceptione predictarum decimarum et "fuit custos lecti Ranulphi de Vall. in tempore Rob. de Vall., fratris dicti Rollandi, quando dictus Rollandus fuit ejus senescallus, vidit ij Canonicos dictas decimas percipere, sed non recolit quòd dictus Mag. Thomas fuit aliquando citatus propter dictas decimas ad instantiam dictorum Canonicorum."

11. [1285.] *Charter for an annual rent of 2d. in Milneton*, given by Adam de Birkinside, husband of Johanna, from lands which he devises to the Convent at their death. (Dat. ap. Birkinside.)

12. *Charter of Robert, son of Adam*, of Northwod, *for land in Northwood*, lying between Artermawh and Langehyll and Landirewinemose.

13. *Charter of Walter de Wyndesore for two acres in Farlam*, in his domain of Severig, between the land formerly held by Robert, clerk, and the rivulet flowing into Clashet; and between a hedge on the west running down to that brook,

[1] Possibly another form of garcifer (Chron. Lanerc. 106) a *garcio*.

and along the rivulet on the east to the land given to the Convent by his father (iv. 12).

14. *Charter* of Christiana, daughter of Adam, son of Hermerus, *for five acres in Farlam*, which Walter de Wyndesore gave her father and are called Biggarth.

15. *The charter of Walter de Wyndesore for his whole domain in Farlam*, given at the instance of John, priest, Vicar of Brampton. (See ii. 20.)

16. *Quit-claim of Adam de Farlam*, son of Walter, *for Clovesgill*, in Great Farlam, for two messuages, thirty acres of land, and thirty acres of meadow, given by Walter, his grandfather.

17. *Another quit-claim of Adam de Farlam for all lands held in Great Farlam.* [1293.]

18. *Quit-claim of Robert*, son of Walter, *de Camboc* for land in Clovesgill, which Nicolas, son of John, Vicar of Brampton, held, the Convent granting him lands in Little Walton for his lifetime; if the Convent lost the land in Clovesgill per placitum, he would still pay for Walton the annual fee (firmam) of 12*s.* silver and 6*d.*

19. *Quit-claim of* Alicia, *the relict of Rob. de Cambok, for Clovesgile*, which John the Provost held at King-bridge, and she holds for her life; she promises never to demand corrody or livery, corredium vel liberationem. [A.D. 1289.]

20. *Quit-claim of Theffania*, daughter of Vicia *Werry, for Clovesgile.*

21. *Quit-claim of Margaret*, daughter of Avicia *Werry, for Clovesgile.* [x. 15. A.D. 1278.]

22. *Composition between the Prior and Convent of Hexham and the Prior and Convent of Lanercost for taking tithe of Grensettes*, the former to pay half a mark of silver annually for six years and thenceforward the full tithe for Grensettes.

23. *Quit-claim of Elena, sometime wife of Walter Salvage, for the third part of a half carucate of Newbigging* (see vi. 20), quam petii de iis per literas Dom. Regis nomine dotis, pro quadam summa pecunie quam mihi præ manibus dederunt. (See vi. 20.)

24. *Quit-claim of Mariota,* late wife of John, *de Staffole*[1] *touching her dowry (dote) in Cregelin,* nomine tertie partis mee vel nomine gardæ in eight acres given to the Convent by William de Crogelin.

25. *Quit-claim of* O., *Abbot of Kelchou,*[2] *for Leysingby Church,* on condition of a payment of two bezants a year at Rokisborrad[3] Fair on St. James's Day by the Convent of Lanercost in accordance with the award of the commissioners by papal mandate of Innocent III., viz. William, the Abbot of Newminster and the prior of Tinemuth and S. prior of the Isle of Lindisfarne.

26. *Charter for payment of two bezants* of gold *for Leysingby Church to the Abbot and Convent of Kelchou*[4]. The Pope Innocent III.'s charter, dated Aug. 16, 1202, states quod Canonici de Lanercost et quidem alii Carleol. dioceseos propriis vobis nominibus designandi, monachis de Kelchou super ecclesiam ipsorum de Leysingby injuriosi sunt plurimum et molesti.

FOURTEENTH PART.

1. *Another charter touching the same matter* by G., Abbot of Kelchou.

2. *Charter of Thomas, son of Thomas,* son of Reynburg, *for his land in Leysingby,* granting it to Alice, daughter of Thomas de Sevenes, and at her decease to Mariota and Margaret, daughters of Odardus de Sevenes, on paying yearly 12*d.* of silver to Lanercost Priory.

3. *Another charter of the same Thomas,* quit-claim for his land in Leysingby to Lanercost Priory.

[1] Staffield or Staffold belonged to this family in Kirkoswald: it became extinct temp. Hen. V. (Lysons, 128.)

[2] Kelso.

[3] Rothbury, called, Mr. Gibson says, Rouchbere in the reign of Edward I.

[4] William, the Cistercian Abbot of Newminster, and two Præmonstratensian Abbots, Nicholas of Egglistun and Walter of Preston or Shappe, sign as witnesses, but, as in the case of several priors and archdeacons of Carlisle and priors of Lanercost, are not mentioned in the Monasticon.

4. *Charter of Lord Robert de Brus*, lord of Annandale, Vallis Anandiæ, *for pasture* on the mountains *of Gamelsby* and *Glassanby*, by the Convent and their men in Hasschach beyond the lucrable lands according to the charter of Lord Will. Ireby, father of Christiana, wife of the said Robert. [1273.]
5. *Charter of Lord John de Seton*[2] *for the same pasture.* [1273.]
6. *Charter of Lord Eustace de Balliol*[3] *for the same pasture.* [1273.]
7. *Charter of Lord Will. de Yreby, son of Lord Walter, lord of Gamisby, for the pasture in the domain* in exchange for a wood inter Regil et Glentrest versus meridiem usque ad caput de Glentrest.
8. *Charter of W. de Yreby for Walter, son of Symon of Gamelsby, and his household* (sequela[4]) concessisse totum jus et clamium quod aliquando habui vel habere potui in Waltero fil. Symonis, quare volo quod dicti Canonici habeant ipsum cum tota sequela sua, et cum omnibus catallis suis tanquam liberum et solutum de me et omnibus heredibus meis in perpetuum. [The date is fixed to 1268, as W. de Dacre signs as Vice-Comes Cumberlandiæ.]
9. *Quit-claim of Helena, late wife of Adam de Crakehen, for lands in Hulvesby*, in consideration of a sum of money.
10. *Quit-claim of Odoka de Ulvesby for ten acres in Ulvesby* cum scalinga de Berchams, which Richard Ulvesby gave to Lanercost, and the Convent lease to Odo for 20*d.* a year; he also grants quit-claim for twenty-five acres given as a mar-

[1] Gamelsby and Glassonby are townships in Addingham parish (Lysons, 4). Robert de Brus, "most devoted to God and churchmen," died May 12, 1295 (Chron. Lanerc. 159). The lordship of Gamelsby and Glassonby passed through the heiress of Odard to William de Ireby, from whom it passed to Lascelles and Seton (Lysons, 4).

[2] John Seton was put to death for high treason in 1306; he was cousin of the husband of Robert de Brus' sister (204).

[3] Eustace de Baliol, son of the Eustace killed at the battle of Evesham, 1265 (76).

[4] Sequela includes both family and chattels.

riage fee by Richard de Ulvesby with his daughter Ysanda to the said Odo.

11. *Act before* Peter de Insula,[1] *Archdeacon of Carlisle, for half a mark payable by W. de Skirewith and his heirs for the land of Ulvesby.* 4 Id. Martii, 1303, in hospitio nostro apud Salkyd, Henry being proctor for the Convent and Wm. de Sherewyth appearing as the other party; on his confession he was condemned to pay 10*s.* for arrears of three payments not made, with a penalty of 20*s.*, half a mark to the fabric of Lanercost, and half a mark to the Archdeacon pro elemosina sua. The proctor having produced the obligation of Eudo, father of the defendant, granting these fines in case of non-payment. [The mark was at this time, therefore, equal to 10*s.*]

12. *Act* in Carlisle Cathedral, 1264, *touching payment of half a mark by Eudo de Skyrewith for land in Ulvesby,* coram nobis Mag. N. de Hamsted, Archidiacono Karl, comparuit Eudo Skyrwit ad instanciam Prioris et Conventus de Lanercost evocatus super crimine perjurii, quod coram nobis ipsum incurrisse per modum denunciatonis instanter asserebant, quod per exhibitionem cujusdam obligationis sigillo Eudonis signatæ, cui ex nunc ad majorem fidem faciendam utraque parte procurante sigillum nostrum duximus apponendum, parati fuerunt in forma juris probare consequentiam. Dicti Prior et Conventus nobis humiliter supplicantes postulabant ut eorum indempnitati ac quieti necnon saluti prefati Eudo, ne juramenti sui religionem violare presumat, salubriter prospicere curaremus, habendo respectum ad labores et dampna quos actenus occasione dicte obligationis non observate sustinuerunt. Memoratus si quidem Eudo suum vix valens diffiteri delictum nostre juridictioni se supposuit consenciens, instanterque rogans quòd si ad terminum in obligatione insertum, vel infra octavas ejusdem eisdem religiosis de dim. marce competenter non satisfaceret, extunc excommunicationis majoris sententie esset ligatus et dim. marce pauperibus erogandum nobis citra excommuni-

[1] LL.D.; he was also Archdeacon of Coventry; he died 1311.

cationis relaxacionem persolveret, salva etiam et nobis prefatis Priori et Conventui exactiones dim. marce nomine pene in obligatione sepe dicta contente, nobisque prosequendi perjurium si contingat ab ipso committi, quod absit, potestate. Nos igitur ut utrique parti quies et salus paretur et litigandi materia amputatur predictum E. extunc in scriptis periculo excommunicationis majoris innodamus, si placitis obligatione predicta contentis parere et satisfacere ut premissum est non curaverit, quam faciemus Deo auctore firmiter observari et in persona ipsius per totam jurisdictionem nostram usque ad satisfactionem utriusque prescripte pene et perjurii emendationem, accensis candelis, pulsatis campanis, solempniter denunciari et publicari. Et quia maliciosis pocius est obviandum quam indulgendum, hinc ad testificandum premissa eundem E. cum sigillo nostro sigillum suum presentibus fecimus appendere.

13. *Confirmation* by Robert and Ada de Vaux *for a tithe of Corkeby Mill.* (See i. 5.)

14. *Sentence* by N.[1], Archdeacon of Carlisle, and R., Sub-prior of St. Mary's, Carlisle, Commissaries of the Bishop of Carlisle, 1267, *on W. de Newby for tithes of garbs to be made at the grange door* of Neuby and not in the fields, to the injury of the Convent, who claim the right as patrons of Irthington Church. (See ix. 11.)

15. [1269.] *Sentence* of Thomas, Official of Carlisle, sitting judicialiter, non ex delegatione Apostolica, *on W. de Leversdale touching garbs as above.*

Dictus W. narratione et petitione Prioris et Conventus in jure propositis liteque ad easdem legitime propositis liteque ad easdem legitime contestata, licetque Dom. Simo, Canonicus de Lanercost, procurator Prioris et Conventus, prout ex virtute sui procuratorii potuit in eadem causa, juramentum de calumpnia prestitisset, monitus competentur juramentum hujusmodi prestare contumaciter recusavit, unde ego T. predictus decernens eundem W. ad prestandum hujusmodi juramentum specialiter et peremtorie fore vocandum quod comperet coram Id. Sept. in Karl. Eccl. Cath. eundem W. predictis die et loco nullatenus competentem ad con-

[1] Nicholas de Hamsted (not in Browne Willis's List).

vincendam ipsius maliciam feci iterato peremptorie evocari quod comperet coram me xv Kal. Oct. loco predicto in predicta causa, facturum quod justicia suaderet; quibus die et loco idem W. personaliter comparens, et per me T. sepius monitus et humiliter requisitus ut predictum jusjurandum prestare deberet contumacias contumaciis cumulando prestare juramentum hujusmodi non curavit, propter quod ego Th. in predicta causa tuli definitam sententiam in hunc modum. In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, Amen. Quia W. de Leversdale in causa que vertitur super modo decimandi garbas inter Priorem et Conventum de Lanercost ex una parte et ipsum W. ex altera, lite legitime contestata prestitoque juramento calumpniæ a procuratore dictorum Prioris et Conventus, idem juramentum prestare contumaciter invenio recusare eundem W., de juris peritorum consilio mihi assidentium, quoad petita habemus pro convicto, ipsum ut in hostio orrei decimet substantialiter condempno, et ut modum hujusmodi servet in posterum decimandi. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum officialitatis Karleoli presentibus est appensum. Dat. apud Karl. xvi° Kal. Oct., A.D. mcclxix°.

16. *The charter of Thomas, son of Will., for payment of* 8*s.* sterling *for land in Grenesdale town* at Easter and Martinmas. 7 Id. Apr., 1309.
17. *Charter of Thomas, son of Matilda* de Grenesdale, *for* 12*d.* of silver *in Grenesdale,* to be paid half-yearly for toft and croft, which he held of Pavya and Helewisa, daughters of Adam, son of Alan, son of Oninus, in Grenesdale.
18. *Charter of Roger, son of Capellanus, for* 12*d. in Grenesdale town,* a quit-claim for this sum which Pavia and Helewisa used to receive of Thomas, son of Matilda.
19. *Charter for* 12*d. in Grenesdale* given by Pavia and Helewisa.
20. *Charter of William,* son of William *Sor, for land in Haverig, in Grenesdale territory.* (See v. 12.)
21. *Confirmation of Odardus, son of Adam, for land in Ulveton,* viz. Fites, which Henry, son of William, gave to Lanercost.
22. *Charter of William le Vaile* (iv. 14) *for land in Castelcairoc,* toft and croft, which Orm held, containing two acres less one rood, and two acres less one rood in Norlands, and half an acre ad Suinnebrokeil.

FIFTEENTH PART.

1. *Charter of Walter de Pickering for a rent of* 12*d. in Carlisle*, next the ditch of Carlisle Castle.
2. *Charter of Thomas Brune,* Burgess of Newcastle, *for* confirming his testamentary bequest of his house *Haregarius*, in *Newcastle,* near Robert del Swyne's house, and a rent of 4*s.* quem habui juxta Ecclesiam S. Andree in vico extendente a dicta Ecclesia versus Fratres Minores,[1] to the Canons, coram Dom. Thom. de Karl.[2] majore ville Novi Castri et aliis viris fide dignis ejusdem ville per ballivos ejusdem in seysina predictorum domus et redditus in ligea potestate *mea* posui, et poni per ballivos antedictos feci.
3. *Charter for a yearly rent of* 4*s. in Newcastle* by Gilbert *late* serviens Gilberti de Galewith, pro terra quam de Conventu teneo in villa Novi Castri per Margaretam, uxorem meam, ad fœdi firmam, quam quidem terram Thomas Brun dimisit ad fœdi firmam quondam Rogero de Denton, cum edificiis et pertinentiis, in vico qui vocatur Bretherchere.
4. *Confirmation of Lord Edward* II., *K. of England, for the gifts of Rob. de Vaux, our founder.* (See i. 8. Dated Westminster, July 12, A° R^i ix. 1317.)
5. *Charter of Lord Edward, K. of England, for a messuage which Wm. Mareschal* and Matilda his wife *gave to the church of Lanercost in Carlisle city* after the Statute of Mortmain. Dated Clarendon, March 20, 1282.
6. *Confirmation of Edward, K. of England, for the land called Prestown,* which Thomas de Multon held in Erthyngton. Dated York, Aug. 20, 1336. (See x. 6.)
7. *Cyrograff for the house Harengarius in Newcastle, between the Prior and Convent of Lanercost and Hugo de Hecham,* burgess *of Newcastle,* and Wm., son of Rob. de Mareschal,

[1] Possibly that called Bretheschere (ch. 3); its site is not known under this name, but possibly is the same as High Friars' Close, vicus qui ducit ad Fratres Minores.

[2] Thomas de Karleiol was mayor in 1264 and 1276, as Mr. Sydney Gibson, F.S.A., informs me. The family gave name to one of the towers of the town wall.

of Pylgrum Street, March 14, 1336. The house stood in the lane called Dyngchere, between the lands of Robert Cocus and Will. de Cougate. Hæc indentura testatur quod cum placitum motum fuit inter predictum Priorem querentem per quandam assisam nove dissisine de quodam tenemento dicti Prioris et predictos et W. defendentes, tandem inter partes predictas in hunc modum conquievit, viz. quod cum quidem Galfridus Pantoffyn tenuit tenementum predictum sibi et heredibus suis in perpetuum de capitalibus dominis fœdi illius, reddendo predictis Priori et Conventui et eorum successoribus in perpetuum xl denarios argenti ad ij anni terminos, ut de jure antiquo, viz. ad Festa Pasche et S. Mich. Archangeli per equales portiones; et quod Rogerus, filius et hæres predicti Galfridi, post mortem predicti Galfridi feoffavit predictum Hugonem de predicto tenemento sibi et heredibus suis in perpetuum, reddendo predictis Priori et Conventui predictos xl denarios annuatim ut predictum est. Qui quidem Hugo de eodem tenemento feoffavit predictum Will., fil. Rob. Mareshall, nunc tenentem ejusdem tenementi sibi et heredibus suis, reddendo predicto Hugoni et heredibus suis in perpetuum vj solidos et viij denarios et predictos xl denarios predictis Priori et Conventui et eorum successoribus in perpetuum annuatim, in forma predicta, prædicti vero Hugo et Will. concedunt et quivis eorum concedit pro se et heredibus suis in perpetuum, quod si predictus redditus xl denariorum de eodem tenemento capiendorum annuatim in forma predicta capituli sui apposuerunt.

8. *Charter of John, son of Hugo de Tybay, of Carlisle, confirming to Robert, son of Thomas de Tybay, of Carlisle, a yearly rent of* 26*s.* 8*d.*, which the Prior and Convent granted to John de Leversdale and Cecilia his wife from tenements in vico Ricardi, between those of Will. le Tailhour and Walays, and giving Robert the right of distraint in case of arrears. Carlisle, Jan. 8, 1340. John de Tybay was the heir of the said Cecilia.

9. *Charter of Robert de Tybay, of Carlisle, quit-claim of any*

rights in the tenements in Vico Ricardi,[1] given them by Robert le Wayt (see xi. 9, 10), *or to a yearly rent in which they were bound to John de Lomsdale and his wife Cecil and John de Tybay, her nearest heir, left to the said Rober* Carlisle, Feb. 15, 1342. John was Prior of Lanercost.

10. *Charter of Roger de Woderington for an annual rent* of **13***s.* 4*d. from Woodhusses, in Denton,* which they had held from time immemorial until unjustly disseissined by Gerard de Woderington, late occupant. Inspectis et scrutatis munimentis et evidentiis tam ex parte Prioris et Conventus quam ex parte dicti Rogeri, dictus Rogerus invenit quod predictus Prior et Conventus ad predictum annuum redditum de predictis terris et tenementis cum pertinentiis in Wodusfeld annuatim exeunte habent clarum jus, et a tempore quo non extat memoria habuerunt, et inde, in forma prescripta, seisiti extiterunt, et ulterius seipsum Rogerum, hæredes et assignatos suos, in presencia Joh. de la Mote, Ric. de Vaus, Joh. de Thirlwall, Joh. de Hardegil, Tho. Blunt, et aliorum multorum, predictis Priori et Conventui de predicto annuo redditu attornavit percipiendis et levandis de predictis terris et tenementis cum pertinentiis in Wodusfeld, ad festa S. Martini in hyeme et Pent., per equales porciones. Ita quod si predictus annuus redditus post aliquem terminum predictum a retro esse contigerit, in parte vel in toto, quod bene liceat ex tunc dictis Priori et Conventui et eorum successoribus in predictis a retro fuerit, in parte vel in toto, ad terminos predictos, quod tunc liceat predicto Priori et successoribus suis in perpetuum in dicto tenemento distringere, et districtionem retinere quousque de predicto redditu una cum arreragiis ejusdem plenarie fuerit satisfactum. Et predictus Hugo concedit pro se et heredibus suis quod si predictus annuus redditus xl denariorum ad terminos predictos, in parte vel in toto, a retro fuerit, et competens districtio in tenemento predicto inveniri non possit, quod bene liceat predictis Priori et Conventui et

[1] Now Rickergate, leading to Edenbridge. Gate is the Danish *gata*, a street.

eorum successoribus in perpetuo in quodam alio tenemento predicti Hugonis in predicta villa Novi Castri, in Vico Peregrinorum, jacente inter tenementum Isabellæ Dayvill ex parte una, et tenementum quondam Thome Norreys ex parte altera, distringere et districtiones retinere in forma predicta, ita quod habeant eundem annuum redditum de eodem tenemento predicti Hugonis loco alterius tenementi, si iisdem Priori et Conventus et eorum successoribus placuerit, in perpetuum; et predicti Prior et Conventus concedunt pro se et eorum successoribus quod predicti H. et W. habeant et teneant predictum tenementum jacentem in venello quod vocatur Dyngchere, pro dicto annuo redditu xl denariorum, in forma predicta, sibi et heredibus suis, in perpetuum. Et predictus Prior remittit omnia arreragia predicti annui redditus predictis H. et W. usque diem confectionis presentium. In cujus rei testimonium parti hujus indenture penes predictorum Prioris et Conventus residenti predicti H. et W. sigilla sua apposuerunt. Alteri vero parti penes predictos H. et W. remanenti predicti Prior et Conventus sigillum terris et tenementis cum pertinentiis distringere et districtiones inde captas fugare et retinere quousque eisdem Priori et Conventui et eorum successoribus de predicto annuo redditu et de arreragiis plenarie fuerit satisfactum. Over Denton, March, 1363.

11. *Charter of Lord Ranulph de Dacre, lord of Gillesland, for remission of putura by his foresters.* 28 July, 1364, apud Castrum de Naward.

12. *Ordination of* William,[1] *Lord Archbishop of York, for the vicarage of Mitford Church, in the vacancy of the See.* Quod portio vicarie consistat in xxv marcis aureis bonarum legalium et usualium sterlingorum, to be paid half-yearly by the Convent; in case of non-payment omnes fructus, redditus, et proventus ad predictam ecclesiam quomodo libet pertinentes ipso facto manere volumus et decernimus sequestratos et ex eis per Episcopum Dunelmie, qui pro tempore fuerit, ipsiusque officiales et ministros totam pecu-

[1] William de Grenefield, Archbishop 1305–1315.

niam, in cujus solucione cessatum fuerit una cum dampnis et interesse et expensis redigi, et absque cujuslibet more dispendio levari ac vicario supradicto prout fuerit subtractum persolvi. Et nihilominus in Priorem, Celerarium, et Sacristam monasterii de Lanercost si in predictarum solucione defecerint, canonica monitione premissa in hiis scriptis majoris excommunicationis sententiam promulgamus. The Vicar is to inhabit mansum illud in villa de Mitford pro predicta ecclesia in solo ejusdem ex parte orientali constitutum cum xii acris arabilis in campis de Aldeworth, et toto prato in campo de Harestane infra parochiam ecclesiæ . . . Dicti Prior et Conventus cancellum ecclesiæ, quoties opus fuerit reficere, ac etiam si necessitas fuerit imminens, de novo construere, libros quoque et ornamenta ecclesiastica, quatenus de consuetudine patriæ ad rectores vicinarum ecclesiarum pertinet, invenire suis sumptibus et expensis ac solitam prestationem Archidiacono loci debitam annis singulis solvere teneantur, alia vero onera ordinaria Vicarius supportabit, et extraordinaria vero quandocunque et quotiescunque emerserint inter prefatos religiosos et Vicarium pro rata porcionis cujuslibet dimidiantur. Apud Derlington, 8 Id. Maii, 1311.

13. *Cyrograph* (covenant) *between the Abbey of Newminster and Mideforth Church for payment of tithes from the Grange* of Keylawe *in that parish*, the monks to pay yearly two marks of silver in lieu of tithes on all they hold in Midford sine ullius adjectionis aurasiamento.

14. *Confirmation of the above by* Nicholas,[1] *Bishop of Durham*, ratifying the confirmation of Bishop Hugo.

15. *Confirmation by the Chapter of Durham*, mentioning that similar compositions had been made with the Churches of Morpad, Olventon, and Eland.[2]

16. [1370.] *Confirmation of the Chapter for Midford parish.* Gregorius,[3] Episcopus servus servorum, magistro et fratribus

[1] Nicholas de Farnham, Bishop 1240–9.

[2] Morpeth, and Alwinton, and Ponteland, Northumberland.

[3] Gregory XI., Pope 1370–8.

Domus Lapsorum[1] de Mydford sal. et apost. benedict. Vestris justis postulationibus grato concurrentes assensu personas vestras locum in quo divino estis obsequio mancipati cum omnibus bonis que in presenciarum rationabiliter possidetis aut in futurum justis modis, prestante Domino, poteritis adipisci, sub B. Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus, specialiter autem redditus, possessiones, et alia bona vestra, sicut ea omnia juste et pacifice possidetis, vobis et domui vestre autoritate apostolica confirmamus et presenti scripto comunimus, autoritate presencium districtius inhibentes, ne quis a vobis de opibus virorum aut animalium incrementis decimas exigere vel extorquere presumat. Laterani viij Kal. Dec., Pont. nostri a° j°.

xvii. Verdict of the ancients touching Trevermane Chapel.* (See vi. 6.)

Gilmore, filius Gilandi, qui erat dominus de Treverman et de Torcrossoc, fecit primum unam capellam de virgis[2] apud Treverman, et procuravit divina in ea celebrari (Dom. Edelwano Episcopo concedente). Enoc tunc persona de Walton pro quadam parte terre que nunc vocatur Kirkeland, unde sacerdos et clericus suus possent sustentari, ad ministrandum et serviendum in predicta capella. Et Gillemor, dominus de Treverman, admisit ad illam capellam serviendum Gillemor, capellanum consanguineum suum, qui primum hospitabatur in terra predicta et ipsam herbergare[3] fecit multo tempore ante adventum Huberti de Vallibus in Cumberland. Et Daniel, sacerdos successor Gillemor, ministravit dicte capelle,

[1] ? Lepers. A house for poor people only is mentioned in the Monasticon, but in a note to Newminster (v. 591) there is a notice of a hospital and chapel of St. Leonard, Mitford.

[2] There is another instance of a wickerwork church at Glastonbury. Paulinum asserit patrum traditio ecclesiæ contentum dudum virgeæ ligneo tabulatu induisse et plumbo a summo usque deorsum cooperuisse (W. Malm. de Ant. Glaston. p. 300). There was another stud building at Tykford (Monast. v. 206). See also my 'Church and Convent. Arrangement,' p. 57.

[3] Herbergare, to live off, to be accommodated or harboured on (comp. Chron. Abend. ii. 82). Ducange merely gives to eat herbs, browse.

et habuit dictam capellam cum omni pastura de Treverman [illegible] tempore Enoc persone. Post Daniel fuit Estinus sacer[illegible] ministravit ibi tempore Thome persone de Walton post fu[illegible] nem de Lanercost. In diebus vero illorum omnes homines Treverman ibi habuerunt plenarie divina servicia sua preter b[illegible] tismum et sepulturam usque dictus Thomas reddidit se. Et p[illegible] quam dictus Thomas reddidit se canonicis apud Lanercost [illegible] Rob. de Vallibus contulit ecclesiam illam de Walton cum ca[illegible] de Treverman domui de Lanercost quam fundavit. Prior et C[illegible] ventus fecerunt servire illam capellam quandoque per Canon[illegible] suos et quandoque per seculares, et omnes homines de Treve[illegible] perceperunt omnia sacramenta sua ecclesiastica apud Lanerco[illegible] oblationes et decimas omnimodas ibi reddentes, et omnia a[illegible] facientes que contingunt parochianis facere ecclesie sue matric[illegible]

xviii. Charter for the division between the parish of Cambok and Lanercost*, by the Rector of Skelton, official of D., the Bishop of Carlisle, cum mota esset controversia super decimis de Fulwode coram Precentore Karlioli et officiali [illegible] venerabilis mag. W. Archidiaconi Karl., et aliis subdelegatis discreti viri Cancellarii Cantebrig., Elyens, dioc.[1] judicis a sede Apostolica delegati, inter Mag. Radulphum de Tylleri[illegible] rectorem ecclesie de Cambok, ex una parte, et Priorem et Conventum de Lanercost ex altera, placuit partibus quod lis predicta autoritate diocesana terminaretur cumque partes prefate ordinationi ven. patris R.,[2] Dei gratia Karl. Episcopi in toto se submisissent, idem Episcopus in crastino S. Trinitatis A.D. 1259 in prioratu Karl. existens predicto rectore de Kambock pro se personaliter comparente, prefatis vero Priore et Conventu de Lanercost per Hugonem subpriorem, et Will. sacristam, et Symonem cellerarium, Canonicos de Lanercost comparentibus, super decimis de Fulwode ordinavit in hunc modum, viz. quod preter terras de Lanerekaythin que de novo ad culturam sunt redacte, et duas pars utraque in sua asserebat esse parochia, residue

[1] W. de Ludham was Chancellor 1259–61 (MS. Harl. 7037, fol. 145.

[2] Robert de Chause or Chauncy, Bishop 1258–80.

decime de Fulwode inter partes equaliter dimidiarentur. Nobis ad predictam divisionem faciendam vices suas committendo. Nos vero partibus prenominatis diem in crastinum prefiximus ad ecclesiam de Kambok, quibus ibidem comparentibus inter ipsos ita amicabiliter convenit quod predicte terre de Lanerekaythin (see i. 6), que tunc culte fuerant et que in posterum ad culturam redigi poterant, ecclesiæ de Kambok loco unius eskeppe farine remaneant, deinde autoritate nobis super hoc concessa prenominatas decimas de Fulwode inter partes in hunc modum dimidiavimus ac etiam per usum legalium virorum juratorum sententialiter dimidiamus; presentibus Dom. Rogero, Decano Karliolensi et Vicario de Esseby, Mag. Rad. Legat., John de Briveton, et Joh. Armstrang, clericis, Galfrido de Tyllioll, Rob. de Tyllioll, et multis aliis, scil. quod molendinum de Fulwode totaliter remaneat ecclesiæ de Kambok, et quod decimas terrarum tam prediales quam personales ac jura alia parochie versus occidentem ad ecclesiam de Kambok, jure parochiali pertineant incipiendo ad Magnum Lanrekaythin, ita quod totum remaneat ecclesiæ de Kambok, et sic ascendendo usque ad Winterscales, ita quod id Winterscales remaneat ecclesiæ de Kambok, et sic usque Alarkebekkheved ita quod remaneat ecclesiæ de Kambok, et sic usque ad Laverkerwode ita quod remaneat ecclesiæ de Kamboc,et sic descendendo usque in Gaitemosse, et sic per medium Gaytemosse per unam sikettam usque in Leven, et inter terram Nich. fil. Bridin, et terram N. del Dervent, ita quod omnes inhabitantes infra dictas divisas versus occidentem remaneant ecclesiæ de Kambok, et omnes inhabitantes extra divisas predictas versus orientem remaneant ecclesiæ de Lanercost. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum una cum sigillo Decani Karlioli et aliorum fide dignorum que predicte divisioni interfuerant appossumus. Dat. ap. Kambok, die Martii prox. post Festum S. Trin., a° mcclix.

xix. Charter of John, Prior of Lanercost, to Simon, son of Robert de Denton,* for Hullirhirst to be held at a yearly rent of 13*d.* in lieu of service. (See iii. 14.)

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†Armstrong, John, (1259) xv. 18.
*Arundel, Edmund, Earl of, (1335) ... 4.
*Asketill, or Asketin, Robert, son ... xiii. 5; xii. 26; vii. 16, 2; vi. ... 4; v. 24, 1; iv. 24, had two sons Robert and John, 23, 21; iii. ... 1; ii. 12, 9, 8; i. 20, 19, 18, 17, ... 8, 6, 1.
*Asketill, vi. 10; Anketin, iii. 19.
†Asketill, Robert, son of, viii. 17.
*Asketill, or Anketin, Robert, son ... Robert, son of, xiv. 22; vii. 16; ... 26; iv. 24, 23; he mentions ... brothers John de Denton and Anketin, iii. 19, 18.
*Aspatric, Adam de, Dean of Allerdale, viii. 4, 3.
Astin, Will. son of, of Astinebi, iv. 25; *Witness*, iv. 23.
*Astinebi, Hugh de, iv. 23.
*Aufras, iii. 3.
Auger, Robert, son of, vii. 3; *Witness*, xv. 18; iv. 16, 14, 11; iii. 19, 18, 14, 12; ii. 4, 3, 2, 1; i. 22, 21.
*Augerus, xiv. 13; xiii. 5; de Brampton, vii. 8, 2; vi. 4; v. 26; iv. 22, 21, 20; iii. 6, 3; ii. 12; i. 19, 18, 17, 16, 13, 8, 7, 6, 5.
*Aula de, Roger, xiv. 10.
*Aula, Thomas de, de Leysingby, xiv. 3.
*Aunger, Jocelyn, i. 1.
*Avenel, Gervase, (1202) iv. 18.
*Ayllurs, Robert, xiv. 2; xiii. 24.

*B. Prior of Carlisle, viii. 7.
*Bacenurthe, i. 11, 10.
†Bacon, Dom Henry de, Justice of the King, (1255) ix. 12. *Witness*, ix. 12.

11. A winged man-headed lion, walking to left, face turned towards spectator, wings thrown back. (Fig. 5.)

Besides these are also some beautiful specimens of armlets in silver and bronze, terminating in gold lions' heads; several pieces of gold variously bent for the fastening up of dresses; two of them made of bronze plated with gold, the precious metal having been forced asunder by the rust and consequent expansion of the bronze: and a broad thin plate of gold, covered with patterns of circles and wavy lines, and evidently intended for attachment to a girdle.

The above is a very brief notice of the most remarkable of the objects in precious metals; there are also many other works in metal of much interest and value, but to these I can do no more than allude, within the limits prescribed to me this evening. I may, however, mention among the bronzes, a bearded man on a camel, the camel exhibiting great skill in the moulding of animal forms; a lion reposing on a skin?, with his forelegs stretched out and his head resting on his right paw, and, probably, like many similar objects from Nineveh, intended for a weight.

To the first class also (though to a somewhat later period of it) belong some very beautiful little bottles and jugs of variegated glass, called *amphoriski* and *œnochoæ*, generally of a rich deep blue or purple, with yellow bands; many of these are in the highest state of preservation, and have much interest from the place of their discovery,—the island of Rhodes,—affording, as this fact does, a manifest link between Etruria and Phœnicia, to which last country it has been usual to attribute the similar specimens found abundantly at Cære and at other of the oldest cities

*Caldbek, A. de, viii. 6; Vice Com. Cumberl., (*c.* 1215) vii. 17.
Camboc, Alicia, wife of Robert, xiii. 19 (1289).
Camboc, Robert, son of Walter de, xiii. 18.
*Camboc, Dom. Robert de, xiv. 19, 18, 14, 9, 2; xiii. 21, 20 (1285), 11, 8; xii. 23; xi. 1; x. 15 (1278), 14, 13 (1276), 11, 7 (1273), 3, 2, 1; ix. 20, 18, 17, 16 (1273), 15, 13; vi. 26.
Camboc, Thomas, son of Robert de, (1292) xii. 10.
*Cambok, Walla de, xiii. 15; ii. 20; Walter, vi. 19.
*Camera, Gilbert de, i. 18, 17.
*Camera de Jordan, iv. 13; ii. 11; i. 9.
*Camerarius, Adam, i. 11, 10.
*Camerarius Hermerus, iv. 6; ii. 1; i. 22.
*Camerarius, John, i. 13.
*Camerarius, Jordan, i. 1.
*Campan, Ralph de, ii. 6.
*Capella, John de, xii. 1.
*Capellanus, Roger son of, xiv. 19.
*Capellanus, Ralph, and his brother Joseph de Ada, v. 9.
*Capellanus, Roger, Archdeacon, viii. 2.
*Caprum, Will., xv. 1; vi. 14.
*Cargon, David de, xiv. 20.
*Carlaton, Alfred de, iv. 19.
*Carlaton, Robert de, iv. 16, 14.
Carlisle, John, Bp. of, xii. 4 (1308).
*Carlisle, Adam, son of Robert de, iv. 24.
*†Carlisle, Adam, son of Dom. Henry de, xv. 3, 2.
*Carlisle, Amiscus de, v. 21.
*Carlisle, Eudo de, iv. 6.
*Carlisle, Jakelin de, iv. 3.
Carlisle, Jonette de; Agnes, daughter of; William, son of, iv. 3.
*Carlisle, Jordan de, i. 1.
†Carlisle, Thomas, Mayor of Newcastle, xv. 3, 2.
*Carlisle, Walter de, vii. 5.
*Carlisle, Will. de, x. 2.
*Cartaria, Peter de, viii. 14.
*Carwidelaw, Robert de, iv. 3.
*Cashel, Thomas, (1340) xv. 8.
Castelcayrock, Robert, son of Robert, iv. 15.
Castlecayroc, Robert, son of Richard, (1277) xiii. 8.
†Castlecayroc, Robert de, vii. 12. *Witness*, xii. 20, 21, 23; xiv. 8. Seneschal of Gillesland, (1289) xiii. 19, 20, 18, 13, 12; xii. 22 (1252); xi. 1; x. 15 (1255); ix. 12 [illegible] 11, 7, 3; vi. 24, 22, 20, 18 [illegible] 15, 9, 8, 7, 6, 3; v. 19, 17 [illegible] iv. 7, 6; iii. 11; ii. 21, 20 [illegible] i. 22.
Castlecayrock, Robert, son of [illegible] de, iv. 16.
Castlecayrock, iv. 14.
*Castlekayrok, Dom. John, xiii. 13
*Castlecayrok, Rich., son of Sir [illegible] xiii. 12, 8; ix. 9.
†Cellar, Henry, ix. 19.
*Chartres, Robert de, Knt., ix. 13
Christian, Bp. of Whitherne, [illegible] *Witness*, ii. 15; i. 1 (1154–8[illegible]
†Clifford, Robert de, vii. 18.
*Clifland, Hugh de, iv. 8.
*Clybedun, Tho. de, x. 2.
*Cocun, Alan de, Clerk, (1303) xi[illegible]
†Cocus, Richard, xiii. 10.
†Cocus, Robert, xv. 7.
†Codel, Adam, xii. 1.
*Coldingham, Mag. Rich. de, viii. 1[illegible]
*Coltune, Alan de, xiii. 26.
*Colville, Adam de, iii. 10, 6, 5, [illegible] puer, ii. 12,
*Colville, Thomas de, (1202) iv. 18.
*Comkow, Rob. de, ix. 2.
Congkilton, Robert, son of Walter [illegible] vii. 18.
*Coquus, Richard, iii. 3.
*Coraldus, Geoffrey, ii. 8.
*Corkeby, Will. de, v. 16.
*Cosseby, Wm. de, Clerk, (1287) x. 1[illegible]
†Cougate, Will. de, xv. 7.
Crakehowe, Adam de, vii. 21.
Crakehowe, Ivo de, vii. 24, 23. *Witness*, xiv. 10.
Crakehou, Helena, wife of Adam, xiv. 9
*Cressenes, Wm. de, ii. 18; Cressenere, 5.
Cressi, Alexander de, ii. 13.
*Crofton, de, Adam, xv. 9 (1342, 8 (1340).
Crofton, John of, vi. 12. *Witness*, xii. 18; xv. 1; vi. 14.
Crogelin, Wm., son of Elias, vi. 21.
†Crogelyn, Geoffrey de, iv. 9.
*Crogelyn, Robert de, xiv. 3, 2; (1293) xiii. 17; xii. 26; Seneschal of Gillesland, (1293) x. 13.
*Croglyn, Will. de, iv. 10, 9.
*Crossebi, Will., fil. Nich. de, xii. 18.
*Crumbwell, John de, (1335) xv. 4, Steward of the Household (Seneschallus Hospitii Regis).
*Cumquenecath, David de, xii. 23, 19; vi. 26.

Cumren, Adam de, vi. 6; iv. 17, 15, 6.
Cumren de Alan, xiv. 7; iv. 11.
Cundal, Hen. de, ii. 12.
Curewen, Dom. Gilbert de, Vice-Com. Cumb., (1278) x. 14.
Curtmelens, Will. de, vii. 26.

Dacre, Alexander de, viii. 4.
Dacre, Ranulph de, (1320) xii. 15. *Witness*, Knt, x. 7.
Dacre, Ralph de, (1364) xv. 11.
Dacre, Will. de, Vice-Com. Cumb., xiv. 8; xiii. 15; ix. 1 (*c.* 1250); vii. 7; vi. 2; ii. 20.
Dale, le, Michael, Elena daughter of, and sister of Eda, iv. 10.
Dale, le, Michael, Eda daughter of, and sister of Elena, iv. 9.
†Dalesoclot, Walter de, v. 22.
*Daniel, iv. 8.
Dann brothers, ii. 13.
David, Solomon son of, and Christiana, v. 18, 17.
†David, Solomon son of, iv. 11.
†Dayvill, Isabella, xv. 10.
*Decanus, Wm., ii. 20; xiii. 15.
*Deepham de Peter, xv. 14.
*Dena, Ralph de, vii. 26, 25.
*Denton, A. de, ii. 6.
Denton, Anketin de, v. 25. Agnes his daughter.
*Denton de Asketin, xv. 18; iv. 16, 14; iii. 14, 11; ii. 19.
*Denton, Asketin, brother of Robert, vii. 4; ii. 3.
Denton, John, brother of Robert, jun., iv. 5.
Denton, John, son of Eustace de, iii. 15. *Witness*, i. 12.
Denton de, Alice, daughter of Rob. Albus, iii. 20.
Denton, Anketyn, son of Robert, iii. 10, 7; son of John, ii. 2.
Denton, Anketyll, son of Robert, son of Anketyll, iii. 5, 4.
Denton, de, Eudo son of Angketin, iv. 4.
*Denton, Eudo, son of John, xiv. 18; xii. 23, 19 (1273), 3, 2; ix. 20, 18 (1273), 15, 7, 6; vi. 26; iii. 20, 15, 9; ii. 22.
Denton, Eustace de, iii. 19, 18.
*Denton, Ivo de, i. 12.
*Denton, John, xv. 18; xiv. 8; xiii. 21, 18, 15, 13, 12 (1285), 11, 7, 3, 4 (1293); xii. 25, 19 Knt., 1; xi. 10; x. 15, 10 (1276), 11, 7 (1273), 3, 2, 1; ix. 19, 18, 17, 16, 10, 9, 6; vii. 6; vi. 26, 18, 16; Seneschal of Gillesland, 9, 8; vi. 7, 6; v. 25; iii. 14, 7.
Denton, John, son of John de, (1278) x. 14; iii. 9 (1273); ix. 15. *Witness*, (1293) xiii. 17; xii. 21, 23; ix. 20, 7; vii. 24; iv. 2; iii. 15; ii. 22; i. 12.
*Denton, John de, v. 17, 6, 2; iv. 16, 15, 12, 11, 6; iii. 20, 19; brother of Anketin, and Robert, son of Robert, son of Anketin, iii. 19, 18, 17, 15, 14; ii. 21, 20, 19, 7, 4, 3, 2.
*Denton, John, son of Robert, iii. 10.
*Denton, John, son of Robert, son of Anketyn, iii. 5, 4.
*Denton, John, brother of Robert, xiv. 7; vii. 4; iii. 12; ii. 1; i. 22, 21.
*Denton, John, son of Will., v. 25; iii. 15, of Upper Denton 9; ii. 22; i. 12.
*Denton, Rich. de, v. 4. *Witness*, xiii. 1; Knt., xii. 17 (1331).
Denton, Robert, son of Anketyn, iii. 5, 4.
Denton, Robt. de, xi. 7; v. 24; iii. 14. *Witness*, xiv. 7; xiii. 13; vii. 6, 4; vi. 28; iv. 16, 14, 7; ii. 1; v. 25, 6; iv. 12. Nephew of John, iv. 6; ii. 21. Brother of John, iii. 2; ii. 3; i. 22, 21.
Denton, Robert, son of John, ii. 2.
Denton, Robert, son of Robert jun. de, (1293) xii. 25.
Denton, jun., Robert de, xii. 27, 28 *Witness*, iii. 11; *iv. 5; brother of John, iii. 17.
Denton, Robert, son of Robert, son of Anketin de, iii. 11.
†Denton, Roger de, xv. 3.
†Denton, Simon, son of Robert, xv. 19. *Witness*, iv. 1.
*Denton, William, v. 23.
*Denule, Rob., ii. 17; "Daycule," 13.
*Deremannus, ii. 11.
*Derun, Will., son of, ii. 6.
†Dickeburg, Thos. de, vi. 20.
*Dispensarius, Rob., i. 19.
*Dispensator, Geoffrey, brother of John, x. 19.
*Dispensator, John, (1287) x. 19.
*Dorsagle, Walter de, iii. 16.
*Dorvent, N. del, xv. 18.
*Dothethfice, Robert de, v. 10.
Draco, and Agnes his wife, v. 1.
*Draco, iv. 8; ii. 12; i. 8.
*Drake, i. 17.
*Driffield, Mag. Rob. de, xiii. 15; ii. 20. Official of Northumberland, i. 12.
*Dunbredan, Rob. de, ii. 16, 14, 12.

†Dundan, vii. 20.
†Dunonaldus, vii. 14.
Durham, Antony, Bp. of, xii. 2.

*Edelwanus, Bishop, xv. 17.
Edw. I., (1304) xi. 9.
*Eglistun, Robert de, xiii. 26.
*El., dean of Carlisle, viii. 6.
*Emginator, Hen., (1287) x. 19.
*Engain, Gilbert, i. 1.
*Engain, Ralph, i. 1.
†Engayne, Ada, daughter of Will. and Eustachia, viii. 17, 18.
†Engayne, Ada, daughter of Will., x. 11; vii. 13; ii. 15, 11.
*Erdington, Wm. (clerk) of, i. 13.
†Essanda, daughter of Richard de Ulvesby, vii. 20.
*Estaite, Rich. del., i. 17.
†Eucme, Odo, son of, vii. 20, husband of Essanda.
†Eustace, v. 26, 23, husband of Agnes Anketin, mentioned iii. 14.
*Eustace, John, fil., iv. 2, 1; iii. 20.

Faber, Beatrice, dau. of Roger Faber and Juliana de Walton, (1293) xii. 21.
†Faber, Gilbert, xii. 18, †19.
*Fabian, parson of Aiketon, viii. 4.
*Falconarius, Geoffrey, ii. 5.
*Falli, Henry de, i. 1.
*Farlam, Adam son of Adam de, xiii. 16.
Farlam, Adam de, (1293) xiii. 17. *Witness*, xii. 24.
*Farlam, Salomon de, ii. 1.
*Farland, John de, xiii. 1, 2, 3, 4 (1331); xii. 17.
*Ferriby, John de, Knt., x. 13.
*Feritate, de, Gilbert, xiv. 21; viii. 4; v. 11, 9. Ralph son of Ralph, (1218) vii. 17, 13; v. 20.
*Feritate, de, Robert, xiv. 2 (1293); xiii. 17, 16; Knt., x. 13; ix. 17, 16 (*Ferte), 9.
*Feritate, de, Will. vii. 10.
*Ferte, de la, Odo, vii. 13; vi. 21, 4.
*Ferte, Ralph de la, vii. 14, 13. *Witness*, xiv. 21, 13, 8, 7; ix. 1 (*c.* 1218); vii. 17; v. 27, 20, 11; ii. 13; i. 16, 13, 5, 1.
*Fetherstanhalt, Thos. de, i. 12.
†Flandrensis, Robert, ii. 10.
Flamang, Bernard, i. 15, le Flamang 1.
Flamant, Walter de, vii. 1, and Rachvilla, his wife.
*Flamang, Walter, xii. 26. [illegible]
*Flamans, iii. 2; Flam[illegible] i. 20, 19, 18, 16, 1; Flam[illegible] 13.
*Fleming, John, xv. 9 (1342, 8.
*Fleta, de Rich. ix. 16.
*Folveren, Henry son of, ii. 1.
*Folville, Ralph, ii. 17, 16.
*Foveis, de Thos., xiii. 8.
†Forestarius, Ricardus, xiii. 10.
*Francus, Ralph, iv. 8.
*Frasden, Bernard de, i. 3.
*Fraunceys, le Geoffrey, xiv. 2.
*Fraunceys, le Mag. John, [illegible] (1252).

G., Abbot of Kelchou,* xiv. 1.
*G., Archd. of Carlisle, vi. 12; iv. 14; iii. 11.
G., Prior of Carlisle, viii. 5.
G., Prior of Wederhal, viii. 7.
*Galweth, Alan de, ii. 6.
†Galwith, Gilbert de, and Margaret wife, xv. 3.
†Gamelin, de Walton, iv. 17.
†Gamelsby, Walter son of Symon, xiv. 8.
†Geargum, Michael, of Dumfries, ix. 2.
Geoffrey, Archbp. of York, viii. 15.
*Geoffrey, Archd. of Cleveland, viii. 2.
*Geoffrey, Prince, son of King Henry, vii. 26.
*Gerard, Geoffrey son of, iv. 19; †vii. 2.
Gilbert, Bp. of Carlisle, viii. 17.
*Gilbert, Gilbert son of, xiv. 7; xii. 1. ix. 13.
*Gilbert, Prior of Carlisle, iii. 13.
*Gilbert, Canon of Carlisle, iii. 10.
†Gilchrist, Rich. son of, vi. 6.
†Gilchrist, son of Rich. Brun. v. 25.
†Gilchrist, William son of, husband of Agnes, daughter of Anketin de Denton, v. 25.
*Gill, mag. offic. of Northumberland, viii. 1.
*Gillemor, lord of Treverman, xv. 17.
*Gilmore, son of Gilandus, xv. 17.
*Godrik, John, xv. 2.
*Godsavel, Rob. xv. 2.
*Golius, Wm. son of, i. 22.
*Goscelin, Hen., xiv. 21.
*Gospatric, Thos. son of, ii. 17, 13, 12, 11.
*Gosselin, Ric. fil., xiv. 20; v. 13, 12, 10.
*Grayston, de, dom. Hen., Canon of Carlisle, xiv. 24.
Gregory, Pope, xv. 16.

* Spelt "Calkou," St. Andrew's diocese (Papal Bulls, Add. MS. 15,373, fol. 495).

Grene, Reniger, x. 7.
Grenedun, Ralph de, i. 12.
Grenesdale, Gilbert de, (1287) x. 19, citizen of Carlisle.
Grenesdale, de Michael, xiv. 20.
Grenesdale, Thomas, son of Matilda de, xiv. 17, †18.
Grenesdale, de Will., son of Matilda, xiv. 18, 19.
Gresley (Greyselye), Walter de, vi. 25. *Witness*, xiii. 12; ix. 7; vi. 26; iii. 20; ii. 22; i. 12.
*Gressumere, Will. de la, i. 15.
*Grey, Richard de, (1335) xv. 4.
†Grindegreth, John, brother of W., ix. 13, burgess of Dumfries.
Grindegreth, W., of Dumfries, ix. 13.
Griseleye, Walter de, xii. 12.
*Gylet, John, xv. 14.

H., Bp. of Carlisle, viii. 10, 7, 6.
Haldanefeld, Richard de, and Havisa his wife, vi. 15.
*Halekak, Alan, i. 22.
Hamelby, Hermerus de, vi. 5. *Witness*, v. 26; iv. 19; "Hame," v. 22, 11; iv. 19; i. 19, 18.
*Hamsam, Will. de, v. 27.
†Hamsted, Nicholas de, Archd. of Carlisle, (1264) xiv. 12, 14.
*Hamton, Robert, (c. 1250) vii. 7.
*Harderes, Rich. de, xiii. 13; Seneschal of Gillesland, iv. 12.
†Hardigel, John de, xv. 10.
†Harecoye, Roger de, xiii. 10.
*Hareschon, de Tho., fil. Rog., xiii. 24.
*Hastenagedene, Elyas de, i. 16, 10.
*Hastings, Philip de, ii. 17, 6; i. 22, 19, 18.
*Haton, Robert, ix. 2.
†Haulo, Nich. de (1256), Just. Itin. ix. 4.
*Hawis, Wm., son of, burgess of Dumfries, ix. 13.
†Haverington, Michael de, (1287) x. 19. *Witness*, Bailiff of Gillesland, xiii. 3, 4; xii. 1 (1287); x. 19.
*Hawelton, John, ix. 2.
*Haye, de la, Rich. xv. 2.
†Hayton, Laurence, ii. 5.
†Hayton, Peter de, (1276) x. 11, 2; vi. 26.
†Hecham, Hugh de, Burgess of Newcastle, xv. 7.
Henry Capellanus, Alice, daughter of, vii. 6, 7.
Henry II., K., vii. 26, 25.
*Herington, Ralph de, (1287) x. 19.
*Hermerus, Auger, xiv. 22; v. 1.
*Hermerus, iii. 8, 3; i. 6.
Hermerus, Adam, son of, vii. 11; v. 20. *Witness*, xiii. 14; v. 20; iii. 8; i. 18.
*Hermerus, John, xii. 21, 20; x. 15, 10.
*Hermerus, Robert, son of Adam, xiii. 14.
Hermerus, Christiana, dau. of Adam, son of, xiii. 14.
*Hermerus, Will., son of Christian, dau. of Adam, xiii. 14.
*Hervicus, Reginald, son of, iii. 3.
†Hodardus, Will. son of, viii. 17.
*Hode, Hugo de, (1202) iv. 18.
†Holme, Coltram, Abbot of, ix. 3 (1259); vii. 15.
*Holmo S. Laurencii, Henry de, Chaplain, iv. 23.
Honorius III., Pope, viii. 21, 20.
*Hospitali, Brother Alfred de, vii. 1.
*Houghton, John de, vi. 14, 12.
*Hoveden, Will. de, viii. 16.
*Hudardus Decanus, i. 1.
*Hudardus, Will., son of, xiv. 13.
Hugh, Bp. of Durham, viii. 16.
†Huntington, Peter de, vi. 12.
*Hyrthington, Wm., parson, vi. 21.
*Hyrtington, John de, xiv. 7.

Iggeran, Juliana, dau. of Wm. son of; wife of Robert, son of Gibert Faber, of Garthes, xii. 19.
Innocent, Pope, viii. 24, 22.
†Insula, Peter de, Archd. of Carlisle, xiv. 11. *Witness*, ix. 2.
*I. Bp. of Whilherne, viii. 15.
*Ireby, Adam de, ii. 17, 12.
*Ireby, Thos. de, viii. 4; Dean of Carlisle, v. 8, 7, 6.
*Ireby, John de, iv. 10, 9, 3.
Ireby, Will., son of Walter de, xiv. 7, 8.
Ireby, William, vii. 9.
*Irthington, Will., Parson of, vi. 4, Vicar 3; iv. 8; ii. 9.
Israel, iv. 22, 21. *Witness*, Camerarius, xiii. 6, 5; iii. 13; ii. 18, 8; i. 9, 6, 3, 1.
*Israel, Robert fil., xiii. 26; Chaplain, iv. 23; iii. 5, 4, 3.

†Jeserlon, Gilbert, son of, viii. 17.
†Jocelyn the Chaplain; Michael, son of, v. 14.
J. Prior of Lanercost, ix. 2.
*John, Archd. of Nottingham, viii. 14.

It is probable that this vase is of Rhodian fabric, and that it was executed about the time of the famous artist Protogenes; the marked excellence, therefore, in its drawing and composition, may reasonably be held to reflect the influence of that renowned artist.

Another work of great beauty is a drinking cup, on the inside of which is a figure of Aphrodite, borne through the air on a swan. Her name is inscribed above her. The design is drawn in brown on a white ground; the drapery of Aphrodite is coloured red. This group is exquisitely composed, and drawn with a mastery which shows that the vase belongs to the finest period of Greek art, probably to that of Phidias himself. Whether this cup be of Rhodian fabric or imported cannot be ascertained, but anyhow, like the Peleus and Thetis vase, it will challenge comparison with the best examples of ceramography from Vulci, Nola, or Athens. Other fine specimens of the same class are a cup of the kind called *kantharos*, representing, on the obverse, a combat between Theseus and Andromache, and, on the reverse, a similar combat between Paris and Phorbas, all these names being inscribed upon it. The drawing of this vase is remarkably good and the form of rare occurrence. There is also a drinking cup, on the inside of which is represented the rape of Thetis by Peleus, with the names of Thetis and of her companions inscribed over them, and on the outside the combats, respectively, of Æneas and Diomed, and of Heracles, Cycnus, and Ares.

Of the Third or last class—Egyptian or imitated Egyptian—no very large number of specimens have been found. I may, however, call attention to a gold ring inscribed with symbols imitated from Egyptian

m, Wm. Chanc. of Cambridge v., xv. 18.
·spick, Rob., Burgess of Dumfres, 13.
ıg, Robert de, parson of Croglyn, 21.
ngton, de, Rob., parson of Croglin, . 23.
·les, John, xiii. 14, 12; iv. 8, 4; .. 20.

ɡnus, Henricus, xiii. 6, 5; ii. 8; i. 3, 7, 2.
ıa Terra, Rich. de, viii. 5; iii. 1; . 18; i. 1.
lecake, Alan, ii. 7.
ltalet, Will., ii. 13.
ılton, Hen. de, xiii. 3, 4; xi. 10.
ırescallus, Richard, iv. 6.
ıreschal, Wm. and Matilda, xv. 5.
arisco, Rich. de, official of Carlisle, viii. 4, 3.
.eleburn, Wm. de, V. of Irthington, (1275) x. 9.
Iercator, Wydo, vi. 19.
Iercator, Stephen, vi. 10.
Ieru, Robert, vi. 10.
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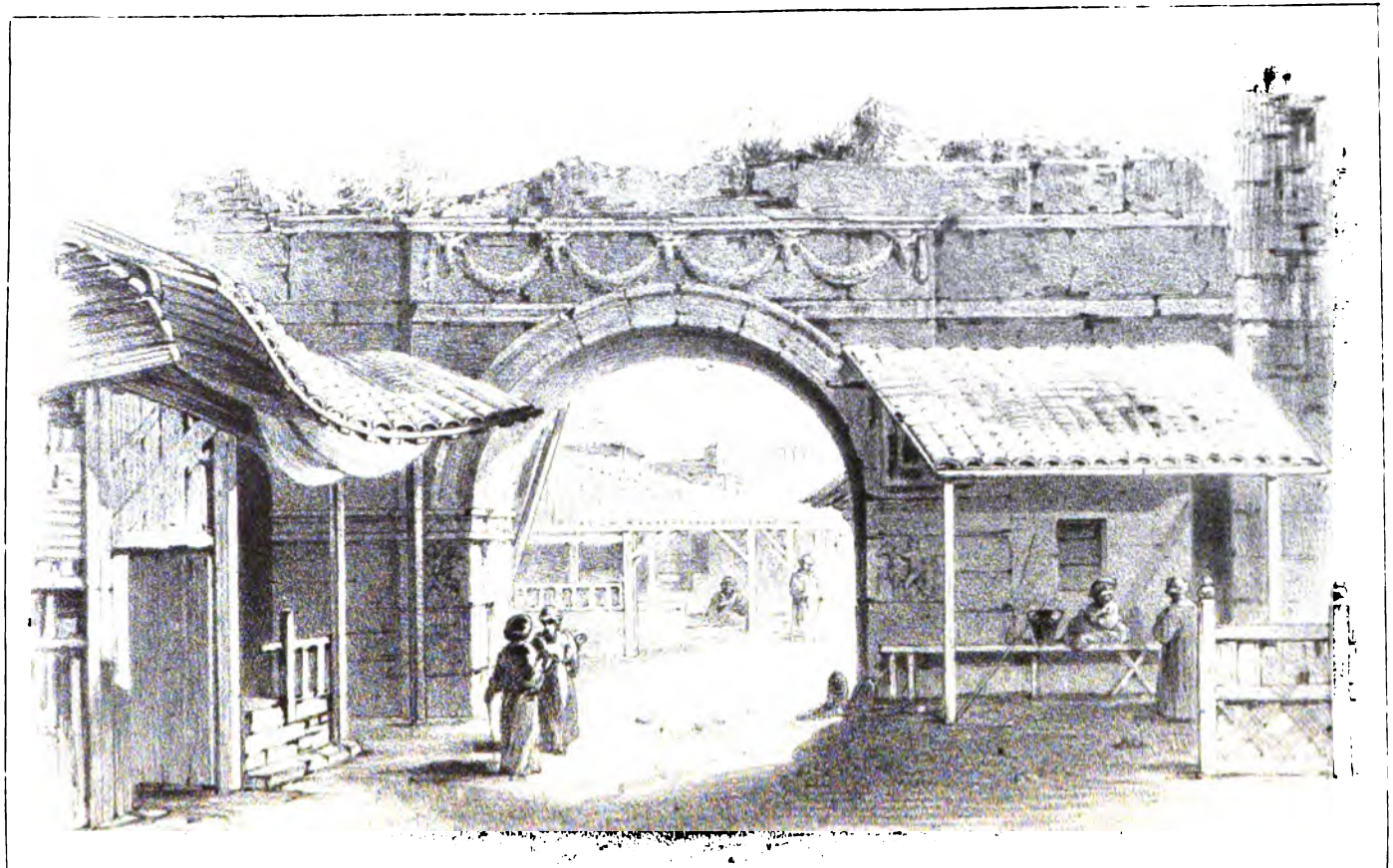
*Walkelyn, Mag., v. 4.
*Walter, Hubert, Archbp. of Canterbury, Custos of Gillesland, xiii. 10.
*Walter, Prior of Carlisle, v. 3; ii. 18; i. 14, 9, 1.
*Walton, Thomas de, (Clerk) i. 1.
†Wedenhall, Abbot of, (1259) ix. 3.
†Wericus, the Priest, iii. 16.
*Werri, Mag. T., xii. 18.
Werri, Nicholas, son of John, (1279) x. 16.
Werry, Theffania and Margaret, daughters of Lucia, xiii. 21, 20; x. 15.
†Werry, Thos., V. of Brampton, xiii. 10.
*Westmoreland, Rob. de, of Lanercost, ix. 13.
*Westenethwayt, Rich. de, vii. 14.
Whayt, Rob. le, (1304) xi. 9, 10.
Wm. the Prior's nephew, v. 24; †iii. 8. *Witness*, iii. 6, 3.
*Wycliff, Wm. de, (1331) xii. 17.
*Willelmi, John fil., xii. 23.
*Willelmi, Rob. fil., xiv. 7; vii. 4; iv. 11.
*Willelmi, John fil., ix. 10; vi. 26; (1202) iv. 18.
*William, Precentor of York, viii. 14.
*William, Archd. of Carlisle, High Chamberlain, viii. 16.
*William, Gilbert, son of, xi. 10.
*William, Rector of Kirkoswald, x. 13.
William, son of the Archbishop, viii. 16.
William, Roger son of, vi. 20; v. 20.
*William, Bp. of Ely, Chancellor, viii. 1.
*William, Henry son of, vi. 12.
*William, Prior of Wederhall, ii. 21.
*William, Parson of Irthington, iv. 8; i. 19, 18.
William [de Grenefield], Archbishop of York, xv. 12.
†William, Henry son of, xiv. 21.
*William, Robert, son of, Seneschal, i. 22, 21; †vii. 8. *Witness*, vii. 3; vi. 28, 21, 9; v. 19, 18; iv. 16; iii. 19. Seneschal, iii. 18, 12, 8, 7; ii. 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1.
William, Thomas son of, xiv. 16.
William, William son of, xiv. 20.
*Wodeburn, Hen. de, xiv. 10.
Woderington, Gerard de, (1363) xv. 10.
Woderington, de, Roger, xv. 10.
*Wydine, Haldan de, i. 11, 10.
*Wygeton, Adam de, viii. 4; (1218) vii. 17.
†Wygeton, Wm. de, vii. 10.
Wyichard, Sycherich, wife of Robert, iv. 2.
†Wyvill, John de, (1256) Just. Itin., ix. 4.
*Wrangham, Henry de, xii. 18.
*Wyndesor, (spelt also *Windlesore, Wyndesofras, Windleshora, *Wyndesover, Adam, xii. 28.
*Wyndesor, Alexander de, ii. 18; i. 5; †viii. 18, 17. *Witness*, vii. 5; v. 3; iv. 22, 21; iii. 13; i. 15, 14, 9, 3, 2, 1.
Wyndesor, Christiana de, (1202) iv. 18.
*Wyndesor, John, xiii. 15; brother of Walter, vii. 11; iv. 15, 7, 5, 4; iii. 18; ii. 20, 19, 7.
*Wyndesor, Robert (1202), iv. 18.
*Wyndesor, Walter de, xiii. 13; iv. 13, 12, 11, 8; iii. 20; ii. 9; †xiii. 14. *Witness*, xv. 18; xiv. 13; xiii. 18, 14, 12, 5; vii. 11; vi. 24, 7; v. 14, 2; iv. 22, 21, 17, 16, 15, 14, 6, 5, 4; iii. 17, 14, 12, 11, 8, 7; ii. 21, 18, 7, 3, 2, 1; i. 16, 15, 13, 7, 2, 1.
Wyndesor, Walter de, his wife Mabel, iv. 7.
Wyndesor, Walter son of Walter, ii. 19. *Witness*, ii. 19.
*Wyndesor, Wm. de, i. 20. *Witness*, vi. 28; v. 18; iv. 11; iii. 12, 7.

†Yuggeih, Thos. son of, iv. 9.



Thomas H. Scott del.

ROMAN GATE AT SALONIKI

ON A GREEK INSCRIPTION FROM SALONIKI [THESSALONICA].

BY W. S. W. VAUX, M.A., HON. SEC. R.S.L.

(Read July 4th, 1866.)

I HAVE much pleasure in laying before the Society this evening a detailed account of a Greek inscription still at Saloniki (the ancient Thessalonica),—a photograph of which has been obtained by the Rev. David Morton, of Harleston Rectory, Northamptonshire, through the courtesy of our consul at that place, Richard Wilkinson, Esq. A woodcut from this photograph I now exhibit, together with a drawing of the monument on which the engraved inscription still exists, given in M. Cousinéry's work, 'Voyage dans la Macédoine.' Mr. Morton was, at the same time, so kind as to bring me several notes relative to it, together with a comparison between the inscription, as it appears from the photograph and that published by Boeckh in his 'Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum.'

At first, I only thought of laying this matter before the Society as I received it from Mr. Morton; on, however, making subsequent researches, I found so many curious variations in the inscription, as it has been published by different persons, since it was first made known in Europe by Muratori, that I have deemed it worth while to lay before the Society the

detailed account each writer has given of it, partly with a view of showing how far superior the sun-picture of the photograph is to the best copy of even the most practised human eyes, and what an invaluable aid this comparatively new process affords to us in the correct representation of almost all lapidary[1] inscriptions. I propose, therefore, this evening to lay before the Society an account of this inscription from all the sources I have been able to ascertain, and to arrange the statements, as far as possible, chronologically. In this way each person will be able to see for himself the curious modifications of it made known by different travellers, or by others who have paid attention to it, previously to our obtaining from Mr. Wilkinson, as I have mentioned above, the photograph copy, on which alone we can absolutely rely.

Before, however, I come to the inscription itself, I ought to remark that the main interest about it is that it records the existence of officers peculiar to the Thessalonians, viz. the Politarchs, which is specially mentioned in St. Luke's narrative, Acts xvii. 6, *ἐπὶ τοὺς πολιτάρχας*, and Acts xvii. 8, *καὶ τοὺς πολιτάρχας*, the name of whom, however, *πολιτάρχας*, occurs nowhere else in any classical writers, though the compound is one perfectly regular and natural in Greek.[2]

Now, apart from the notice in the Acts of the Apostles quoted above, we have two instances only of the mention of this officer. First, in the Hist. de l'Acad.

[1] I say "almost all," for it does not answer for Cuneiform quite so well as might have been expected.

[2] I should however state that the form *πολίαρχος* occurs in Pindar Nem. vii. 125, *ἐμᾶ μὲν πολίαρχον εὐωνύμῳ πάτρᾳ*, and in Euripides, Rhes. v. 381, *σκύμνον ἔθρεψας πολίαρχον ἰδεῖν*.

des Inscriptions, tom. xxxviii. p. 125 (A.D. 1770–2), in an article by M. l'Abbé Belley, entitled, 'Observations sur l'histoire et sur les Monumens de la ville de Thessalonique,' in which he says, — "On trouve encore le nom de Politarche sur les marbres de cette ville: on lit sur un fragment le nom d'un Marcus,— *ΠΟΛΙΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΜΑΡΚΟΥ*. Cette inscription et plusieurs autres ont été envoyées de Thessalonique en 1746, par M. Germain, Consul de France," to which Boeckh, vol. ii. p. 42, adds the following note, "Ceteras quatuor desidero: neque eæ Parisiis reperiri potuerunt, etsi non defuit amicorum cura intentissima." And, secondly, in this present inscription, in which the magistrates' names and titles appear under the form *ΠΟΛΕΙΤΑΡΧΟΥΝΤΩΝ*.

From these two inscriptions, belonging as they both do evidently to Thessalonica, and the second, in fact, being still *in situ*, we gain a remarkable proof of the minute accuracy of St. Luke in his narrative of the events that took place at Thessalonica, showing clearly, that if he was not himself present during the period he describes, he must have derived his account from persons well acquainted with Thessalonica, and the nature of the government prevailing there at the time of St. Paul's visit.

The inscription, according to the photograph, is as follows; and a very slight inspection of it will show that the letters on it are still singularly clear, distinct, and legible, so much so, that it is not easy at first sight to comprehend the numerous errors into which the earlier copyists of it have fallen, some of which, too, have been perpetuated in very recent commentaries which have been written upon it:—

ΠΟΛΕΙΤΑΡΧΟΥΝΤΩΝ ΣΩΣΙΠΑΤΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ Κ/..
ΠΑΤΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΟΥΚΙΟΥ ΠΟΝΤΙΟΥ ΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΟ'
ΥΙΟΥ ΑΥΛΟΥ ΑΟΥΙΟΥ ΣΑΒΕΙΝΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ.
ΦΑΥΣΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΟΣ ΖΩ ΛΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΠΑΡΜΕΝΙΩΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΥ ΓΑΙΟΥ ΑΓΙΛΛΗ
ΠΟΤΕΙΤΟΥ ΤΑΜΙΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΟΣ ΤΑΥΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΜΜΙΑ
ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΡΗΓΛΟΥ ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΤΑΥΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΤΑΥ
ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΡΗΓΛΟΥ.

I should add that in this inscription there is no letter about which there can be a reasonable doubt, at the same time that there are some peculiarities which have led to errors in other copies.

Thus, at the end of line 1, it is no longer possible to see more than the *K*, and a faint stroke inclined to the left; the context, however, leaves no doubt that we are justified in inserting *EO*, and so in completing the name *ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΣ*. Again, the last letter *T* of *ΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΟΥ* is no longer to be seen. Moreover, it would appear from the photograph that the stone originally employed for the inscription was not quite long enough, or rather that the engraver did not space out his work accurately before he began to cut it, the consequence of which has been, that in the third line, the *ΤΟΥ* at the end is cut in half by the line of the stone, this line passing through the *O*, and *Υ* being cut upon the next or outside stone. In the same way, in the next or fourth line, *ΖΩ* only is visible on the stone; but *ΛΟΥ*, the termination of the name has been cut in smaller characters on the next stone, while the *I* is lost altogether in the junction of the two stones, in fact, may perhaps have never been cut. Yet that this letter forms an integral part of the name need not be doubted; indeed, it has been generally inserted, as will

ΠΟΛΕΙΤΑΡΧΟΥΝΤΩΝ·ΣΩΣΙΠΑΤΡΟΥ·ΤΟΥΚΛ
ΠΑΤΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ·ΛΟΥΚΙΟΥ·ΠΟΝΤΙΟΥΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΟ
ΥΙΟΥ·ΑΥΛΟΥ·ΑΟΥΙΟΥ·Σ Α ΒΕΙΝΟΥΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ·ΤΟΥ
ΦΑΥΣ ΤΟΥ·ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥΝΕΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΟΣ ΖΩ
ΤΟΥΠΑΡΜΕΝΙΩΝΟΣ·ΤΟΥΚΑΙΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΥΓΑΙΟΥ·ΑΠΛΑΗΙΟ
ΠΟΤΕΙΤΟΥ·ΤΑΜΙΟΥ·ΤΗΣ·ΠΟΛΕΟΣ·ΤΑΥΡΟΥ·ΤΟΥΑΜΜΙΑΣ
ΤΟΥΚΑΙΡΗΓΛΟΥ·ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥΝΤΟΣ·ΤΑΥΡΟΥ·ΤΟΥΤΑΥΡΟ
ΤΟΥΚΑΙΡΗΓΛΟΥ·

be seen hereafter by some who have since published the inscription but who certainly had not themselves seen it.

In the same way, and for the same reason, the *T* is lost at the end of the word *ΑΓΙΑΔΗΙΟ* in the fifth line, and the *ΟΥ* in *ΤΑΥΡΟΥ* at the end of the seventh. Faint traces of the *O* may perhaps be detected, hence some copyists have inserted what looks like the latest form of the Greek.

The actual size of the inscription I have been able to obtain from a rubbing of the inscription which was sent to the Museum in 1862 by the Rev. C. G. Curtis. From this, and Mr. Wilkinson's statement to Mr. Morton, it appears that the stone on which it is cut is about 6 ft. 9 inches long, by 2 ft. 8 inches broad, and that the letters are generally about 2¼ inches long. Some instances occur in which a smaller type of letter has been used, as in the case of the name *ΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΟ*, probably to enable the engraver to get his letters into one line. This rubbing, I may add, confirms the photograph in every particular,—at the same time, without the photograph, it could not satisfactorily have been read; the person who executed it having evidently been not well practised in his art, and having used paper of too coarse a description.

Beneath the inscription the photograph exhibits two or three Greek letters and some ornamental tracings. These have nothing to do with the inscription, and may be only modern scratches. As nothing follows these names upon the stone, we may suppose that they were inscribed on the slab to record the erection of the arch itself during their Politarchate. No one has stated exactly whereabouts on the arch the inscription is placed. By comparing the notice in Cou-

sinéry (*infra*, pp. 13, 14), however, with the arrangement of the stones of which the arch is built, as seen in the photograph, it may be inferred that it is on the right-hand side of the roadway, and not, as might have been expected, over the centre of the arch. I infer further, from the notice given by Beaujour (*infra*, p. 9), which I shall presently quote *in extenso*, that at present it is almost level with the eye, the earth in the roadway having been raised several feet in the lapse of centuries.

I will now proceed to mention, as nearly as I can, in chronological order, the different publications in which I have been able to find a notice of the inscription. And, I take first that of Muratori, Nov. Thesaur. Vet. Inscrip. vol. ii. p. DXCV. (Milan, fol. 1740), the earliest I have met with. It is as follows, and is there stated to have been sent by Bimardus to Muratori:—

"*Thessalonicæ misit Bimardus*
V. cl.

ΠΟΛΕΙΤΑΡΧΟΝΤΩΝ ΣΩΣΙΠΑΤΡΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΟΥΚΙΟΥ
ΠΟΝΤΙΟΥ ΣΕΚΟΝΔΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΦΛΑ
ΟΥΙΟΥ ΣΑΒΕΙΝΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ
ΦΑΥΣΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ
ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΖΩΙΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΡΜΕ
ΝΙΟΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΥ ΓΑΙΟΥ
ΑΓΙΛΛΗΙΟΥ ΠΟΤΕΙΤΟΥ ΤΑΜΙΟΥ
ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΤΑΥΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΜΜΙΑΣ
ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΡΗΓΛΟΥ ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥΝ
ΤΟΣ ΤΑΥΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΡΗΓΛΟΥ
- - - - - - - - - - - - — - -

Muratori has added a translation in Latin, "ex versione Bimardi," which it is not necessary to give here.

This version has much interest, in that it shows clearly enough that the copy is on the whole a faithful one, though either the copyist or the transcriber has omitted to give the lines as they really exist on the monument, and so has made eleven out of eight. It is at least satisfactory to know that the inscription has not been injured during the last 120 years.

The only variations between it and the photograph would seem to be the following:—the *T* is omitted in *ΠΟΛΕΙΤΑΡΧΟΝΤΩΝ* and *ΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΟΥ*; *ΤΟΥ ΦΛΑΟΥΙΟΥ* is substituted for *ΥΙΟΥ ΑΥΛΟΥ ΑΟΥΙΟΥ*; the first *E* is omitted, and *Ω* is placed for the third *O* in *ΝΕΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΟΣ*; the name *ΖΩΙΛΟΥ* is written completely, though both from the photograph and the rubbing it is clear that the *I* cannot be detected; *As*; *ΠΟΛΕΩΣ* appears for *ΠΟΛΕΟΣ*; and after the second *ΤΑΥΡΟΥ*, *ΤΟΥ ΤΑ ΡΟC* is omitted. In other respects, the inscription coincides exactly with that shown by the photograph.

The next notice I find of this inscription is in the 'Inscriptiones Antiquæ Græcæ et Romanæ' (Lond. fol. 1752, p. 48), published by Dr. Richard Pococke as an appendix to his 'Description of the East, and of some other Countries,' vol. ii. part ii. (Lond. fol. 1745.) In this latter work, the author describes very briefly some of the more important remains of antiquity he observed at Saloniki, including a triumphal arch of much beauty, and a colonnade of five Corinthian arches in *cipollino*, of both of which he gives drawings. He adds, "Within the south gate of the city there is an ancient gateway or triumphal arch remaining of hewn stone; on each side, to the south, there is a relief about three feet long and two and a

half wide." Curiously enough, however, he does not allude to the inscription he published in his subsequent volume, though it is clear, from later descriptions, that he must have seen it, if at all, on this structure.

The inscription, as he gives it, is as follows:—

ΠΟΛΗΤΑΡΧΟΥΝΤΟΥΙ ΣΟΣΙΠΑΤΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ Κ(ΑΙ)[3]
ΠΑΤΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΟΥΚΙΟΥ ΠΟΝΤΙΟΥ ΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΟ(Υ)
ΥΙΟΥ ΑΥΛΟΥ ΛΟΥΙΟΥ ΣΑΒΕΙΝΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ Τ..
ΡΑΥΣΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΚΟΠΟΛΕΟΣ Ο.....
ΤΟΥ ΠΑΙΙΙΟΣ ΑΣ ΤΟΥΙ ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΥ ΓΑΙΟΥ ΑΠΑΛΗΙΟΥ
ΠΟΤΕΙΤΟΥ ΓΑΜΙΟΥ ΤΗΣ Π(ΟΛ)ΕΟΣ ΤΑΥΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΜΙΗ
ΠΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΒΗΒΟΥ ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΤΑΥΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΥ
Ι ΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΙΙΓΑΟΥ.

The numerous blunders in this transcript reflect little credit on Dr. Pococke as a copier of inscriptions, and are indeed such as can hardly be accounted for by the supposition that some or many of the letters had been clogged up by the dirt of ages. Though we do not know exactly when he made his copy of it, we do know that the volume in which these inscriptions were published was printed in 1752, and that his travels made their appearance in 1745. Hence, there was probably an interval of not more than fifteen or twenty years between the time when Bimardus made the fairly accurate copy he sent to Muratori and the time when Pococke was at Saloniki.

On the other hand, it is most important to note that he gives almost correctly the commencement of the third line, having merely written *ΛΟΥΙΟΥ* for *ΑΟΥΙΟΥ*, which Boeckh asserts "ferri non potest." One or two words, as *ΖΩΙΛΟΥ*, Pococke does not appear to have seen at all.

[3] These letters in small capitals are so printed in the original.

The next traveller who has noticed this monument is M. Félix Beaujour, formerly French consul in Greece, who, in a work published by him under the title 'Tableau du Commerce de la Grèce' (Paris, an viii. (1800) at p. 32), gives the following description: —"La porte qu'on nomme du *Verdar*, parce qu'elle conduit à ce fleuve, est à l'ouest, sur l'emplacement qu'occupait la porte de Rome sous les Empereurs. Elle est formée par un arc de triomphe du meilleur goût. Cet arc fut élevé à Octave et à Marc-Antoine par les habitants de Thessalonique, empressés d'honorer les maîtres du monde après la Bataille de Philippes. Les proportions du monument sont exactes, et les ornemens simples. Sa hauteur n'est plus que de dix-huit pieds; mais il paraît qu'il est enterré d'un tiers, et qu'il en avait au moins vingt-sept.

"L'ouverture de l'arc est de douze pieds. Sa voûte est sculptée, l'entablement est orné de guirlandes, et sur la façade extérieure sont, de chaque côté, deux bas-reliefs de même grandeur, qui représentent les deux triomphateurs debout, devant un cheval conduit par un enfant. Tous les accessoires, qui sont entre les corniches, caractérisent ce que nous appelons le petit triomphe ou l'*ovation*. L'arceau, qui est encore bien conservé, est fait avec de belles pierres carrées de marbre; il a six pieds d'épaisseur. Sur une de ces faces, on lit une inscription désignant tous les magistrats qui, lors de l'érection de l'arc, étaient à la tête de l'administration publique, et parmi lesquels on distingue un *Politarche*, magistrat dont la dignité répondait à celle de préteur." More than this, we could not perhaps expect from Beaujour, the object of whose work was commerce rather than antiquities.

The next notice we obtain of this inscription is in the travels of Dr. Edward Daniel Clarke ('Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa,' part ii. sect. iii. p. 359, 4to, Lond. 1816), who visited Saloniki in December, 1801, and gives a succinct account of the principal monuments he saw there. Owing, however, to the prevalence of the plague, it would seem that he was not able to make many independent researches, and for the notice of the dimensions of the structure on which this inscription is preserved, and which he calls the "Triumphal Arch of Augustus," he states that he is indebted to M. Beaujour, whose memoir we have quoted above. He merely adds, "that upon one side there is an inscription containing the names of all the magistrates then in office," and that "this arch is on the western side of the town. It originally terminated a street that ran through the whole of the ancient city from east to west."

Shortly after Dr. Clarke, Colonel Leake visited Saloniki, on November, 1806. An interval, however, of nearly thirty years elapsed before the publication of his researches there and elsewhere, in his well-known work, the 'Travels in Northern Greece' (Lond. 8vo, 1835). During this period, as we shall see presently, more than one scholar had described and copied this inscription, and published the result of their inquiries, so that we are not able now to state how far the version Leake has printed is derived from his own independent examination, or modified from the reports of others. I propose, therefore, to defer Colonel Leake's version and remarks till I have laid before the Society the notices of Mr. Swan and of M. Cousinéry, which were published some years before Colonel Leake's

'Travels.' Incidentally, I may remark here that the present Sir Henry Holland, Bart., M.D., etc. etc., notices in his 'Travels in Greece,' etc., in 1812–13, vol. ii. p. 50 (London, 8vo, 1819), "that, at Thessalonica, a triumphal gate erected after the battle of Philippi, in honour of Augustus, has lost its former splendour by being made part of the modern walls of the city." This arch is no doubt the same as that on which the inscription we are considering is placed.

The Rev. Charles Swan, the well-known translator of the "Gesta Romanorum," visited Saloniki, being at that time chaplain of H.M.S. Cambrian, in company, as it would seem, with the chief officer of his ship, Captain Hamilton, and Captain Sotheby, on the 25th of February, 1825. His account is as follows:—

"At the northern quarter of the town is the gate of the Vardar, which Dr. Clarke supposes a triumphal arch of Augustus; a work far superior, he says, in point of taste to the other. How this may be I know not; the vault within and without is overlaid with plaster by the Turks, in two or three places it has given way; and, passing the first archway of the vault, on the obverse side, a section of a horse and man may be discovered: under this arch I copied the following inscription, which the younger M. Charnaud believes cannot have been uncovered many years, yet Dr. Clarke speaks of it cursorily as "containing the names of all the magistrates then in office." He gives the inscription thus,—

ΠΟΛΕΙΤΑΡΧΟΥΝΤΩΝ . ΣΩΣΙΠΑΤΡΟΥ . ΤΟΥ Κ-
ΠΑΤΡΑΣ · ΚΑΙ . ΛΟΥΚΙΟΥ . ΠΟΝΤΙΟΥ . ΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΟΥ
ΥΙΟΥ . ΑΥΛΟΥΑΟ . ΥΙΟΥ . ΣΑΒΕΙΝΟΥ . ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ . Τ
ΨΑΥΣΤΟΥ . ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ . ΤΟΥ . ΝΕΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΟΣ . ΖΟ

ΤΟΥ.ΠΑΡΜΕΝΙΟΝΟΣ.ΤΟΥ.ΚΑΙΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΥ.ΓΑΙΟΥ.ΑΠΙΛΛΗΙ
ΠΟΤΕΙΤΟΥ.ΤΑΜΙΟΥ.ΤΗΣ.ΠΟΛΕΟΣ.ΤΑΥΡΟΥ.ΤΟΥ.ΑΜΜ
ΤΟΥ.ΚΑΙΡΗΓΛΟΥ.ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥΝΤΟΣ.ΤΑΥΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΤΑΥ
ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΡΗΓΛΟΥ.

The dots inserted are as they appear in Mr. Swan's copy.

It will be at once perceived that this is in many ways the best copy we have as yet met with; but even here are errors which it seems that the photograph can alone set finally at rest. Thus, he gives the *ΤΙΟΥ ΑΤΛΟΥ ΛΟΤΙΟΥ* correctly, so far as the individual letters are concerned: but by inserting the dots, as follows, *ΤΙΟΥ.ΑΤΛΟΥΛΟ.ΤΙΟΥ.* he makes the sense unintelligible. Again, it will be remarked that he has not detected the second and third syllables of *ΖΩΙΛΟΥ.*

M. Cousinéry, to whom we shall refer next, for many years the French consul at Saloniki, published at Paris, in 1831, an account of his travels and researches in Greece, under the title of 'Voyage dans la Macédoine,' etc. etc. (4to, Paris, 1831). As a long resident in Saloniki, and as a man, in other ways, of mark, especially on all subjects relating to antiquities or coins, M. Cousinéry may be considered as better entitled than any one else to give an opinion with reference to ancient remains existing in that town, while we should reasonably expect that a copy of a Greek inscription made by his hands would be as faithful as possible; and such is indeed the case. No copy we possess, except that by the photographic art, is as accurate as M. Cousinéry's.

The following is his account of the Roman arch on which, as we have stated, this inscription still remains. At p. 25 he says:—"Si l'on arrive dans la

ville du côté de l'Italie, on passe par une espèce de bastion, crénelé et fermé, qui conduit à la porte principale. En face de cette double entrée se présente une troisième porte, qui se joint par les deux côtés aux maisons latérales.

" Le voyageur, qui n'a d'abord aperçu dans ce monument qu'une porte gênée par des bâtisses étrangères, reconnaît bientôt avec étonnement qu'il se trouve devant un arc de triomphe antique de la plus grande beauté. La face qui se découvre la première est la plus intéressante, et, en même temps, la plus propre à faire reconnaître l'époque à laquelle cet édifice appartient. Contre la façade sont élevés de petits tréteaux qui servent pour la station des gardes de la ville et des préposés de la douane. Ces agents adossent à ce mur antique les coussins sur lesquels ils s'appuient. Plus curieux de la blancheur de la chaux que de la beauté de l'art, chaque fois que leurs escouades se renouvellent, ils font passer un blanchîment sur le marbre ; de sorte que, par un effet de la succession des couches, it faut aujourd'hui s'approcher de très-près pour juger du mérite des sculptures.

" Elles sont toutes historiques : le même sujet est répété à la gauche de la façade, tel qu'il est à la droite. C'est de chaque côté un consul Romain, vêtu de la toge. Les têtes ont été totalement dégradées par des coups qu'on leur a portés avec l'intention de les détruire. Ces deux figures, de la hauteur d'un pied, sont debout, chacune devant un cheval sculpté avec beaucoup d'art ; deux enfans tiennent la bride des deux chevaux.

" Cet arc de triomphe n'a qu'une seule arche ; les proportions en sont grandes et nobles ; une corniche termine les deux pilastres à la naissance du grand arc.

Dans l'entablement supérieur, la frise est ornée de guirlandes. Le spectateur apprécie difficilement la majesté et l'élégance de cet édifice, à cause des vieilles maisons qui y sont adossées et de l'élévation du terrain qui en cache presque un tiers.

" Une inscription très-bien conservée est placée sous la voûte à la droite et dans la direction de la sculpture on la lit avec facilité, à cause de l'encombrement qui la rapproche de l'œil. La voici fidèlement copiée :

ΠΟΛΕΙΤΑΡΧΟΥΝΤΩΝ . ΣΩΣΙΠΑΤΡΟΥ . ΤΟΥΚΛ–
ΠΑΤΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΟΥΚΙΟΥ . ΠΟΝΤΙΟΥ ΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΟ —
ΥΙΟΥ ΑΥΛΟΥ ΑΟΥΙΟΥ ΣΑΒΕΙΝΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΟΥ Τ–
ΦΑΥΣΤΟΥ . ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ . ΤΟΥ ΝΕΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΟΣ ΖΟ–
ΤΟΥ ΠΑΡΜΕΝΙΟΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΥ ΓΑΙΟΥ ΑΓΙΛΛΗΙ
ΠΟΤΙΤΟΥ ΤΑΜΙΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΟΣ ΤΑΥΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΜΜΙΑ
ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΡΗΓΛΟΥ ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΤΑΥΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΤΑΥ
ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΡΗΓΛΟΥ.

M. Cousinéry adds, after some further remarks, that it is evident that this inscription belongs to the early period of the Roman empire, and most probably *refers* to the triumph of Octavius and Antony after the battle of Philippi; and he attempts to confirm this view by reference to various Græco-imperial coins of Thessalonica, bearing the portrait of Octavia, the wife of Antony and sister of Octavius, and bearing as their legends either *ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ* or *ΑΓΟΝΟΘΕΣΙΑ*. He remarks that Dionysius of Halicarnassus states that Octavius and Antony came to Thessalonica after the victory at Philippi, and he thinks that these coins tend to show that *ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ* was granted to that city by them during this visit, and, probably, that public games were then celebrated in their honour.

Some slight errors may be observed even in Cousinéry's rendering of the inscription: thus, in the third line, he reads *ΔΗΜΗΤΡΟΥ* for *ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ*, omits the *Ε* in *ΠΟΤΕΙΤΟΥ*, writes *ΠΑΡΜΕΝΙΟΝΟΣ* instead of *ΠΑΡΜΕΝΙΩΝΟΣ*, and leaves out the *ΙΑΟΥ* in *ΖΩΙΑΟΥ*.

The first part of the great collection of ancient Greek inscriptions by the illustrious Boeckh was published, as is well known, in 1828. The second part, however, in which he gives his version of this inscription did not appear till 1833, before which time the tolerably accurate copies of Swan and Cousinéry had been made public. It does not, however, appear that he was cognizant of them, though, as we shall see hereafter, in his "Addenda et Corrigenda," he avails himself of Mr. Swan's copy, and alludes to Colonel Leake. The consequence is, that Boeckh's first copy is by no means a perfect one, and that even the later one in his "Addenda" contains grave errors. Out of respect to him, however, I have thought it right to give all that he has stated on the subject, including both the first copy and his subsequent notes in the "Addenda et Corrigenda."

The first copy of inscription is as follows [Corp. Græc. Inscrip. ii. p. 33, No. 1967]:—

ΤΑΡΧΟΥΝΤΩΝ ΣΩΣΙΠΑΤΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΛΕΟ
ΛΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΟΥΚΙΟΥ ΠΟΝΤΙΟΥ ΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΟΥ
ΛΥΛΟΥ ΦΛΑΟΥΙΟΥ ΣΑΒΕΙΝΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ
ΣΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΖΩ
ΤΟΥ ΠΑΡΜΕΝΙΟΝΟΣ ΤΟΥΚΑΙ ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΥ ΓΑΙΟΥ ΑΓΙΛΛΗΙΟΥ
ΙΤΟΥ ΤΑΜΙΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΤΑΥΡΟΥΤΟΥ ΑΜΜΙΑΣ
ΚΑΙ ΡΗΓΛΟΥ ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΤΑΥΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΥ
ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΡΗΓΛΟΥ

and the following are his remarks upon it:—"Formam tituli dedi ex Poc., qui in hac re satis fidus esse solet, sed lectiones ex Bimardo, ubi contrarium non noto. Vs. 1. Poc. *ΠΟΛΗΤΑΡΧΟΝ*, etc. *ΣΩΣΙ*, etc. et, in fine, *ΚΑΙ* (pro *ΚΛΕΟ*); vs. 2. Bim. *ΣΕΚΟΝΔΟΥ*, Poc. *ΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΟΥ*; vs. 3. Bim. omittit *ΑΤΛΟΥ* quod addidi ex Poc., qui habet *ΤΙΟΥ ΑΤΛΟΥΛΟΥΤΙΟΥ* etc., et, in fine, omittit *Ο*; vs. 4. Poc. *ΡΑΤΣΤΟΥ* et *ΝΕΚΟΠΟΛΕΟΖΟ*; vs. 5 init. Poc. *ΤΟΥ ΠΑΙΠ ΟΣΑΣΤΟΥΙΜΕΝΙΣ*, etc., et in fine, *ΑΠΛΛΗΙΟΥ*; vs. 6. Poc. *ΓΑΜΙΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛ*, etc., et, in fine, *ΑΜΙΗΣ*: vs. 7, Poc. *ΠΟΥΚΑΙΒΗΒΟΥ*, in fine, Poc. *ΤΟΥΑΙ* habet, quæ in Bim. omissa addidi. Vs. 8, ex Poc. dedi primum *Ι*, omissum à Bimardo. Ibid., Poc. *ΤΟΥΚΑΤΙΙΓΛΟΥ*, eo loco ubi apud nos, quod correxi ex Bimardo; sed Bimardus post *γυμνασιαρχοῦντος* nihil habet nisi *ΤΑΥΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΡΠΓΛΟΥ* sine lacuna."

He then gives the following transcript of the inscription in small characters, and adds the subjoined notes:—

Πολειταρχούντων Σωσιπάτρου του Κλεοπάτρας, καὶ
Λουκίου Ποντίου Σεκούνδου,
[Π]ου[βλί]ου Φλαουίου Σαβείνου,
Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαύστου,
Δημητρίου τοῦ Νικοπόλεως
Ζωίλου τοῦ Παρμενί[ω]νος, τοῦ καὶ Μενίσκου
Γαΐου Ἀγιλληίου Ποστείτου,
Ταμίου τῆς πόλεως Τάυρου τοῦ Ἀμμίας, τοῦ καὶ Ῥήγλου,
Γυμνασιαρχοῦντος Ταυρου τοῦ Α[μμ]ιας τοῦ καὶ Ῥήγλου,

. . . . . .
. . . . . .

"Deest res ipsa illis magistratibus acta. *Πολιτάρχας*

Thessalonicæ novimus ex aliâ inscriptione (*vide* Lemma) et ex Act. Apost. xvii. 6, 8. Manifesto fuerunt septem, ex quibus hoc loco princeps quasi separatim scriptus est, sex cæteris deinde particula καὶ annexis. Mire vero bis Ægyptiorum et Lyciorum more matris nomen additum est Κλεοπάτρας, Ἀμμίας: bis etiam diversa eiusdem viri nomina proposita sunt, *Zoili*, qui et Meniscus, *Tauri*, qui et Regulus.

" Vs. 3, υἱοῦ ap. Poc. ferri non potest; itaque ΤΟΥ ex Bim. retinui. Sed Bim. L. *Pontium* et *Secundum Flavii Sabini f.* nominatos censet, turbata nominum Romanorum ratione. Romano more si qui prænomine, nomine, cognomine vocantur, non solet patris nomen addi, ut vs. 5, 6, Γαΐου Ἀγιλληΐου Ποτείτου: hinc patet Λουκίου Ποντίου Σεκούνδου nomen esse integrum: eodemque modo ex corrupto Pocockii exemplo Flavii Sabini nomen integravi. Titulus non antiquior Vespasiano videtur, ex cuius familiâ denominatus Flavius Sabinus."

Such was the form and description of this inscription as originally given by Boeckh, on which I must remark, (1) that in his copy, *literis majusculis*, he has inserted a Τ before ΦΑΤΣΤΟΥ, for which there is no authority from the photograph, and which cannot make sense; (2) that he has placed the second and third syllables of ΖΩΙΑΟΥ at the commencement of the fifth line instead of at the end of the fourth; (3) that he has adopted ΤΟΥ ΑΥ at the end of the seventh line intead of ΤΟΥ ΤΑΥΡΟ; (4) that he has assumed, though, as it would seem, conjecturally, or with some hesitation, in his transcript *literis minusculis*, the words ΥΙΟΥ ΑΥΛΟΥ ΛΟΥΙΟΥ, or, as he reads them, ΤΟΥ ΑΥΛΟΥ ΦΛΛΟΥΙΟΥ, ought to be rendered by

[Π]ου[βλί]ου Φλαουίου; and, lastly, that ΤΑΤΡΟΤ ΤΟΥ ΑΤ ΤΟΤ ΚΑΙ ΡΗΓΛΟΤ (as he reads the concluding portion of the inscription) differs materially from his transcript in small letters, Τοῦ Α[μμ]ιας τοῦ καὶ Ῥήγλ[ου]. Assuredly, in his study of this inscription, Boeckh has not shown his usual acuteness.[4]

In or about 1835, or, at least not earlier than that date, Boeckh published his "Addenda et Corrigenda," to which I have already alluded. In these he speaks as follows:—Vol. ii. p. 990, n. 1967, p. 53, "Ser politarchas statuit Tafelius Thessalonic., p. xxx. et p. 103. Legit enim Λουκίου Ποντίου Σεκούνδου τοῦ Φλαυίου Σαβείνου. Sed ne alia argumenta afferam, non credibile mihi Flavii Sabini filium esse L. Pontium Secundum nominatum. Titulum denuo ex lapide ediderunt Carolus Swan, 'Journal of a Voyage up the Mediterranean' (Lond. 1826, vol. i. p. 185), et minusculis Leakius, Itin. Gr. septentr. t. iii. p. 236. Swanius, vs. 3 init., habet ΤΙΟΤ . ΑΤΛΟΤΛΟ . ΤΙΟΤ . ferè ut Pocockius; et Leakius quoque diserte: υἱοῦ, Ἄυλου Ἀουΐου Σαβείνου. Quæ cum ita sint, video jam et ipse esse tantum sex politarchas, nec primo reliquos ut putabam particula καὶ interposita, additos esse, sed primi nomen esse hoc: Σωσιπάτρου τοῦ Κλεοπάτρας καὶ Λουκίου Ποντίου Σεκούνδου Σαβείνου. Vs. 7, extr. legit Swan ΤΑΤΡΟ-ΤΟΤΤΑΤC, et vs. 8 omittit *I* singulare. Vs. 8 in textu minusculis repetito signa: Α[μμ]ι[as]. Vs. 4, fortasse Νικοπόλεως (Leake, Νικοπόλεος) non femininum est, sed masculinum; vide ad n. 1994 d. in his Addendis."

It will be observed, in conclusion, that Boeckh,

[4] It should be added, that though his first copy is correct in the number of lines, his transcript, *literis minusculis*, gives nine instead of eight lines.

admitting the corrections of Swan and Leake, still adheres to his conjecture of Publius Flavius, and to the τοῦ Α[μμ]ιας τοῦ, etc.

I will now give Colonel Leake's account of this interesting monument, as published in his 'Travels in Northern Greece' (Lond. 8vo, 1835, vol. iii. p. 236). It is to the following effect :—"Just within the gate," says he, "the street is crossed by an ancient arch about 14 feet wide, supported by pilasters, which are buried apparently to half their original height. Below the capital of each pilaster, on the western side, a Roman togatus is represented in relief, standing before a horse. The frieze above the arch is decorated with the *caput bovis* united by festoons. The whole construction consists of large masses of stone, but the monument could never have been very magnificent, and appears hardly worthy of the time of Antony and Octavius, to which it is attributed by Beaujour, who supposed it to have been a triumphal memorial of the victory of Philippi. Nor does an inscription below the arch, which contains the names of the eight archons in whose magistracy the monument was erected, seem to favour his opinion, as the names are chiefly Roman, which they would hardly have been at so early a period."

Colonel Leake then gives the inscription in a note, *literis minusculis*, as follows :—

Πολειταρχούντων Σωσιπάτρου τοῦ Κλεοπάτρας καὶ Λουκίου Ποντίου Σεκούνδου υἱοῦ Ἄυλου Ἀουΐου Σαβείνου, Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαύστου, Δημητρίου τοῦ Νεικοπόλεος, Ζω(ίλου) τοῦ Παρμενίωνος τοῦ καὶ Μενίσκου, Γαΐου Ἀγιλληΐου Ποτειτοῦ, ταμίου τῆς πόλεως Ταύρου τοῦ Ἀμμίας τοῦ καὶ Ῥήγλου, γυμνασιαρχοῦντος Ταύρου τοῦ Ταύρου τοῦ καὶ Ῥήγλου.

and remarks that "two of these magistrates were the gymnasiarch and the *tamias*;" at the same time adding, that "the name of Cleopatra, the mother of Sosipatrus, may perhaps have preceded that of his Roman father, because she was a descendant of the royal family of Macedonia, and Nicopolis and Ammia may for the same reason have been named instead of the fathers of Demetrius and Taurus. Taurus the son of Ammia, and Taurus the son of Taurus, had probably been adopted by Regulus, and Zoilus by Meniscus." He further points out that "they (the magistrates) are styled Politarchæ, as when St. Paul visited Thessalonica ninety-three years after the battle of Philippi."

I need only remark that Colonel Leake's transcript of the inscription is accurate, though I regret that he has not kept the lines as they are on the monument. Moreover, I am not sure that had he published at the time the copy he probably made in 1806, his copy would have been superior to those of Swan, etc. In the twenty-nine years that elapsed before his 'Travels' were published, he had time to work out the inscription, and to insert letters he may not himself have discerned on the spot, aided, as we know he must have been, by the copies of Swan and Cousinéry.

Messrs. Conybeare and Howson, in their joint work, 'The Life and Epistles of St. Paul' (Lond. 4to, 1852, p. 358 *et seq.*), go into the whole question of the government of dependencies under the early Roman Empire, and naturally point out the existence at Thessalonica of the official title "Politarch," as used by St. Luke, and confirmed by the inscription we are now considering. They also give the following lines as a

hieroglyphics, and to a scarabæus bearing a cartouche, believed to be that of Psammetichus I. or Apries. There is also a silver bowl, much shattered, but exhibiting on its inner surfaces several cartouches, together with a few other scarabæi and minor objects. It is probable that nearly all these are imitations, perhaps executed by native artists working under Egyptian influence, like many of the ivories from Nimrud; the hieroglyphics on all of them are ill-defined, and generally doubtful in meaning. There are also some specimens in dark-blue porcelain and two or three *Aryballi*. These are probably genuine Egyptian work, and may have been imported from the early Greek settlement at Naucratis.

In bringing to a conclusion this notice of the objects from Camirus, I have much pleasure in adding, here, Mr. Newton's opinion of the earlier portions of this collection, which he saw at Rhodes on his way home from the East. In a letter (dated Malta, June 18, 1859) he states that he went to Rhodes "to examine a number of curious antiquities recently discovered by Messrs. Biliotti and Salzmann, in a necropolis near Kalavarda (see *ante*, T. p. 236). In the course of the last three months, those two gentlemen have succeeded in the discovery of a most interesting series of tombs, which evidently belong to a very early period of Greek civilization in Rhodes. They have found quantities of painted fictile vases with birds and grotesque animals and flowers, on a drab ground, small figures and vases of porcelain, some of which are inscribed with hieroglyphics resembling those found in Egypt, small bottles of variegated glass, and earrings and other jewels of gold and electrum, ornamented with figures

They further remark "that it is at least worth our while to notice, as a mere matter of Christian evidence, how accurately St. Luke writes concerning the political characteristics of the cities and provinces which he mentions. He takes notice, in the most artless and incidental manner, of minute details, which a fraudulent composer would judiciously avoid, and which in the mythical result of mere oral tradition would surely be loose and inexact. Cyprus is a "proconsular" province; Philippi is a "colony;" the magistrates of Thessalonica have an unusual title, unmentioned in ancient literature; but it appears from a monument of a different kind that the title is perfectly correct, and the whole aspect of what happened at Thessalonica, as compared with the events at Philippi, is in perfect harmony with the ascertained difference in the political condition of the two places. . . . Those magistrates by whom the question at issue is ultimately decided are not Roman Prætors, but Greek Politarchs."

Lastly, I may remark that Dr. Alford, the Dean of Canterbury, in his 'Greek Testament,' 4th ed. (Lond. 8vo. 1861, p. 188), has adopted from Boeckh

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Secundus.—From Pydna, no. 1957; from Thessalonica, nos. 1969 and 1988.

Demetrius.—No. 1958.

Nicopolis.—No. 1957 *g* and 1994 *d*.

Zoilus.—From Varna, no. 2056.

Parmenion.—From Thessalonica, no. 1975; from Pieria, no. 1951.

Taurus (the father of Asclepiades).—From Perinthus, no. 2026.

The occurrence of these names may not, indeed, be considered of much importance, but is so far interesting as showing the existence in Macedonia and Thracia, of families of the same name with those mentioned in the Acts and on the inscription we are now considering.

and Messrs. Conybeare and Howson the reading of ΠΟΤΒΑΙΟΥ ΦΑΑΟΥΙΟΥ, thus showing how long an error,—in this case, it is true, not of vital consequence, ——may be preserved, when writers have not access to copies as certainly accurate as those made by photography.

It will not, of course, be supposed that in making this remark I have any intention of casting blame on the accuracy or scholarship of the learned Dean. No one has time or opportunity to search out *every* point in an inquiry anew for himself; some things must be accepted from authors who are known to have made them their special study; and the Dean of Canterbury was, therefore, fully justified in assuming that the text of Boeckh was unimpeachable.

I think I have now completed what I proposed to do; and, again, I wish to express my best thanks to Mr. Morton. Had he not placed in my hands, with the view that it should be published in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, the photograph which was executed purposely for him at Saloniki, together with many remarks he had prepared on the published copies of this inscription, this paper would not have been written. I am also desirous of stating that Mr. Morton has since added to his kindness in this respect, in that he has taken the trouble to read over these pages as they passed through the press, making at the same time many useful alterations and giving to me many valuable suggestions, of which I have had great pleasure in availing myself. There are other points in connection with it which I will not enter upon, as, for instance, the question which has been discussed by Boeckh, Leake, and others, as

to the actual number of Politarchs existing in Thessalonica as shown by the inscription. For these, and other questions of the kind, I refer those who are interested in this matter to an excellent *résumé* of all that is known about Thessalonica—a monograph by T. L. F. Tafel, Professor of Antiquities in the University of Tübingen, entitled 'De Thessalonica ejusque agro, dissertatio geographica' (Berlin, 8vo, 1839). I must add, however, that like all the scholars to whom I have had to refer during the preceding paper, Tafel does not seem to have been aware of the "Addenda et Corrigenda," though these were published by Boeckh at least four years before his own work issued from the press.

For the same reason I will not occupy the time of the Society with a discussion as to the architectural character of the structure on which this inscription is preserved, or as to the probability or not of its having been erected in commemoration of the battle of Philippi. These and other similar points can hardly be set at rest, except by a visit to the locality itself, and perhaps not even then.

W. S. W. VAUX.

The next most important statue is a Mercury,—on the whole one of the most perfect statues which have come down to our times, the only restorations being the right foot and parts of the right hand, leg, and foot, together with the drapery under the left arm. This Mercury is one of three similar copies made in the best Roman times, and it is the best of the three. The other two are, respectively, that in the collection of the Marquess of Lansdowne, which is nearly if not quite equal to our statue, and that in the Belvedere at the Vatican. The Farnese one, alone, has the special attributes of Mercury, while that in the Belvedere was supposed for a long time to be an Antinous. It was first recognized by Visconti as a Mercury. The head is remarkable for its pensive expression.

The third figure is that of a horseman, which has been restored, in modern times, as the Emperor Caligula, though what remains of the antique work on it is, in all probability, not earlier than the times of the Antonines. The chief interest of it is, that only five other antique equestrian groups, as far as it is known, are extant, three being those of the two Balbi at Naples, and the Persian figure found with the remains of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus; and the fourth, an equestrian figure of Constantine at the entrance to the Vatican. As a work of art the Farnese group is very inferior to the bronze statue of M. Aurelius in the Capitol. The hand is a *cinquecento* restoration; the fore legs, the hoofs of the hind ones, the right hand, the drapery and legs of the Emperor are probably restorations of an even later period. The horse bears considerable resemblance to the type of that animal unfortunately

ON A GREEK INSCRIPTION AT MYTILENE, RELATING TO THE COINAGE OF THAT CITY AND OF PHOCÆA.

(Read November 21, 1866.)

. . . . . πόλις . αφοι . . . . . .
. . . . . γραφω ι σ τειστα . . . . . .
. . . . τωισι κύ[ρ]ιον ἔστω· [τὸμ μὲν κόψαντα τὸ] χρυσίον ὑπόδικον ἔ[μμεναι ἀμφοτέρ]αισι ταῖς πολίεσσι, δικ[ασταὶς δὲ ἔμ]μεναι τῷ μὲν ἐμ Μυτιλήνᾳ [ὑποδίκῳ] ταὶς ἀρχαὶς παίσαις ταὶς ἐμ Μ[υτιλ-ή]νᾳ πλέας τῶν αἰμισέων, ἐμ Φώκᾳ δ[ὲ ταὶς ἀρχαὶς παίσαις ταὶς ἐμ Φώκᾳ πλ[έας τῶν αἰμισέω[ν·] τὰν δὲ δίκαν ἔμμεναι ἐπεί κε ὠνιαυτὸς ἐξελθῇ ἐν ἓξ μήννεσι· αἰ δέ κε κατα[κριθ]ῇ τὸ χρυσίον κερνᾶν ὐδαρέστε[ρ]ο[ν] θέλων, θανάτῳ ζαμιώσθω· αἰ δέ κε ἀπ[υ]φ[αν]ῇ μ[ὴ] θέλων ἀμβρ[οτῆν, τιμάτω τ[ὸ] δικαστήριον ὅ τ τι χρὴ αὐτ[ὸ]ν παθῆν ἢ κατθέ[μ]εναι, ἁ δὲ πόλις ἀναίτιος καὶ ἀζάμιος [ἔσ]τω· ἔλαχον Μυτιληνᾶοι πρόσθε κόπτην· ἄρχει πρότανις ὁ πεδὰ Κολωνόν, ἐ[μ Φ]ώκᾳ δὲ ὁ πεδὰ Ἀρίσ[τ-αρχον.

On a fragment of grey marble, rather more than 1 foot 7½ inches each way, built into the wall of a house belonging to one Demetrios Kara Panagiotes,

in a street near to the Castle, Mytilene. Engraved, Conze, Reise auf der Insel Lesbos, 1865, taf. vi. (See ibid. p. 12.) A few letters are wanting in Conze's transcript, which I have supplied from an impression in paper taken by me in 1852.

This inscription seems to be the latter part of a treaty between the Mytilenæans and the Phocæans, to regulate the standard of a gold coinage common to both states. The dialect is Æolic. The letters are written *στοιχηδόν*, and the date of the inscription is probably not later than Olymp. 96.

l. 7. *ταὶς ἀρχαις παίσαις* for *τὰς ἀρχὰς πάσας*. (See Ahrens, De Dialect. Æol. § 10. 4.)

l. 8. *πλέας* for *πλεῖς*. *αἰμισέων* for *ἡμισέων*. (See Ahrens, § 15. 3.) *Φώκᾳ* for *Φωκαίᾳ*. The genitive *Φωκάας* occurs in Sappho, Fragm. 14. (See Ahrens, § 16. 1.)

l. 11. *μήννεσι* for *μησί*. The form *μήνεσι* with a single *ν* occurs in two passages in Herodotus, iv. 43 and viii. 51, (see Baehr's note on the latter passage, and Jacobs ad Ælian. Nat. An. ix. 4.) For the reduplication of the *ν* compare *μηννός*. (Böckh, C. I. 2166, and Ahrens, § 8.)

l. 14. *ἀπ[υ]φ[αν]ῆ* for *ἀποφανῆ*. The top of the *T* still remains. *ἀμβροτῆν* for *ἀμαρτεῖν*.

l. 16. *παθῆν* for *παθεῖν*.

l. 18. *κόπτην* for *κοπτειν*; *πρότανις* for *πρύτανις*; cf. Böckh, C. I. 2166, l. 31, and 2265 *b*, for other instances. The derivation of *πρύτανις* from *πρό* is thus confirmed.

We may suppose that the upper part of the inscription, now broken away, contained the terms on which the two cities agreed to have a currency in common, for it is clear from what follows that both states had

a common interest in preventing any deterioration of the standard.

I shall now give an abstract of the text, reserving for after discussion the consideration of certain difficulties in its interpretation.

l. 4. sq. [It is ordained] that (the officer who has struck) the gold should be subject to trial, *ὑπόδικος*, both in Mytilene and in Phocæa, and that the jurors, *δικασταί*, for this trial, in both these cities, shall be a majority of the magistrates, *ἀρχαί*. The trial is to take place within six months after the year comes to an end. If the person under trial shall be convicted of having wilfully adulterated the gold? *κατα[κρίθ]ῇ θέλων τὸ χρυσίον κερνᾶν ὐδαρεστέ[ρ]ο[ν*, he is to be punished with death; but if he shall be judged to have erred but not wilfully, let the court decide what he ought to suffer, or to pay as a fine, but let the city be free from the charge and from all liability. The Mytilenæans obtained by lot the priority in the right of coining. The chief magistrates are the Prytanis who comes after Kolonos in Mytilene, and the Prytanis who comes after Aristarchos in Phocæa.

There can hardly be a doubt that the *χρυσίον* to which the inscription refers is the well-known currency struck by the Greek cities on the western coast of Asia, in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., and of which Cyzicus and Phocæa were the principal mints. Much of this money was paid into the Athenian treasury, as tribute from the allied states, as is shown by the mention of Phocæan *staters* and *hektæ* in incriptions containing lists of *anathemata* in the Parthenon.

In the majority of extant specimens of this coinage more or less of silver is mixed with the gold. Hence

it has been generally assumed by numismatists that the metal used in this currency was the electrum of the ancients.

It has, however, been objected that whenever the money of Phocæa and Cyzicus is mentioned in ancient authors or inscriptions it is called, as in the inscription before us, *χρυσίον*, not *ἤλεκτρον*; nor does it appear that money of electrum is directly mentioned anywhere in Greek or Roman literature, except in a passage of Lampridius relating to certain pieces, probably medallions, struck by the Emperor Severus Alexander.[1] Further, the analysis of several so-called electrum coins by the Duc de Luynes showed that the proportion of gold to silver in them was not adjusted by any fixed rules, and that, in one instance, the silver was to the gold as three to two; whereas, according to Pliny, N. H. xxxiii. 23, electrum was a compound containing four parts of gold to one of silver.[2] On the other hand, it might be said that, though these proportions may represent the standard of electrum established in Pliny's time, it does not follow from his statement that this standard has always prevailed, or that the earlier Greek writers invariably used the word *ἤλεκτρον* in the restricted sense of Pliny's definition.[3]

[1] Lampridius, vit. Alexand. Severi, c. 25.

[2] Lenormant, 'Revue Numismatique,' N. S., i. p. 88–98. See also Rossignol, 'Les Métaux dans l'Antiquité,' Paris, 1863, pp. 334–375, on the electrum generally.

[3] Strabo speaks of electrum as the compound obtained by the first metallurgical process employed on native gold: *ἐκ δὲ τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἐψομένου καὶ καθαιρομένου στυπτηριώδει τινὶ γῇ τὸ κάθαρμα ἤλεκτρον εἶναι· πάλιν δὲ τούτου καθεψομένου μίγμα ἔχοντος ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ, τὸν μὲν ἄργυρον ἀποκαίεσθαι, τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν ὑπομένειν* (iii. p. 146). If we suppose that by the process here described a compound could

In a well-known passage in the 'Antigone' of Sophocles (l. 1038), the poet places in apposition *τὸ πρὸς Σαρδέων ἤλεκτρον . . . καὶ τὸν Ἰνδικὸν χρυσόν*. By the electrum from Sardis, Sophocles no doubt meant the native ore from the Pactolus, which, like that from Spain, Transylvania, and other auriferous regions, probably contained more of less of silver. Most of the gold used in the mints of Phocæa and other neighbouring Greek cities on the same coast was probably obtained from the washings of the Pactolus in a mixed state. The gold of Cyzicus was probably derived partly from this source, but still more from the Crimea. The art of refining gold must have been known in Asia from a very early period, for we find Crœsus offering at Delphi plinths of refined gold, *χρυσὸς ἄπεφθος*, and of pale or mixed gold, *λευκὸς χρυσός*,[4] and the darics subsequently struck by Darius were of the finest standard.[5]

The Greek states of western Asia Minor, probably from expediency rather than from want of metallurgical skill, used in their coinages the mixed metal, which, perhaps, may be more accurately designated *pale* gold than electrum, though the latter term has so generally prevailed among numismatists that it could not be changed without some inconvenience.

be produced in which the quantities of gold to silver were always maintained in the same proportion, viz. 4 to 1, it becomes a curious subject for inquiry how, with the imperfect chemical knowledge of the ancients, so nice a result could be obtained.

Servius ad Æneid. viii. 402, and Isidorus, Origin. xvi. 24, state that the proportion of gold to silver in electrum was 3 to 4, not 4 to 5 as Pliny asserts.

[4] Herod. i. 50. Strabo uses *χρυσίον λευκόν*, iii. 220, as synonymous with *ἀργυρομιγές*.

[5] Herod. iv. 166.

The so-called electrum coinage of the western coast of Asia Minor probably commenced as early as the time of Crœsus, and lasted till the time of Alexander the Great, but the majority of extant specimens seem to have been struck between B.C. 460 and B.C. 360. The coins which we possess, exclusively of the larger pieces of Cyzicus, are chiefly *hektæ*, some of which clearly belong to Phocæa, whilst others, from the evidence of their types, may be attributed with more or less probability to Smyrna, Pergamus, Erythræ, and other cities of Æolis and Ionia. One of these *hektæ*, having on the obverse a helmeted head of Athene, and on the reverse ΑΕ, two calves face to face, is rightly attributed by Burgon to Lesbos, and in that island specimens of the so-called electrum coinage are often to be purchased. It may be observed that, though the extant *hektæ* exhibit such a diversity of type as to justify us in attributing them to various independent cities on the western coast, they present at the same time such a general uniformity in fabric, weight, and standard as to suggest the notion that they were struck according to some common system of mintage, such as would result from a commercial league. Whatever may have been the number of cities thus associated, it may be inferred from the prominent mention of Cyzicene and Phocæan money in ancient writers and inscriptions, that these two were the dominant mints on the western coast, and were probably established at an earlier period than the rest.

If the gold money of Cyzicus and Phocæa had a wide-spread commercial reputation, it would obviously have been to the advantage of neighbouring cities to assimilate their coinage as far as possible to that of

one of these two mints, so that it might pass current at the same rate.

In the case of Mytilene, we may infer from the general tenor of the treaty now under consideration that the currency was regulated by a mutual guarantee, so that the Mytilenæan moneyer was liable to be tried by a jury of Phocæan magistrates, and *vice versâ*, the Phocæan moneyer by a jury of Mytilenæan magistrates, the object of such an arrangement being, of course, to secure the inquiry from all undue local influence. This reciprocal arrangement is certainly not distinctly stated in the text, but it seems to be implied in the words δικ[*ασταίς τε ἔμ*]*μεναι τῷ μὲν ἐμ Μυτιλήνᾳ* [*ὑποδίκῳ*] *ταὶς ἀρχαὶς παίσαις ταὶς ἐμ Μ*[*υτιλή*]*νᾳ πλέας τῶν αἰμισέων, ἐμ Φώκᾳ δ*[*ὲ τ*]*αὶς ἀρχαὶς παίσαις ταὶς ἐμ Φώκᾳ πλέας τῶν αἰμισέων*; especially, when we take these words in connection with the fact that these cities were to strike money alternately—*ἔλαχον Μυτιληναῖοι πρόσθε κόπτην*, and with the clause, *ἁ δὲ πόλις ἀναίτιος καὶ ἀζάμιος ἔστω*. For if, by fixing the blame on the moneyer, the city was released from all liability, it follows that such liability was otherwise contracted by the city in respect to the other party or parties to the treaty.

This convention between Phocæa and Mytilene throws light on a curious anecdote from the Apophthegms of Kallisthenes, which has been preserved by Julius Pollux, in his Onomasticon, ix. 93. Kallisthenes states that the poet Persinos, having been neglected by Eubulos, the tyrant of Atarneus, left him and went to Mytilene. When Eubulos expressed surprise at this, Persinos wrote to tell him that he had found it more agreeable to change the Phocæan money (*φωκαΐδες*), which he had brought with him, in Mytilene

than in Atarneus. The commentators on this passage suppose that Persinos found Mytilene a pleasanter place of residence than Atarneus, because he had there greater freedom of action, and could spend his money as he liked. But may it not rather refer to the difference of the rate of exchange between Atarneus and Mytilene? In the Levant, at the present day, the profit on the exchange of gold varies considerably in different parts of Turkey. Such was probably the case in antiquity,[7] and it may have been the object of Eubulos to depreciate unduly the value of the Phocæan stater, and to exact an unjust exchange; whereas it would be a natural consequence of the convention between Mytilene and Phocæa, recorded in this inscription, that there should be complete reciprocity in the rate of exchange in both cities. As Eubulos must have been a contemporary of Mausolus,[8] the convention would then have been in force for some years at Mytilene, if the inscription is of the period to which I have assigned it.

Having thus endeavoured to explain the general meaning and object of this inscription, I have to notice certain lacunes and difficulties in the text, the restoration and interpretation of which may admit of doubt.

I have assumed that the ὑποδικον (l. 4) refers to the person who (l. 13, 14) is liable to capital or other punishment, and that this person can be no other than the moneyer. This, I think, may be fairly inferred from the context, and it is satisfactory to find

[6] Pollux, ed. Dindorf, v. p. 1112.

[7] See an inscription, Böckh, C. I. No. 2334.

[8] Aristot. Polit. ii. 4. ed. Göttling. See ibid. p. 325.

that the restoration (*τὸμ μὲν κόψαντα τό*) contains the exact number of letters required to fill the lacune at the end of l. 3 and beginning of l. 4.

This restoration admitted, no word seems so appropriate at the end of l. 6 as *ὑποδίκῳ*.

l. 12, 13, *αἰ δέ κε κατα[κριθ]ῇ τὸ χρυσίον κερνᾶν ὑδαρέστε[ρ]ο[ν] θέλων*, "if he shall be convicted of having wilfully adulterated the gold." The interpretation here conjecturally proposed is not satisfactory, but, taken in connection with the context, these words can hardly contain any other meaning.

In *κατα[κριθ]ῇ* the traces of the **KPI** are doubtful. The **Θ** which follows is rather more distinct. The letters **KEPNAN** are indisputable. The letters **ΥΔΑΡΕΣΤΕ** are equally clear. Of the **P** which follows there are only doubtful traces. I have supposed *κερνᾶν* to be an Æolic form of *κιρνᾶν*, to mix. The literal translation would thus be—"if he shall be convicted of having mixed the gold too watery, *i. e.* of having too much diluted the gold." The construction *κατακριθῇ κερνᾶν* may be compared with *καταγνωσθεὶς πρήσσειν* (Herod. vi. 2). It may, however, be objected that we find in Alcæus *κίρναις*, not *κέρναις*.

In reference to the words *τὸ χρυσίον κερνᾶν ὑδαρέστερον* it may be observed that gold ore in antiquity, as now, was washed in the first instance in water, and sifted through a sieve to get rid of the earth with which it is found intermixed. Hence the gold-works in Spain were called *χρυσοπλύσια*, "gold washings." The word *ὑδαρέστερον* seems, at first sight, to refer to this process, but I am unable, on this supposition, to extract any satisfactory meaning out of the passage. The context seems clearly to show that *ὑδαρέστερον*,

must be here construed "mixed too weak," "too much diluted with alloy." This may have been the technical word to express adulteration. Hence its combination here with *κερνᾶν*.

The epithet *ὑδαρής* is commonly used in Greek in speaking of wine, as the antithesis to *ἄκρατος*, "unmixed or pure wine." Hence, by an easy metaphor, it might be applied to gold, or anything else susceptible of dilution. Thus we find *ὑδαρὴς φιλότης* (Æsch. Agam. 798); *ὑδαρὴς φιλία* (Aristot. Pol. 2, 4, 7). The phrase *θύμηρες κεράσασα*, "mixing a bath to an agreeable temperature," Od. x. 362, may be compared with *κερνᾶν ὑδαρέστερον*.[9]

It is not surprising that the penalty here enacted for adulterating the currency should be so severe, when we consider the facility for such malpractices which the use of a mixed metal in the mint would offer. As much of the tribute of the Asiatic dependencies was paid into the Athenian treasury in Phocæan gold, it was probably current at Athens in the time of Pericles; but there is reason to believe that it was not in good repute there, and Hesychius calls it *τὸ κακίστου χρυσίον*, referring probably to the later coinage.[10]

The gold seems purest in the earliest specimens.

C. T. NEWTON.

[9] Compare *ζωρότερον κέραιρε*, Il. ix. 203. See also Ephipp. in Meineke, Fragm. Com. Gr. iii. p. 329, 3. Antiph. ibid. iii. p. 77, 2.

[10] See my 'History of Discoveries at Budrum, etc.,' ii. part 2, pp. 683-6.

ON RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE SCULPTURES AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

(Read January 24th, 1866.)

It is now some years since I had the pleasure of laying before the Royal Society of Literature an account of the excavations made by my friend and colleague, Mr. Newton,—the present Keeper of the Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum,—on the site of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, at Branchidæ and at Cnidus; together with a notice of the researches undertaken by Captains Porcher and Smith, among the ruins at Cyrene.

The monuments acquired by these gentlemen are now in the British Museum, though, I regret to say, still invisible to the public, under the temporary glass sheds beneath the portico, which they have long occupied, and, as far as I can see, are likely to occupy for yet many years.

I have, therefore, thought it might not be wholly uninteresting to the Society, if I were, on this occasion, to give its members a brief account of the principal additions which have been made during recent years, to the sculptures and other antiquities of the British Museum; the more so, that I am not aware that any detailed notice of them has been anywhere given, or is likely to be published in any other chan-

nel. In doing this, I may state, generally, that the objects I am about to describe are, with few exceptions, so arranged as to be readily seen by the public, so that, should my description fail to be intelligible, any one really interested in such matters can go and look for himself.

I propose to arrange what I have to say under the following principal heads:—

1. Sculptures, recently acquired, in continuation of the great collection procured by Mr. Newton from Halicarnassus.

2. Antiquities of various classes, from recent excavations by Messrs. Biliotti and Salzmann, at Camirus, in the Island of Rhodes.

3. Sculptures, etc., from the collection of the late Count de Pourtalès-Gorgier.

4. Sculptures, etc., from the Farnese Palace at Rome.

5. Various collections, procured either by purchase or gift, from Mr. Dennis, the late Viscount Strangford, Mr. Newton, and Signor Castellani.

6. A series of miscellaneous objects of special interest or value.

To take—

1. Fragments of the Mausoleum.

The Museum has recently acquired from the Marchese Serra a very valuable slab, the existence of which at the Villa di Negri, Genoa, has been long known. It represents, first, an Amazon vanquished by a warrior, kneeling and stretching out her hands for mercy, the warrior having hold of her by her hair; and, 2dly, a warrior defending himself, on his knees, from the attack of an Amazon. This slab is, unquestionably, a portion of the frieze of the order, and was in the pos-

session of the Serra and Bajano families for more than a century. Its state of preservation is remarkable: better, indeed, in some respects, than that of any of the slabs procured either in 1847, or, subsequently, during Mr. Newton's more extended researches.

There is much room for curious speculation as to how this solitary piece of the Mausoleum-frieze found its way to a villa at Genoa. The probability is that some Genoese visited the port of Halicarnassus before what the knights of Rhodes spared of the Mausoleum was completely silted over, and, remarking the beauty of the workmanship on this fragment, brought it away for the adornment of his own home.

That there were men of some taste among those who committed such irreparable havoc on one of the "Seven Wonders of the World" is clear from the fact that portions of one or more of the original friezes, representing Amazonomachiæ, together with heads of colossal lions, were noticed by Choiseul-Gouffier and other travellers who have visited Budrum, as still attached to the walls of the castle built by the Knights at that place. Part of these were removed and brought to England during the first expedition inaugurated by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the remainder, since that period, by Mr. Newton himself. We cannot therefore doubt that these fragments were preserved from utter ruin by some of the Knights of Rhodes, at the time they pulled down the Mausoleum to construct their castle with its materials. It is not unlikely, that the slab taken to Genoa may have been put aside for a similar use, but, for some reason or other, was not worked up, as so many other pieces of sculpture had been.

In connection also with the Mausoleum, I may state that, quite recently, Mr. Newton has been able to obtain from Constantinople the cast of another slab, which he had noticed as early as 1852 in the Imperial Museum at the Seraglio. This fragment, representing an Amazon rushing forward with uplifted battle-axe, belongs to the same frieze, and is sculptured in the same masterly manner as the rest. Besides the slabs from the Villa di Negri, and the cast from the Turkish Museum, many more fragments have been received from Budrum during the last year, the result for the most part of excavations made by Messrs. Biliotti and Salzmann under the sites of two Turkish houses, which Mr. Newton had failed in persuading the owners to make over to him at the period of his own researches.

As, however, their value consists chiefly in the possibility of completing from them some of the shattered slabs already brought to England in previous years,—a work requiring much time and earnest study—I need not, on the present occasion, occupy the attention of the Society with what must, from the nature of the case, be but an imperfect account of them.

I shall, therefore, at once proceed to (2) the researches of Messrs. Biliotti and Salzmann, at Camirus, in the island of Rhodes, as, by their zeal and exertions, the nation has been fortunate in the acquisition of a very remarkable assemblage of works of art, in many styles and differing materials,—each specimen, too, exhibiting its own characteristic excellence in the happy treatment of the material on which the artist has chanced to work.

I should state *in limine*, that Camirus was situated on the northern shore of Rhodes, and was one of the

three principal cities of that island, before the founding of the city of Rhodes. Camirus, Lindus, and Jalysus were traditionally named from, and founded by, the three grandsons of Ochimus; and these towns, in alliance and conjunction with Cos, Cnidus, and Halicarnassus, formed what was called the Dorian Hexapolis, with a common sanctuary on the Triopian headland on the coast of Caria. Apollo was the tutelary deity of this confederation. (Herod. i. 144.)

The town of Rhodes itself was built at the north-eastern extremity of the island, by the union of Lindus, Jalysus, and Camirus, about B.C. 408, and thus became the capital of the island.

After the establishment of the new capital, the earlier towns seem to have gradually decayed. We should, therefore, naturally expect that monuments disinterred on the site of Camirus—should this site be well determined—would be of very remote antiquity, and such is, to a great extent, the case.

The first origin of the discovery of antiquities at Camirus is curious. The site was covered with a pine forest, on clearing which and cultivating the soil, the peasants discovered the Necropolis by the accident of a bullock stumbling into a tomb while dragging the plough. In 1853, Mr. Newton visited the site, and obtained thence many terra-cotta vases of a very archaic character; these he states ('Travels and Discoveries in the Levant,' vol. i. p. 235) were found near the modern village of Kalavarda. He says (under date of Aug. 5, 1853), "In this village I was much interested by finding a number of Greek fictile vases in the peasants' houses. These vases are of various styles. Among them are several platters, *pinakes*, of a very

early period, with geometrical patterns painted in brown on a pale ground.

"This kind of ware has been found in the tombs of Athens, Melos, and of other parts of Greece, and is thought to be of very remote antiquity; the more so, as the sites of Mycenæ and Tiryns are strewn with it. I also found at Kalavarda, several jugs, *amphoræ* and *oinochoæ*, on which were painted either black figures on a red ground, or red figures on a black ground. None of these designs were remarkable for beauty of drawing or excellence of fabric, but mostly specimens of the later period of the art. The clay seemed rather thick and heavy. The peasants also showed me some small terra-cotta figures. On inquiry I was told that all these objects were found in tombs near the village."

Such was the first notice of the discovery of ancient relics in this part of Rhodes: need we add that it was quite sufficient to stimulate to further excavations? Hence it was, that representations having been made in the right quarter, a *firman* was procured from Constantinople, and MM. Biliotti and Salzmann, who had followed closely on Mr. Newton's footsteps, were empowered to undertake a systematic examination of Kalavarda and of its neighbourhood. The result is that the Acropolis of Camirus has been discovered and thoroughly explored, not less than 275 tombs having been opened during the winter and spring of 1863–4. From these tombs, combined with the researches of previous years, a vast number of small precious monuments, consisting of ornaments in gold, glass, and bronze, figures in *terra-cotta* and calcareous stone, vases, and alabaster jars, have been procured.

Most of these objects range in date between B.C. 650 (or possibly still earlier) and B.C. 200; the more archaic specimens being certainly anterior to the Persian War, *i. e.* to B.C. 480. I may add that, on the site of the Acropolis, various foundations of walls were laid bare, and, under these foundations, a curious set of galleries, with shafts at intervals, has been traced out; and that a great variety of early antiquities, in porcelain, bronze, ivory, gold, pottery, and different minerals, has been found in these shafts and galleries. The whole of the collection from Camirus may be conveniently grouped under certain main headings, such as the following:—

1. Asiatico-Phœnician or Archaic Greek.
2. Greek of the best and later periods.
3. Egyptian or imitations of Egyptian.

The first class is by far the most important, in that it comprehends most of the gold and silver ornaments, together with a few *terra-cottas*, and affords a most curious subject for inquiry, as to the source from which it has been derived. It has been generally supposed that these and similar works are due to artists whose homes were the chief cities of Phœnicia,—Tyre and Sidon,—a view supported by the fact that very similar terra-cotta figures have been procured, in recent years, from tombs at Sidon.

I wish, however, in accepting for them the generic name of Phœnician, to guard myself against admitting the idea that they are wholly products of the inventive art of the inhabitants of Phœnicia; since I cannot but think that not a few specimens betray a marked Assyrian influence, and would seem to be copies, at second or third hand, of monuments originally Assyrian. I imagine that the general character of Assyrian art

must have been well known in Western Asia, both before and subsequently to the final overthrow of Nineveh, about B.C. 620; and most persons will, I believe, recognize, even at first sight, a manifest connection between many of the objects of this Class and the products of the well-known and well-defined art of Assyria; such as may be seen on the earliest sculptures Mr. Layard disinterred at Nimrud, and on the beautiful specimens of sculpture procured by Mr. Loftus from the most recent palaces at Koyunjik.

In the present state of our knowledge, it seems to be wiser to term them Asiatic than Phœnician,—the more so that such a title precludes our limiting their production to any one particular province or district.

At the same time I do not underrate the recorded influence of the Phœnicians upon Greece and its islands: it is quite possible, nay, very probable, that to them we owe the introduction of the formative arts into Greece, as Greece herself unquestionably owes to them the characters of her alphabetic writing. It is well known, that in very remote ages, Asiatic colonies, chiefly from Tyre, spread all along the shores of the Mediterranean, abundant traces being still found of their colonizing energy, at Carthage, in Sicily, Sardinia, Majorca, and at Tartessus, Gades, and other places in Spain. We have, also, the important traditions that Cadmus —himself, as his name implies, an Oriental, and probably a Phœnician—came to Rhodes and left there some Phœnician settlers (Diod. Sic. v. 58); and that Minos—himself probably a Phœnician—founded an empire in Crete: while the Odyssey especially notices the Phœnicians as *ναυσικλύτοι ἄνδρες* (Odyss. xv. 415), that is, men illustrious for their naval skill.

We are also informed that, in remote times, the Phœnicians were famous as metal-workers,—the story of the building of Solomon's temple by the aid of Hiram's workmen tending to confirm this statement; while we have the direct testimony of Homer that the cuirass of Agamemnon was made either at Sidon or in Cyprus. Lastly, we find notices of a certain tribe or set of men, called the Telchines, who were noted as workers of metal in the island of Rhodes,—there being little doubt that these Telchines, as the first syllable of their name naturally suggests, were themselves of Asiatic origin;—together with the legend that Danaus himself built the temple of Athene at Lindus.

All I wish to urge is, that the evidence of the purely Phœnician origin of these and similar works is not, to my mind, satisfactory; though I am ready to admit the Oriental descent of these metallic ornaments, and to accept the general statements in ancient authors, noticed above, as expressing their belief that the Phœnicians were a race who had cultivated in a remarkable degree a certain style of art, and this, too, at a period when they had few, if any, rivals.

Admitting, then, as a general principle, that Phœnician navigators and settlers did, in all probability, convey these arts to the shores of Greece, I am inclined to think that, on the whole, the works themselves represent very truly a traditional style, accepted generally throughout Western Asia, and ultimately, with some modifications, in Greece itself,—a style of which Nineveh was probably the original fountain-head,—though, possibly, the name of that famous city, and of the wonderful works enshrined in its ruins, was

as unknown to the makers of these monuments as it was alike to classical and modern times till, scarcely twenty years since, the buried city was restored to the gaze of man.

I shall now proceed to describe, individually, a few of the more remarkable of these metallic ornaments, drawings of some of which I have had made, to serve as typical specimens.

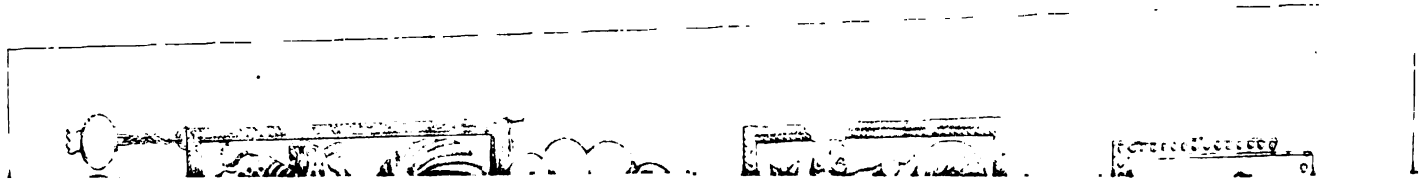
I may premise that almost all the gold and silver ornaments (among which the gold largely predominate in number) have evidently been used either (1) as necklaces or (2) for attachment to different parts of a dress, consisting, for the most part, of thin pieces or *plaques* of metal, averaging from one to two and a half inches in length, with subjects on them, worked up, as a rule, from behind, after the fashion called in modern times *repoussée* work.

The leading varieties are as follows:—

1. A female figure, standing in front, draped to the feet, and the feet themselves almost hidden, as on the earliest sculptures from Branchidæ, with long hair elaborately dressed falling on the shoulders, and naked breasts; the arms raised in a stiff formal manner, and the hands partially closed; the whole in an oblong frame surrounded by dots, with two or more holes for attachment. (Fig. 1.)

2. A similar figure, but somewhat larger, with large wings of peculiar shape, resembling a nimbus, the hands crossed in front and the elbows square, and a rosette on each side of the legs: the arms support a small animal—perhaps a cow or bull—which rests against the figure. (Fig. 2.)

3. A similar figure, with long curling hair and naked



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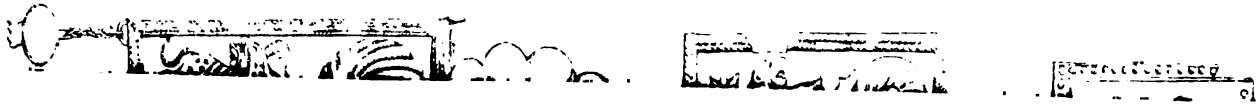

breasts, and wings on each side, very formally treated: the hands are stretched out, on either side, straight from the elbow, and a rose, in relief, is on the side of each leg. The top of this *plaque* is turned round, to allow of a chain to pass through it for suspension or attachment. (Fig. 3.)

4. A similar figure, somewhat larger, hands stretched out and holding in each a small lion by the tail; on each side of feet, a rose incuse; at the bottom, three or four balls or pomegranates, and, at the top, a projecting piece of metal for attachment. The manner in which the lions are held out, and the general character of the subject, recall the sculptures from Khorsabad. See Botta. (Fig. 4.)

5. A similar figure, but holding a ram in each hand by the neck. This specimen is much less ornate than the preceding or the following, and is *in silver*.

6. A similar figure, but, on each side, a lion springing up, resting its forepaws against the figure and turning its head back. The body of the figure is clothed in drapery, richly ornamented with wavy lines, etc. At the bottom are four pomegranates, and at the top three wide rings for suspension or attachment. There are several slight modifications of this type, and, at the top of some of them, is a flat disk or rosette of twelve petals. (Fig. 7.)

7. A similar figure, with the subject treated much as on the previous one, with this distinction, however, that the lions on the right and left of the figure stand out all but detached from the rest of the metal, while to the back of the *plaque* two hawks or eagles are represented, clinging by their talons. Above, in the centre, is a star of ten points. The lions and the

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6. A series of miscellaneous objects of special interest or value.

To take—

1. Fragments of the Mausoleum.

The Museum has recently acquired from the Marchese Serra a very valuable slab, the existence of which at the Villa di Negri, Genoa, has been long known. It represents, first, an Amazon vanquished by a warrior, kneeling and stretching out her hands for mercy, the warrior having hold of her by her hair; and, 2dly, a warrior defending himself, on his knees, from the attack of an Amazon. This slab is, unquestionably, a portion of the frieze of the order, and was in the pos-

session of the Serra and Bajano families for more than a century. Its state of preservation is remarkable: better, indeed, in some respects, than that of any of the slabs procured either in 1847, or, subsequently, during Mr. Newton's more extended researches.

There is much room for curious speculation as to how this solitary piece of the Mausoleum-frieze found its way to a villa at Genoa. The probability is that some Genoese visited the port of Halicarnassus before what the knights of Rhodes spared of the Mausoleum was completely silted over, and, remarking the beauty of the workmanship on this fragment, brought it away for the adornment of his own home.

That there were men of some taste among those who committed such irreparable havoc on one of the "Seven Wonders of the World" is clear from the fact that portions of one or more of the original friezes, representing Amazonomachiæ, together with heads of colossal lions, were noticed by Choiseul-Gouffier and other travellers who have visited Budrum, as still attached to the walls of the castle built by the Knights at that place. Part of these were removed and brought to England during the first expedition inaugurated by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the remainder, since that period, by Mr. Newton himself. We cannot therefore doubt that these fragments were preserved from utter ruin by some of the Knights of Rhodes, at the time they pulled down the Mausoleum to construct their castle with its materials. It is not unlikely, that the slab taken to Genoa may have been put aside for a similar use, but, for some reason or other, was not worked up, as so many other pieces of sculpture had been.

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In connection also with the Mausoleum, I may state that, quite recently, Mr. Newton has been able to obtain from Constantinople the cast of another slab, which he had noticed as early as 1852 in the Imperial Museum at the Seraglio. This fragment, representing an Amazon rushing forward with uplifted battle-axe, belongs to the same frieze, and is sculptured in the same masterly manner as the rest. Besides the slabs from the Villa di Negri, and the cast from the Turkish Museum, many more fragments have been received from Budrum during the last year, the result for the most part of excavations made by Messrs. Biliotti and Salzmann under the sites of two Turkish houses, which Mr. Newton had failed in persuading the owners to make over to him at the period of his own researches.

As, however, their value consists chiefly in the possibility of completing from them some of the shattered slabs already brought to England in previous years,—a work requiring much time and earnest study—I need not, on the present occasion, occupy the attention of the Society with what must, from the nature of the case, be but an imperfect account of them.

I shall, therefore, at once proceed to (2) the researches of Messrs. Biliotti and Salzmann, at Camirus, in the island of Rhodes, as, by their zeal and exertions, the nation has been fortunate in the acquisition of a very remarkable assemblage of works of art, in many styles and differing materials,—each specimen, too, exhibiting its own characteristic excellence in the happy treatment of the material on which the artist has chanced to work.

I should state *in limine*, that Camirus was situated on the northern shore of Rhodes, and was one of the

three principal cities of that island, before the founding of the city of Rhodes. Camirus, Lindus, and Jalysus were traditionally named from, and founded by, the three grandsons of Ochimus ; and these towns, in alliance and conjunction with Cos, Cnidus, and Halicarnassus, formed what was called the Dorian Hexapolis, with a common sanctuary on the Triopian headland on the coast of Caria. Apollo was the tutelary deity of this confederation. (Herod. i. 144.)

The town of Rhodes itself was built at the north-eastern extremity of the island, by the union of Lindus, Jalysus, and Camirus, about B.C. 408, and thus became the capital of the island.

After the establishment of the new capital, the earlier towns seem to have gradually decayed. We should, therefore, naturally expect that monuments disinterred on the site of Camirus—should this site be well determined—would be of very remote antiquity, and such is, to a great extent, the case.

The first origin of the discovery of antiquities at Camirus is curious. The site was covered with a pine forest, on clearing which and cultivating the soil, the peasants discovered the Necropolis by the accident of a bullock stumbling into a tomb while dragging the plough. In 1853, Mr. Newton visited the site, and obtained thence many terra-cotta vases of a very archaic character ; these he states ('Travels and Discoveries in the Levant,' vol. i. p. 235) were found near the modern village of Kalavarda. He says (under date of Aug. 5, 1853), "In this village I was much interested by finding a number of Greek fictile vases in the peasants' houses. These vases are of various styles. Among them are several platters, *pinakes*, of a very

early period, with geometrical patterns painted in brown on a pale ground.

"This kind of ware has been found in the tombs of Athens, Melos, and of other parts of Greece, and is thought to be of very remote antiquity; the more so, as the sites of Mycenæ and Tiryns are strewn with it. I also found at Kalavarda, several jugs, *amphoræ* and *oinochoæ*, on which were painted either black figures on a red ground, or red figures on a black ground. None of these designs were remarkable for beauty of drawing or excellence of fabric, but mostly specimens of the later period of the art. The clay seemed rather thick and heavy. The peasants also showed me some small terra-cotta figures. On inquiry I was told that all these objects were found in tombs near the village."

Such was the first notice of the discovery of ancient relics in this part of Rhodes: need we add that it was quite sufficient to stimulate to further excavations? Hence it was, that representations having been made in the right quarter, a *firman* was procured from Constantinople, and MM. Biliotti and Salzmann, who had followed closely on Mr. Newton's footsteps, were empowered to undertake a systematic examination of Kalavarda and of its neighbourhood. The result is that the Acropolis of Camirus has been discovered and thoroughly explored, not less than 275 tombs having been opened during the winter and spring of 1863–4. From these tombs, combined with the researches of previous years, a vast number of small precious monuments, consisting of ornaments in gold, glass, and bronze, figures in *terra-cotta* and calcareous stone, vases, and alabaster jars, have been procured.

Most of these objects range in date between B.C. 650 (or possibly still earlier) and B.C. 200; the more archaic specimens being certainly anterior to the Persian War, *i. e.* to B.C. 480. I may add that, on the site of the Acropolis, various foundations of walls were laid bare, and, under these foundations, a curious set of galleries, with shafts at intervals, has been traced out; and that a great variety of early antiquities, in porcelain, bronze, ivory, gold, pottery, and different minerals, has been found in these shafts and galleries. The whole of the collection from Camirus may be conveniently grouped under certain main headings, such as the following:—

1. Asiatico-Phœnician or Archaic Greek.
2. Greek of the best and later periods.
3. Egyptian or imitations of Egyptian.

The first class is by far the most important, in that it comprehends most of the gold and silver ornaments, together with a few *terra-cottas*, and affords a most curious subject for inquiry, as to the source from which it has been derived. It has been generally supposed that these and similar works are due to artists whose homes were the chief cities of Phœnicia,—Tyre and Sidon,—a view supported by the fact that very similar terra-cotta figures have been procured, in recent years, from tombs at Sidon.

I wish, however, in accepting for them the generic name of Phœnician, to guard myself against admitting the idea that they are wholly products of the inventive art of the inhabitants of Phœnicia; since I cannot but think that not a few specimens betray a marked Assyrian influence, and would seem to be copies, at second or third hand, of monuments originally Assyrian. I imagine that the general character of Assyrian art

must have been well known in Western Asia, both before and subsequently to the final overthrow of Nineveh, about B.C. 620; and most persons will, I believe, recognize, even at first sight, a manifest connection between many of the objects of this Class and the products of the well-known and well-defined art of Assyria; such as may be seen on the earliest sculptures Mr. Layard disinterred at Nimrud, and on the beautiful specimens of sculpture procured by Mr. Loftus from the most recent palaces at Koyunjik.

In the present state of our knowledge, it seems to be wiser to term them Asiatic than Phœnician,—the more so that such a title precludes our limiting their production to any one particular province or district.

At the same time I do not underrate the recorded influence of the Phœnicians upon Greece and its islands: it is quite possible, nay, very probable, that to them we owe the introduction of the formative arts into Greece, as Greece herself unquestionably owes to them the characters of her alphabetic writing. It is well known, that in very remote ages, Asiatic colonies, chiefly from Tyre, spread all along the shores of the Mediterranean, abundant traces being still found of their colonizing energy, at Carthage, in Sicily, Sardinia, Majorca, and at Tartessus, Gades, and other places in Spain. We have, also, the important traditions that Cadmus —himself, as his name implies, an Oriental, and probably a Phœnician—came to Rhodes and left there some Phœnician settlers (Diod. Sic. v. 58); and that Minos—himself probably a Phœnician—founded an empire in Crete: while the Odyssey especially notices the Phœnicians as *ναυσικλύτοι ἄνδρες* (Odyss. xv. 415), that is, men illustrious for their naval skill.

We are also informed that, in remote times, the Phœnicians were famous as metal-workers,—the story of the building of Solomon's temple by the aid of Hiram's workmen tending to confirm this statement; while we have the direct testimony of Homer that the cuirass of Agamemnon was made either at Sidon or in Cyprus. Lastly, we find notices of a certain tribe or set of men, called the Telchines, who were noted as workers of metal in the island of Rhodes,—there being little doubt that these Telchines, as the first syllable of their name naturally suggests, were themselves of Asiatic origin;—together with the legend that Danaus himself built the temple of Athene at Lindus.

All I wish to urge is, that the evidence of the purely Phœnician origin of these and similar works is not, to my mind, satisfactory; though I am ready to admit the Oriental descent of these metallic ornaments, and to accept the general statements in ancient authors, noticed above, as expressing their belief that the Phœnicians were a race who had cultivated in a remarkable degree a certain style of art, and this, too, at a period when they had few, if any, rivals.

Admitting, then, as a general principle, that Phœnician navigators and settlers did, in all probability, convey these arts to the shores of Greece, I am inclined to think that, on the whole, the works themselves represent very truly a traditional style, accepted generally throughout Western Asia, and ultimately, with some modifications, in Greece itself,—a style of which Nineveh was probably the original fountain-head,—though, possibly, the name of that famous city, and of the wonderful works enshrined in its ruins, was

as unknown to the makers of these monuments as it was alike to classical and modern times till, scarcely twenty years since, the buried city was restored to the gaze of man.

I shall now proceed to describe, individually, a few of the more remarkable of these metallic ornaments, drawings of some of which I have had made, to serve as typical specimens.

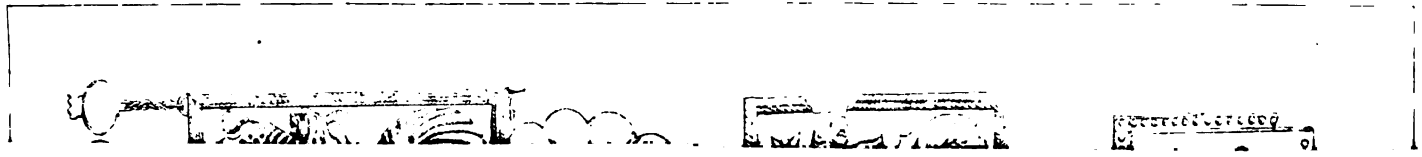
I may premise that almost all the gold and silver ornaments (among which the gold largely predominate in number) have evidently been used either (1) as necklaces or (2) for attachment to different parts of a dress, consisting, for the most part, of thin pieces or *plaques* of metal, averaging from one to two and a half inches in length, with subjects on them, worked up, as a rule, from behind, after the fashion called in modern times *repoussée* work.

The leading varieties are as follows:—

1. A female figure, standing in front, draped to the feet, and the feet themselves almost hidden, as on the earliest sculptures from Branchidæ, with long hair elaborately dressed falling on the shoulders, and naked breasts; the arms raised in a stiff formal manner, and the hands partially closed; the whole in an oblong frame surrounded by dots, with two or more holes for attachment. (Fig. 1.)

2. A similar figure, but somewhat larger, with large wings of peculiar shape, resembling a nimbus, the hands crossed in front and the elbows square, and a rosette on each side of the legs: the arms support a small animal—perhaps a cow or bull—which rests against the figure. (Fig. 2.)

3. A similar figure, with long curling hair and naked



breasts, and wings on each side, very formally treated: the hands are stretched out, on either side, straight from the elbow, and a rose, in relief, is on the side of each leg. The top of this *plaque* is turned round, to allow of a chain to pass through it for suspension or attachment. (Fig. 3.)

4. A similar figure, somewhat larger, hands stretched out and holding in each a small lion by the tail; on each side of feet, a rose incuse; at the bottom, three or four balls or pomegranates, and, at the top, a projecting piece of metal for attachment. The manner in which the lions are held out, and the general character of the subject, recall the sculptures from Khorsabad. See Botta. (Fig. 4.)

5. A similar figure, but holding a ram in each hand by the neck. This specimen is much less ornate than the preceding or the following, and is *in silver*.

6. A similar figure, but, on each side, a lion springing up, resting its forepaws against the figure and turning its head back. The body of the figure is clothed in drapery, richly ornamented with wavy lines, etc. At the bottom are four pomegranates, and at the top three wide rings for suspension or attachment. There are several slight modifications of this type, and, at the top of some of them, is a flat disk or rosette of twelve petals. (Fig. 7.)

7. A similar figure, with the subject treated much as on the previous one, with this distinction, however, that the lions on the right and left of the figure stand out all but detached from the rest of the metal, while to the back of the *plaque* two hawks or eagles are represented, clinging by their talons. Above, in the centre, is a star of ten points. The lions and the

hawks are treated in a rich but conventional manner. The character of the lions on this object are very similar to those on the fibula from Cervetri, which belonged to the late Mr. Blayds, and is now in the Museum (*infrà*, p. 38). (Fig. 9.)

8. A type resembling in many ways the Nar-singh, or man-lion, of the later sculptures from Koyunjik. It represents a compound figure, consisting of the head, body, and legs of a man, but attached to the body, and, as it were, growing out of it, the body of an animal with hoofs. In the left hand is a deer, above, a rosette of twelve petals, and below, four pomegranates. This peculiar combination is found on a well-known vase, found at Athens (see First Vase Room, case 5, no. 5). It may also be seen on another vase, possibly of pure Etruscan work (see First Vase Room, case 14, no. 442). Some similar compound figures are also found, though rarely, on the engraved cylinders from Assyria. (Fig. 8.)

9. A winged man-headed lion walking to the left, exhibiting hair very much curled; below, standing out from the metal, three heads, each with long and curling hair: above and around the lion are one ring and four loops, apparently intended to receive enamel, below are four pomegranates. Some eight or ten specimens of this type exist. In this case, and in others which may be considered modifications of it, the wings are thrown back over the whole figure, precisely as on the Assyrian sculptures. (Fig. 6.)

10. Two human heads, bearing much resemblance to those on the last type, but set by themselves in frames. The lower part of this *plaque* is adorned with circles, and with three rings at top and three or four pomegranates below.

11. A winged man-headed lion, walking to left, face turned towards spectator, wings thrown back. (Fig. 5.)

Besides these are also some beautiful specimens of armlets in silver and bronze, terminating in gold lions' heads; several pieces of gold variously bent for the fastening up of dresses; two of them made of bronze plated with gold, the precious metal having been forced asunder by the rust and consequent expansion of the bronze: and a broad thin plate of gold, covered with patterns of circles and wavy lines, and evidently intended for attachment to a girdle.

The above is a very brief notice of the most remarkable of the objects in precious metals; there are also many other works in metal of much interest and value, but to these I can do no more than allude, within the limits prescribed to me this evening. I may, however, mention among the bronzes, a bearded man on a camel, the camel exhibiting great skill in the moulding of animal forms; a lion reposing on a skin?, with his forelegs stretched out and his head resting on his right paw, and, probably, like many similar objects from Nineveh, intended for a weight.

To the first class also (though to a somewhat later period of it) belong some very beautiful little bottles and jugs of variegated glass, called *amphoriski* and *œnochoæ*, generally of a rich deep blue or purple, with yellow bands; many of these are in the highest state of preservation, and have much interest from the place of their discovery,—the island of Rhodes,—affording, as this fact does, a manifest link between Etruria and Phœnicia, to which last country it has been usual to attribute the similar specimens found abundantly at Cære and at other of the oldest cities

of Italy. I ought to add, as nearly connected with the oldest period, that there is a miscellaneous collection of objects in porcelain, from the same shafts and galleries under the Acropolis,—comprising statuettes of Egyptian divinities, vases in the shape of lions, sphinxes, and other animals; other vases with friezes in very low relief; and scarabæi, one of which is inscribed with the name of Thothmes III.,—a clear proof of the high antiquity of some of these remains.

It is impossible now to say why it is such miscellaneous objects are found together, but it is not unlikely that many of them were dedicated, within the precincts of the Acropolis, by different strangers who visited it in remote times.

To the same archaic period as the gold objects, and possibly to a still more ancient time, belong a series of monuments in *terra-cotta* and stone, mostly flat pieces with the different parts of the human body, as, for instance, the female breasts, rather indicated than actually modelled. These were found, likewise, in the galleries and shafts under the Acropolis, and may be considered to be either purely Phœnician, or the rude work of the earliest inhabitants of the island. Some of them apparently show a blending of the so-called Phœnician and archaic Greek styles; others, what I believe to be characteristic of Asiatic derived art.

Of the more important works in *terra-cotta*, the most curious is a coffin, 6 ft. 4 in long, and 2 ft. 1 in. wide, unquestionably one of the most ancient relics that has been discovered. This coffin is painted on its rim (and originally, as is most likely, on the inside and outside also), in brown and crimson on a pale ground. At one end of the rim are lions in red with floral ornaments; at

the other end, a bull standing between two lions of a dark brown colour. Along the edge of the rim are guilloche patterns in dark brown, and two heads helmeted, in the same colour. By the side of the coffin, is a series of *pinakes* or plates in the same material, containing for subjects,—the combat of Hector and Menelaos over the body of Euphorbas,—a specimen of much interest, inasmuch as the names of the combatants are inscribed over them in very archaic characters:—a gorgon's head,—sirens and other animals,—a wolf,—a sphinx,—a sheep,—a ram,—a wild boar,—and a bull—with his two horns drawn in perspective, so as to look like one,—a mode of representation common on the Assyrian bas-reliefs, which led some persons of a too fervid imagination, on the first arrival of these monuments in England, to assert that we had at last before us a genuine representation of the unicorn of Holy Scripture. The plates, like the coffin, are of remote antiquity, and were found at different times and in different places during the excavations at Camirus. From certain peculiarities in their style, it is not improbable that they are the produce of a local manufacture. Generally, it will be remarked that the ornamentation of the coffin resembles strongly that of the most ancient vases from Camirus, and has manifestly a near connection with the art of Assyria. This coffin is believed, as a specimen, to be unique.

Another *terra-cotta* of much interest, but somewhat less archaic, is a very ancient figure, probably representing Aphrodite, and remarkable for the freshness of the colours still visible upon it. There are also some curious *neurospasta*, one peculiar in having been made to work in a socket, several masks, models of

lions, pigs, and other animals, a monkey riding on a boar, and other curious and unusual devices; some of these were doubtless toys for children; others may have been dedicated to those gods whose usual emblems are found represented.

Among the small ivory objects which were found in the same shafts and galleries under the Acropolis are many, the character of which (like that of some of the *terra-cottas*) is so ill defined that it is almost impossible to say whether they ought to be classed with the Asiatic or with the archaic Greek monuments. Thus one specimen, representing two figures back to back, and many small carved heads are almost identical with those discovered by Mr. Loftus, at Koyunjik. Others, like a strange representation of a hippopotamus?,—a horse galloping to the right, with a bird pecking its hinder quarters and a palm branch under its fore legs,—together with a large number of small square and hollow pieces covered with patterns of circles and guilloches, are probably to be placed among the archaic Greek.

Of the Second class, comprising works in the best Greek style, we have many splendid examples from the excavations at Camirus, both in metal-work and in vases.

Of these, a very beautiful specimen is a small gold *pyxis*, about an inch in diameter, on one end of which Eros is represented feeling the point of his arrow, and, on the other, Thetis is seated on a dolphin and is bringing to Achilles the arrows Vulcan had forged for him. This exquisitely-worked gold vessel was found within an alabaster box in the same tomb with a vase I am about to describe.

This splendid vase, known by the name of the Peleus and Thetis vase, is an *amphora*, with figures painted in red and opaque-white on a black ground, and traces of gilding on the wings of Eros, the cap of Peleus, and the diadems of some of the other figures. The subject—"the surprise of Thetis by Peleus"—is the more interesting that it is, in fact, the same scene which is represented on one side of the Portland Vase: thus strikingly confirming the received interpretation of that famous glass vessel, which was first proposed by the late Mr. Millingen. The legend was, that Peleus surprised the sea-nymph Thetis, while disporting herself on the sea-shore. Thus, on the vase I am describing, Thetis is represented as just about to put on a blue garment, Peleus presses forward and attempts to seize her by the arm, a sea-monster bites his leg, and Eros, or Love, places a wreath upon the head of Peleus as the conqueror in the love-conflict; around are Nereids, perhaps to indicate the shallow water of the bay near to which the principal scene is taking place.

The style of this vase is that introduced about the time of Alexander the Great, when opaque colours and gilding were employed in combination with the earlier monochrome figures. Examples in this style are not unknown, but no specimen has as yet been discovered exhibiting such free and masterly drawing as this one from Camirus. I may add that up to the time of its discovery, though vases of the class popularly called Etruscan have been found abundantly throughout the Greek Archipelago, no individual specimen of fictile art has ever before been met with in that region at all comparable with the finest specimens from Vulci or southern Italy.

It is probable that this vase is of Rhodian fabric, and that it was executed about the time of the famous artist Protogenes; the marked excellence, therefore, in its drawing and composition, may reasonably be held to reflect the influence of that renowned artist.

Another work of great beauty is a drinking cup, on the inside of which is a figure of Aphrodite, borne through the air on a swan. Her name is inscribed above her. The design is drawn in brown on a white ground; the drapery of Aphrodite is coloured red. This group is exquisitely composed, and drawn with a mastery which shows that the vase belongs to the finest period of Greek art, probably to that of Phidias himself. Whether this cup be of Rhodian fabric or imported cannot be ascertained, but anyhow, like the Peleus and Thetis vase, it will challenge comparison with the best examples of ceramography from Vulci, Nola, or Athens. Other fine specimens of the same class are a cup of the kind called *kantharos*, representing, on the obverse, a combat between Theseus and Andromache, and, on the reverse, a similar combat between Paris and Phorbas, all these names being inscribed upon it. The drawing of this vase is remarkably good and the form of rare occurrence. There is also a drinking cup, on the inside of which is represented the rape of Thetis by Peleus, with the names of Thetis and of her companions inscribed over them, and on the outside the combats, respectively, of Æneas and Diomed, and of Heracles, Cycnus, and Ares.

Of the Third or last class—Egyptian or imitated Egyptian—no very large number of specimens have been found. I may, however, call attention to a gold ring inscribed with symbols imitated from Egyptian

hieroglyphics, and to a scarabæus bearing a cartouche, believed to be that of Psammetichus I. or Apries. There is also a silver bowl, much shattered, but exhibiting on its inner surfaces several cartouches, together with a few other scarabæi and minor objects. It is probable that nearly all these are imitations, perhaps executed by native artists working under Egyptian influence, like many of the ivories from Nimrud; the hieroglyphics on all of them are ill-defined, and generally doubtful in meaning. There are also some specimens in dark-blue porcelain and two or three *Aryballi*. These are probably genuine Egyptian work, and may have been imported from the early Greek settlement at Naucratis.

In bringing to a conclusion this notice of the objects from Camirus, I have much pleasure in adding, here, Mr. Newton's opinion of the earlier portions of this collection, which he saw at Rhodes on his way home from the East. In a letter (dated Malta, June 18, 1859) he states that he went to Rhodes "to examine a number of curious antiquities recently discovered by Messrs. Biliotti and Salzmann, in a necropolis near Kalavarda (see *ante*, T. p. 236). In the course of the last three months, those two gentlemen have succeeded in the discovery of a most interesting series of tombs, which evidently belong to a very early period of Greek civilization in Rhodes. They have found quantities of painted fictile vases with birds and grotesque animals and flowers, on a drab ground, small figures and vases of porcelain, some of which are inscribed with hieroglyphics resembling those found in Egypt, small bottles of variegated glass, and earrings and other jewels of gold and electrum, ornamented with figures

and flowers, embossed and in filagree. Some of the objects may be of true Egyptian fabric, but the greater part are probably imitations, the hieroglyphics being evidently copied by persons ignorant of their true meaning, just as Chinese characters are copied on porcelain of European fabric.

"Among the gold ornaments are a pair of earrings, having as pendants winged bulls, resembling those found by Mr. Layard in Assyria. It is probable that many of these antiquities were imported into Rhodes by the Phœnicians, who, according to Hellenic tradition, had already settlements in Rhodes when the Greeks first established themselves there, and who, trading in objects of Egyptian fabric, probably increased their profit by manufacturing imitations of these articles. The necropolis from which these interesting remains have been obtained is of great extent, and in its neighbourhood we must look for the site of Kamiros, one of the three ancient cities of Rhodes which Homer mentions, and of which the political extinction was brought about by the founding of the metropolis in B.C. 408."—(Discoveries in the Levant, vol. ii. p. 266.)

Many of the most remarkable objects, as the Thetis and Peleus vase, were found since Mr. Newton examined at Rhodes the first results of the discoveries of Messrs. Biliotti and Salzmann.

The Farnese Collection, from which the statues I shall have next to describe are taken, is one of the oldest and best known in Continental Europe.

Collected from time to time since the Revival of Learning in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, these monuments became heir-looms in the Farnese Palace

at Rome, till, after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, Elizabeth, the wife of Philip V., conveyed the Roman part of the property of her family to the Spanish branch of the House of Bourbon, in the person of Philip of Anjou, whom she had married in A.D. 1714.

Don Carlos, subsequently King of the Two Sicilies, one of her sons, received, as his share of her inheritance, the Roman palaces of the descendants of Pietro Luigi, the reputed son of Pope Paul III., wherein were then kept the Farnese Hercules and Bull, now removed to Naples, and the specimens I am about to notice.

These, so far as I can ascertain, form the pick of the Farnese sculptures now left in Rome, and till recently the property of the king of Naples,—nothing of any real importance to the Museum having been omitted, as was stated in some of the Daily Papers when this collection arrived in England.[1] For their acquisition the country is indebted to Messrs. Story and Newton, by whose exertions and skill they were procured and conveyed in safety to the British Museum. The sum paid for the whole collection, inclusive of all incidental expenses, was £4000. I will take first—

The so-called *Diadumenus*, the most curious certainly, and probably the most valuable of these sculptures.

The statue of the Diadumenus is in Pentelic or Greek marble, and represents a youth about life-size, entirely naked and adjusting a fillet round his head, whence its title of *Diadumenus*. The figure rests chiefly on the right leg, the left being slightly advanced and bent at the knee. It is supported on the right side by the trunk of a palm-tree.

The main interest of this statue depends on whether it be or be not an ancient Greek copy of a

well-known work by the famous sculptor Polycleitus. Now, for the fact that Polycleitus did make such a statue, we have the direct testimony of Pliny and Lucian (Plin. xxxiv. 8, Lucian in Philops. c. 18); moreover, its material, Pentelic not Carrara marble, goes far to support the belief that it is really Greek work.

The character of the art of this statue has been minutely investigated by Mr. Westmacott, Professor of Sculpture to the Royal Academy, who has come to the conclusion that it belongs to the later part of the fifth century B.C., "when sculpture was throwing off the remaining stiffness of what has been called the later archaic school." He considers, further, that in many points of its style it may be well compared with the casts in the Hellenic Room of the marbles from the temple of Zeus Panhellenius, the originals of which are now at Munich.

I confess, however, that I cannot agree with the Professor's opinion that we have before us an original work of Polycleitus, though it is probably of Greek workmanship, and a copy of Polycleitus's well-known statue, the period when it was executed being now undeterminable. Further than this, though a copy, it is, obviously, the work of an artist accustomed to the handling of his material. I fail, however, to discern those marks of archaism that have impressed themselves so strongly on the mind of Mr. Westmacott, and should rather imagine from some of its forms that the original was in bronze. I am further disposed to believe, unless evidence can be adduced in favour of his view of a much more cogent character, that this presumed copy itself is not of an antiquity so remote as the time of Polycleitus, its hard outlines and general

stiffness being rather a reflection of a bronze prototype than genuine archaism. Thus numismatists are well aware that, in some instances, as in the case of the Tetradrachms of Athens, an archaic character was preserved even to very late times.

With regard to Polycleitus, who is generally admitted to have been the first to represent this peculiar type, and whose work, under the name of the Diadumenos, is mentioned, as I have stated, by more than one ancient author, we know at least this much, that he carried the toreutic art to perfection in his statue of the Argive Juno; and that, in his hand, the prevailing art of modelling bronze statues of Athletes, was raised to the most perfect representation of beautiful gymnastic figures, in which, while the peculiarities of individual character were not neglected, the main object was the representation of the purest forms and of the most just proportions of the youthful body. From this peculiar skill it happened, that one of the statues of Polycleitus—the Doryphorus—became, in after days, the canon of the proportions of the human figure, which, previously to his time, were generally shorter and stouter. He is also stated by Pliny to have established the principle that the weight of the body should be chiefly laid on one foot (as is the case with the statue we are considering) from which we obtain the contrast, at once so significant and so attractive, of the bearing and more contracted with the borne and more developed side of the human body.

Now, there can be no doubt that the *pose* of this statue bears out the description of Polycleitus's canon; though how far it gives us an idea of what Polycleitus really achieved may well be questioned.

The next most important statue is a Mercury,—on the whole one of the most perfect statues which have come down to our times, the only restorations being the right foot and parts of the right hand, leg, and foot, together with the drapery under the left arm. This Mercury is one of three similar copies made in the best Roman times, and it is the best of the three. The other two are, respectively, that in the collection of the Marquess of Lansdowne, which is nearly if not quite equal to our statue, and that in the Belvedere at the Vatican. The Farnese one, alone, has the special attributes of Mercury, while that in the Belvedere was supposed for a long time to be an Antinous. It was first recognized by Visconti as a Mercury. The head is remarkable for its pensive expression.

The third figure is that of a horseman, which has been restored, in modern times, as the Emperor Caligula, though what remains of the antique work on it is, in all probability, not earlier than the times of the Antonines. The chief interest of it is, that only five other antique equestrian groups, as far as it is known, are extant, three being those of the two Balbi at Naples, and the Persian figure found with the remains of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus; and the fourth, an equestrian figure of Constantine at the entrance to the Vatican. As a work of art the Farnese group is very inferior to the bronze statue of M. Aurelius in the Capitol. The hand is a *cinquecento* restoration; the fore legs, the hoofs of the hind ones, the right hand, the drapery and legs of the Emperor are probably restorations of an even later period. The horse bears considerable resemblance to the type of that animal unfortunately

adopted by Raffaelle and other painters of his day; and can hardly be considered equal, as a horse, even to those of Marochetti in his Richard Cœur de Lion, and Charles Albert, or of Wyatt in his statue of the Duke of Wellington.

The other sculptures from the Farnese Palace are, a group of a Faun playing with a young Bacchus; an heroic figure of fine proportions; an Apollo, the only antique portion of which is a part of the *torso* and some of the drapery to its left; a poor and badly preserved group, called Hermes and Herse, two male torsoes, one of Eros or perhaps Ganymede; and a bust of M. Aurelius Commodus. On these, I need not dwell at length, as they are not of sufficient importance to require a special description, though they have their value in a repository of the styles of all ages and of artists, such as the sculpture gallerie of the British Museum.

The next great collection of valuable monuments which has been acquired quite recently for the National Collection, is that which once adorned the private gallery of the *Count de Pourtalès-Gorgier*, at Paris, which has been recently dispersed on the death of its proprietor. This collection consists of some remarkably fine bronzes, of some very fine vases and terra-cottas, and of a few busts,—one of these last being justly considered by the best judges one of the most beautiful busts in the British Museum.

Among the bronzes, is a small statuette, of the best Roman period, of a seated Jupiter,—said to have been found in Hungary,—and, formerly one of the gems of the collection of Baron Denon. It represents the god seated, half draped, on his throne, holding in his right

lions, pigs, and other animals, a monkey riding on a boar, and other curious and unusual devices; some of these were doubtless toys for children; others may have been dedicated to those gods whose usual emblems are found represented.

Among the small ivory objects which were found in the same shafts and galleries under the Acropolis are many, the character of which (like that of some of the *terra-cottas*) is so ill defined that it is almost impossible to say whether they ought to be classed with the Asiatic or with the archaic Greek monuments. Thus one specimen, representing two figures back to back, and many small carved heads are almost identical with those discovered by Mr. Loftus, at Koyunjik. Others, like a strange representation of a hippopotamus?,—a horse galloping to the right, with a bird pecking its hinder quarters and a palm branch under its fore legs,—together with a large number of small square and hollow pieces covered with patterns of circles and guilloches, are probably to be placed among the archaic Greek.

Of the Second class, comprising works in the best Greek style, we have many splendid examples from the excavations at Camirus, both in metal-work and in vases.

Of these, a very beautiful specimen is a small gold *pyxis*, about an inch in diameter, on one end of which Eros is represented feeling the point of his arrow, and, on the other, Thetis is seated on a dolphin and is bringing to Achilles the arrows Vulcan had forged for him. This exquisitely-worked gold vessel was found within an alabaster box in the same tomb with a vase I am about to describe.

This splendid vase, known by the name of the Peleus and Thetis vase, is an *amphora*, with figures painted in red and opaque-white on a black ground, and traces of gilding on the wings of Eros, the cap of Peleus, and the diadems of some of the other figures. The subject—"the surprise of Thetis by Peleus"—is the more interesting that it is, in fact, the same scene which is represented on one side of the Portland Vase: thus strikingly confirming the received interpretation of that famous glass vessel, which was first proposed by the late Mr. Millingen. The legend was, that Peleus surprised the sea-nymph Thetis, while disporting herself on the sea-shore. Thus, on the vase I am describing, Thetis is represented as just about to put on a blue garment, Peleus presses forward and attempts to seize her by the arm, a sea-monster bites his leg, and Eros, or Love, places a wreath upon the head of Peleus as the conqueror in the love-conflict; around are Nereids, perhaps to indicate the shallow water of the bay near to which the principal scene is taking place.

The style of this vase is that introduced about the time of Alexander the Great, when opaque colours and gilding were employed in combination with the earlier monochrome figures. Examples in this style are not unknown, but no specimen has as yet been discovered exhibiting such free and masterly drawing as this one from Camirus. I may add that up to the time of its discovery, though vases of the class popularly called Etruscan have been found abundantly throughout the Greek Archipelago, no individual specimen of fictile art has ever before been met with in that region at all comparable with the finest specimens from Vulci or southern Italy.

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It is probable that this vase is of Rhodian fabric, and that it was executed about the time of the famous artist Protogenes; the marked excellence, therefore, in its drawing and composition, may reasonably be held to reflect the influence of that renowned artist.

Another work of great beauty is a drinking cup, on the inside of which is a figure of Aphrodite, borne through the air on a swan. Her name is inscribed above her. The design is drawn in brown on a white ground; the drapery of Aphrodite is coloured red. This group is exquisitely composed, and drawn with a mastery which shows that the vase belongs to the finest period of Greek art, probably to that of Phidias himself. Whether this cup be of Rhodian fabric or imported cannot be ascertained, but anyhow, like the Peleus and Thetis vase, it will challenge comparison with the best examples of ceramography from Vulci, Nola, or Athens. Other fine specimens of the same class are a cup of the kind called *kantharos*, representing, on the obverse, a combat between Theseus and Andromache, and, on the reverse, a similar combat between Paris and Phorbas, all these names being inscribed upon it. The drawing of this vase is remarkably good and the form of rare occurrence. There is also a drinking cup, on the inside of which is represented the rape of Thetis by Peleus, with the names of Thetis and of her companions inscribed over them, and on the outside the combats, respectively, of Æneas and Diomed, and of Heracles, Cycnus, and Ares.

Of the Third or last class—Egyptian or imitated Egyptian—no very large number of specimens have been found. I may, however, call attention to a gold ring inscribed with symbols imitated from Egyptian

hieroglyphics, and to a scarabæus bearing a cartouche, believed to be that of Psammetichus I. or Apries. There is also a silver bowl, much shattered, but exhibiting on its inner surfaces several cartouches, together with a few other scarabæi and minor objects. It is probable that nearly all these are imitations, perhaps executed by native artists working under Egyptian influence, like many of the ivories from Nimrud; the hieroglyphics on all of them are ill-defined, and generally doubtful in meaning. There are also some specimens in dark-blue porcelain and two or three *Aryballi*. These are probably genuine Egyptian work, and may have been imported from the early Greek settlement at Naucratis.

In bringing to a conclusion this notice of the objects from Camirus, I have much pleasure in adding, here, Mr. Newton's opinion of the earlier portions of this collection, which he saw at Rhodes on his way home from the East. In a letter (dated Malta, June 18, 1859) he states that he went to Rhodes "to examine a number of curious antiquities recently discovered by Messrs. Biliotti and Salzmann, in a necropolis near Kalavarda (see *ante*, T. p. 236). In the course of the last three months, those two gentlemen have succeeded in the discovery of a most interesting series of tombs, which evidently belong to a very early period of Greek civilization in Rhodes. They have found quantities of painted fictile vases with birds and grotesque animals and flowers, on a drab ground, small figures and vases of porcelain, some of which are inscribed with hieroglyphics resembling those found in Egypt, small bottles of variegated glass, and earrings and other jewels of gold and electrum, ornamented with figures

and flowers, embossed and in filagree. Some of the objects may be of true Egyptian fabric, but the greater part are probably imitations, the hieroglyphics being evidently copied by persons ignorant of their true meaning, just as Chinese characters are copied on porcelain of European fabric.

"Among the gold ornaments are a pair of earrings, having as pendants winged bulls, resembling those found by Mr. Layard in Assyria. It is probable that many of these antiquities were imported into Rhodes by the Phœnicians, who, according to Hellenic tradition, had already settlements in Rhodes when the Greeks first established themselves there, and who, trading in objects of Egyptian fabric, probably increased their profit by manufacturing imitations of these articles. The necropolis from which these interesting remains have been obtained is of great extent, and in its neighbourhood we must look for the site of Kamiros, one of the three ancient cities of Rhodes which Homer mentions, and of which the political extinction was brought about by the founding of the metropolis in B.C. 408."—(Discoveries in the Levant, vol. ii. p. 266.)

Many of the most remarkable objects, as the Thetis and Peleus vase, were found since Mr. Newton examined at Rhodes the first results of the discoveries of Messrs. Biliotti and Salzmann.

The Farnese Collection, from which the statues I shall have next to describe are taken, is one of the oldest and best known in Continental Europe.

Collected from time to time since the Revival of Learning in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, these monuments became heir-looms in the Farnese Palace

at Rome, till, after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, Elizabeth, the wife of Philip V., conveyed the Roman part of the property of her family to the Spanish branch of the House of Bourbon, in the person of Philip of Anjou, whom she had married in A.D. 1714.

Don Carlos, subsequently King of the Two Sicilies, one of her sons, received, as his share of her inheritance, the Roman palaces of the descendants of Pietro Luigi, the reputed son of Pope Paul III., wherein were then kept the Farnese Hercules and Bull, now removed to Naples, and the specimens I am about to notice.

These, so far as I can ascertain, form the pick of the Farnese sculptures now left in Rome, and till recently the property of the king of Naples,—nothing of any real importance to the Museum having been omitted, as was stated in some of the Daily Papers when this collection arrived in England.[1] For their acquisition the country is indebted to Messrs. Story and Newton, by whose exertions and skill they were procured and conveyed in safety to the British Museum. The sum paid for the whole collection, inclusive of all incidental expenses, was £4000. I will take first—

The so-called *Diadumenus*, the most curious certainly, and probably the most valuable of these sculptures.

The statue of the Diadumenus is in Pentelic or Greek marble, and represents a youth about life-size, entirely naked and adjusting a fillet round his head, whence its title of *Diadumenus*. The figure rests chiefly on the right leg, the left being slightly advanced and bent at the knee. It is supported on the right side by the trunk of a palm-tree.

The main interest of this statue depends on whether it be or be not an ancient Greek copy of a

well-known work by the famous sculptor Polycleitus. Now, for the fact that Polycleitus did make such a statue, we have the direct testimony of Pliny and Lucian (Plin. xxxiv. 8, Lucian in Philops. c. 18); moreover, its material, Pentelic not Carrara marble, goes far to support the belief that it is really Greek work.

The character of the art of this statue has been minutely investigated by Mr. Westmacott, Professor of Sculpture to the Royal Academy, who has come to the conclusion that it belongs to the later part of the fifth century B.C., "when sculpture was throwing off the remaining stiffness of what has been called the later archaic school." He considers, further, that in many points of its style it may be well compared with the casts in the Hellenic Room of the marbles from the temple of Zeus Panhellenius, the originals of which are now at Munich.

I confess, however, that I cannot agree with the Professor's opinion that we have before us an original work of Polycleitus, though it is probably of Greek workmanship, and a copy of Polycleitus's well-known statue, the period when it was executed being now undeterminable. Further than this, though a copy, it is, obviously, the work of an artist accustomed to the handling of his material. I fail, however, to discern those marks of archaism that have impressed themselves so strongly on the mind of Mr. Westmacott, and should rather imagine from some of its forms that the original was in bronze. I am further disposed to believe, unless evidence can be adduced in favour of his view of a much more cogent character, that this presumed copy itself is not of an antiquity so remote as the time of Polycleitus, its hard outlines and general

stiffness being rather a reflection of a bronze prototype than genuine archaism. Thus numismatists are well aware that, in some instances, as in the case of the Tetradrachms of Athens, an archaic character was preserved even to very late times.

With regard to Polycleitus, who is generally admitted to have been the first to represent this peculiar type, and whose work, under the name of the Diadumenos, is mentioned, as I have stated, by more than one ancient author, we know at least this much, that he carried the toreutic art to perfection in his statue of the Argive Juno; and that, in his hand, the prevailing art of modelling bronze statues of Athletes, was raised to the most perfect representation of beautiful gymnastic figures, in which, while the peculiarities of individual character were not neglected, the main object was the representation of the purest forms and of the most just proportions of the youthful body. From this peculiar skill it happened, that one of the statues of Polycleitus—the Doryphorus—became, in after days, the canon of the proportions of the human figure, which, previously to his time, were generally shorter and stouter. He is also stated by Pliny to have established the principle that the weight of the body should be chiefly laid on one foot (as is the case with the statue we are considering) from which we obtain the contrast, at once so significant and so attractive, of the bearing and more contracted with the borne and more developed side of the human body.

Now, there can be no doubt that the *pose* of this statue bears out the description of Polycleitus's canon; though how far it gives us an idea of what Polycleitus really achieved may well be questioned.

The next most important statue is a Mercury,—on the whole one of the most perfect statues which have come down to our times, the only restorations being the right foot and parts of the right hand, leg, and foot, together with the drapery under the left arm. This Mercury is one of three similar copies made in the best Roman times, and it is the best of the three. The other two are, respectively, that in the collection of the Marquess of Lansdowne, which is nearly if not quite equal to our statue, and that in the Belvedere at the Vatican. The Farnese one, alone, has the special attributes of Mercury, while that in the Belvedere was supposed for a long time to be an Antinous. It was first recognized by Visconti as a Mercury. The head is remarkable for its pensive expression.

The third figure is that of a horseman, which has been restored, in modern times, as the Emperor Caligula, though what remains of the antique work on it is, in all probability, not earlier than the times of the Antonines. The chief interest of it is, that only five other antique equestrian groups, as far as it is known, are extant, three being those of the two Balbi at Naples, and the Persian figure found with the remains of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus; and the fourth, an equestrian figure of Constantine at the entrance to the Vatican. As a work of art the Farnese group is very inferior to the bronze statue of M. Aurelius in the Capitol. The hand is a *cinquecento* restoration; the fore legs, the hoofs of the hind ones, the right hand, the drapery and legs of the Emperor are probably restorations of an even later period. The horse bears considerable resemblance to the type of that animal unfortunately

adopted by Raffaelle and other painters of his day; and can hardly be considered equal, as a horse, even to those of Marochetti in his Richard Cœur de Lion, and Charles Albert, or of Wyatt in his statue of the Duke of Wellington.

The other sculptures from the Farnese Palace are, a group of a Faun playing with a young Bacchus; an heroic figure of fine proportions; an Apollo, the only antique portion of which is a part of the *torso* and some of the drapery to its left; a poor and badly preserved group, called Hermes and Herse, two male torsoes, one of Eros or perhaps Ganymede; and a bust of M. Aurelius Commodus. On these, I need not dwell at length, as they are not of sufficient importance to require a special description, though they have their value in a repository of the styles of all ages and of artists, such as the sculpture gallerie of the British Museum.

The next great collection of valuable monuments which has been acquired quite recently for the National Collection, is that which once adorned the private gallery of the *Count de Pourtalès-Gorgier*, at Paris, which has been recently dispersed on the death of its proprietor. This collection consists of some remarkably fine bronzes, of some very fine vases and terra-cottas, and of a few busts,—one of these last being justly considered by the best judges one of the most beautiful busts in the British Museum.

Among the bronzes, is a small statuette, of the best Roman period, of a seated Jupiter,—said to have been found in Hungary,—and, formerly one of the gems of the collection of Baron Denon. It represents the god seated, half draped, on his throne, holding in his right

hand the *hasta pura*, and in his left a thunderbolt. It is in the excellent preservation, and has only been restored in the right foot, which is slightly advanced before the other. As a work of art it may take rank with the finest of the bronzes bequeathed to the nation by R. P. Knight, Esq.

There is also a very curious object in the form of a skeleton, without arms or legs, which were, however, in all probability, originally moveable or fastened on by pins. It is about an inch and a half long, and the whole subject suggests the idea of a *Neurospaston* similar to those that abound in *terra-cotta*. It is probable that this strange and unwonted object was either a votive offering or a toy for children.

Besides these, there is an interesting bust, in bronze, of a child, the treatment of the hair of which is very peculiar. The sockets of the eyes are hollow, showing that the eyes themselves have been once represented by gems or some other material than bronze. In the same material, are two remarkably handsome vases: one with a silver fillet running round the rim and handles, which terminate in swans' heads; the other, in shape more elegant, with handles formed of two naked male figures bending backwards, and resting their feet, respectively, on two sphinxes. These vases were found, respectively, at Locri in Southern Italy, and at Vulci.

Among the vases and terra-cottas, the most interesting, is a vase, on one side of which is represented the initiation of Herakles and the Dioscuri into the lesser mysteries at Agra; on the other, Dionysos and Ariadne are reclining. On the reverse are Dionysos, Plutos, and other figures. Two other very fine vases

represent, respectively, Orestes before the Areiopagus, and the chase of the wild boar of Calydon. The latter, however, is chiefly remarkable for the curious and different colours which the artist has adopted in his delineation of the boar. The subject is one of the most rare on painted vases. The men who are engaged in the chase probably represent Castor and Pollux. Another one is also peculiar for its shape as well as for its subjects. On one side of this vase, which is represented under the shape of a duck, reclines a naked figure of Aphrodite or Helen, holding in one hand the *lekythus*, or vessel for unguents, and, on the other side, an androgynous nude figure. Both figures wear sandals, and the whole workmanship denotes a late period of the ceramic art. One more curious monument remains, remarkable chiefly for its material, amber,—a substance always of great rarity, and, hitherto, only represented in the National Collection by some small pieces which belonged originally to the late Sir William Temple. A few other specimens, resembling them, and found, like them, at Ruvo, are now in the museum of the Principe San Giorgio, at Naples.

The subject of this curious monument has been considered by M. de Clarac as Auge and Heracles; but, as suggested by Panofka, it more probably records some scene from the lives of Jupiter and Artemis Dispœna, and is, thereby, closely connected with the Eleusinian mysteries; or, perhaps, it may be Nessus carrying off the wife of Herakles. The figures and their action recall those on the coins of Lete in Thrace.

Among the busts, unquestionably the most remarkable is the Apollo, formerly in the Giustiniani collection.

It is not known where it was found, or whence it was obtained. This bust is supposed by Panofka, from the inclination of the head and neck, to have belonged originally to a seated figure, the general character of the workmanship, as he imagines, uniting the severity of the Æginetan school with the fullness and freedom of Phidias. I confess I cannot go the length of the learned German professor; or accept his judgment of its style as in any sense accurate. I see no proof whatever of archaic work or treatment, and beautiful as it undoubtedly is, it lacks the repose and force of the sculpture of the age of Phidias. On the other hand, there is ground for supposing, from the peculiar hardness and stiffness of the cutting of some part of the hair, especially at the top of the head, that it is really a copy from a bronze original. It appears further, that, at some time or other, the bust has been covered with paint, evident traces of red being visible here and there in the roots of the hair. It was originally held to be a representation of a Muse, but the comparison of many heads of the feminine type of Apollo, preserved in the different museums of Europe, leaves no doubt that the attribution to Apollo is correct.

Besides this beautiful head, several other works of minor importance were procured from the same sale: as, for instance, a head of a female Deity from the Greek Archipelago; together with busts of Julia Mamæa, Crispina, Lucius Verus, and a supposed Domitia. There are also two curious tessellated pavements, the one representing a landscape, on which are rocks covered with trees, and a cavern out of which a lion is seen issuing. In front of him is a running

stream, and, on the bank, a stag galloping off. Behind, at some distance, is a castle, and, in the extreme distance, blue mountains: opposite the lion, on the other bank of the river, is a rock covered with trees, in front of which is an aloe. The shadow of the stag is well indicated. The whole scene is enclosed in a frame ornamented with dentelles in black. The other mosaic represents a horse with a red bridle, kneeling on a platform raised on wheels. Beside the horse is an Amazon (?) dressed in a green cloak, reclining against the horse, and patting his neck with her right hand. Above, is a cable moulding. The whole has probably been a part of a much larger subject.

The next collection to which I shall call attention is one made during the years 1862–3, at the cost of Her Majesty's Government, in different places of Sicily, and more especially from Greek tombs at Centuripæ, Gela, and Agrigentum, by *Mr. George Dennis*, the well-known historian of Græco-Italian tombs in Italy.

I am glad to be able to add that Government has recognized the value of his services as an archæologist, and has sent him as consul to Ben-Ghazi, the ancient Berenice, a position in which he may emulate the success of Captains Porcher and Smith at Cyrene, and where, at all events, there is reasonable ground for supposing that relics of considerable value may yet be found. Certain it is, that the northern coast of Africa abounds in ancient sites, many of them the seats of colonies originally of great importance. In this district, should Mr. Dennis fail in obtaining the rich store of Antiquities he has met with in Sicily, he may derive consolation from the fact that the neighbour-

hood of Berenice is no longer virgin soil, but has been explored again and again by a number of European antiquaries from the times of Admirals Beechey and W. H. Smyth to those of Captains Porcher and Smith.

The collection itself consists, chiefly, of *terra-cottas* and vases. Of these, the latter are remarkable alike for their size and their preservation; they belong, chiefly, to the class called *lekythi*, and vary from 14 to 19 inches in height.

The following are worthy of more especial notice:—

1. A *lekythos*, 18 inches high, with a group of two female figures in several colours on a white ground, a composition remarkable for the severe simplicity of the drawing and colouring, and for the force and distinctness of the outlines. 2. A *lekythos*, 14 inches high, with a seated female figure painted in various colours on a white ground. In this drawing the same pure and severe style may be recognized as on the one described above: and, in the head-dress, type of features, and general style of drawing, these figures much resemble the heads on the early tetradrachms from Syracuse. 3. A *lekythos*, 15 inches high, with figures in red on a black ground, the subject, a warrior receiving a libation from a female figure, perhaps on his departure to battle; on the shield is a satyr dancing, and from it hangs the *laiseion*, or fringe. 4. A *krater*, 17 inches high, with red figures on a black ground. On the obverse, four figures, probably representing the return of a victorious warrior. The drawing of this vase is later and rather careless. Besides these are some twenty *lekythi*, with red figures on a black ground. All these exhibit the severe drawing of the

vases with polychrome figures on a white ground, and are, probably, of the same epoch. The subjects are generally single figures or groups of two. Demeter and Triptotemos, Apollo and Artemis, Victory, Eros, and satyrs are among the subjects thus represented. In the same collection will be found a small but instructive series of the earlier vases, with black figures on a red or on a white ground. There are also a few specimens of the archaic period: in these, animals and flowers are painted in brown and crimson on a cream-coloured ground.

Among the *terra-cottas* is a small collection of archaic figures found in tombs at Gela. Of these, the most remarkable are,—a figure of *Hermes Kriophoros*, —7½ inches high, probably copied from an archaic statue by Calamis, which we find represented on a bronze coin of Tanagra, and of which a repetition in marble is preserved at Wilton House: the head and bust from a figure of a seated goddess of archaic type, crowned with a *modius*, and having, on her bosom, three rows of pendent ornaments, with a kind of epaulette or a large clasp attached to the front of each shoulder: this figure probably represents a Phœnician type, and resembles some of the small figures found at Dali (Idalium), in Cyprus.

There is also a curious assortment of *terra-cottas* from Centuripæ, consisting of a number of figures, groups, and heads, spirited in design but carelessly modelled, and evidently executed in the decline of Greek art. Aphrodite, Eros, and Victory are among the types that most frequently recur in these *terra-cottas*. In some cases the naked portion of the figure is covered with a vitreous glaze, the remainder being

unglazed. This application of vitreous glaze to Greek *terra-cotta* figures is most rare, and was probably introduced at a very late period of Greek art.

I must also notice here a bequest from the late Viscount Strangford of three curious small marble figures, varying from 9 inches to 19 inches high, procured many years since by him in Greece. These figures, probably, belong to the very earliest period of Greek sculpture. Two of them represent a naked female figure, perhaps that of Aphrodite. Ross, who has published an account of several such figures from the islands of the Greek Archipelago (see 'Archäologische Aussätze,' i. p. 52), considers such and similar figures to be the work of the Carians or of some other Præ-Hellenic race.

To Mr. Newton's researches we are also indebted for some very curious leaden tablets found during his excavations at Cnidus, rolled up and broken near the bases of statues, in the *temenos* of Demeter. They are fourteen in number. These tablets have been recently unrolled, and have been found to be covered with inscriptions, which have since been deciphered and engraved in *facsimile*. The subjects of all of them are *Diræ*, or dedications to the infernal gods of certain offending persons, on whose head punishment is invoked. The inscriptions themselves have much interest, not only as specimens of cursive palæography, but also for the light they throw on some of the superstitions of the ancient world. Such tablets are of extreme rarity.

Lastly, in dealing with Collections I must not omit to notice the splendid collection quite recently purchased of Signor Castellani, which is peculiarly rich

in bronzes and engraved stones, a large portion of which belonged to the late Marchese St. Angelo, together with many choice ancient and mediæval rings, and some interesting archaic *terra-cottas*, vases, and *sarcophagi*.

Among them I will particularize the following:—in bronze, (1) a seated figure, probably that of a philosopher, recently found in dredging the harbour of Brindisi, the ancient Brundusium. This bronze is worthy of study for the broad and effective treatment of the subject; the drapery is skilfully composed, and the conception of the figure easy and natural. (2) A group of Heracles overcoming the horses of Diomedes, which has formed the *epithema* or ornament to the top of a *cista*, of which only fragments remain. This group is an excellent specimen of Etruscan art; the horses are carefully modelled, though in a style retaining many traces of archaic stiffness. It was found at Palestrina (Præneste). (3) Demeter seated in a rustic car, a very curious specimen of Etruscan art, in the finest condition. It was found at Amelia, in Etruria. (4) A lamp in the form of head of a greyhound, holding in his mouth the head of a hare. This object is beautifully modelled and belongs to the finest period of Greek art. It was found at Nocera (Nuceria Alfaterna). (5) An oblong mirror set in an ornamented frame, round which are flowers and Cupids, and below a group representing a male and female figure. This mirror, which was found at Locri, in Southern Italy, is remarkable for its size and richness of decoration. (6) A mirror, on which is represented Helen after the taking of Troy seeking refuge from the pursuit of Menelaus at the altar of Athens; the composition

includes Aphrodite and several other figures whose Etruscan names are inscribed over them. The subject is here treated in an unusual manner, and this mirror is further remarkable for the masterly drawing of the figures; it may be considered as the finest specimen of its class in the National Collection.

Other mirrors there are on which occur respectively, Menelaus, Ulysses, Clytæmnestra, and Palamedes; Minerva, Heracles, Aphrodite, and Apollo these names being, in each case, written in Etruscan characters; together with many other excellent bronzes, to which time would not enable me to do justice. Besides these there are some fine vases, especially a cup, with red figures on a black ground, representing Dionysus with attendant Satyrs, a subject remarkable for the elaborate finish of the drawing: together with some curious *terra-cottas* found at Locri, one having for subject a Hermes Kriophoros and two female figures beside an altar, in front of which is a cock stooping over a candelabrum, and four *sarcophagi* from Chiusi, cut in freestone, and covered with low-reliefs of banquets, hunting scenes, etc. These reliefs are well preserved, and afford interesting specimens of Etruscan art.

I think I have now laid before the Society some account of the principal Collections which have been added to the Museum during the last few years. I will, therefore, bring to a conclusion what I have thought it right to read to you, with a brief notice of a few individual objects of importance which have been procured separately, and not as a part of any one great Collection. Of these, I shall notice—

(1.) A very fine painted vase, of the best period, in

the form of an *astragalus* or knuckle-bone. On it is represented a subject which is probably that of Pentheus and the Bacchantes. This vase was given to the National Collection by the late Earl of Aberdeen. It has been engraved, many years since, by Stackelberg, in his 'Gräber der Hellenen,' tab. xxiii.

(2.) A gold fibula, more than 8 inches long, of unusual size and beauty, formerly in the collection of Thomas Blayds, Esq. This fibula, which was found at Cære (Cervetri), is a magnificent specimen of Etruscan metallic workmanship. It is ornamented throughout its front by a double row of small lions, and the head is decorated with a sphinx, the whole being embossed and corded with filagree. It has been engraved in the 'Monumenti Inediti' of Micali, tav. xxi. figs. 6, 7. I have already pointed out the remarkable resemblance between the small lions on this fibula and the lions on No. 7 of the gold ornaments from Camirus.

(3.) A terra-cotta lamp, in the form of a galley, made of coarse red clay, and about 2 inches in length. This specimen was found at Pozzuoli, and was originally in the Durand collection, wherein it is fully described under No. 1777. The form is curious, and the figures with which it is ornamented render it a very remarkable object. On the upper part or deck of the galley are represented, in relief, a group of Serapis and Isis, below which is one of the Dioscuri, standing on a base inscribed with the word *ΕΤΠΑΟΙΑ*, in uncial characters. Below this again is a grotesque figure, supposed to be the potter Demiurgus, modelling a vase. On the bottom of the lamp is written, in uncial characters, *ΑΑΒΕ ΜΕ ΤΟΝ ΗΑΙΟ-*

CEPAΠΙΝ. From the evidence of the two subscriptions it is probable that this lamp was a votive offering, dedicated in a temple of Serapis, at Pozzuoli, after a successful voyage.

(4.) A group in white marble, representing Europa crossing the sea on the bull, found at Gortyna, in Crete, and obtained for the British Museum through Mr. Consul Guarracino. Though obviously the work of an inferior Cretan artist, this group is an interesting acquisition from the fact of its having being found at Gortyna, the scene of the fabled landing of Europa, on the coins of which town the same group may be noticed, composed in a manner very similar. It has been much injured, and the lower part of the figure of Europa appears to be a late restoration. It is impossible to say to what epoch it ought to be assigned; I suspect, however, that though Greek work, it belongs to Roman times, perhaps to a period little preceding the establishment of Christianity.

(5.) A colossal marble torso, found at Elæa, the port of Pergamus, and presented to the Museum by Captain Spratt, R.N. This torso exhibits part of a naked male figure, of which only the trunk and part of the right arm has been preserved. The figure when perfect must have been about 12 feet high. From the action of the right arm, which is slightly advanced, it is probable that the right hand held a spear. The general character of its workmanship is bold and effective, and it is, as a whole, an interesting specimen of colossal statuary. It seems likely that it was executed during the Macedonian period by some sculptor of the school of Pergamus.

(6.) A bronze lamp with two spouts, said to have

been found at Paris, in an excavation under the ancient Roman Thermæ, the site of which is now partially occupied by the Hôtel de Cluny. The form of this lamp is similar to that of a smaller lamp found at Pompeii, and engraved in the Mus. Borbon. xi. tab. 13. Two dolphins, united at their tails, adorn the upper part of the lamp; at each side, projects a half lion, and, under each spout, is a satyric head in relief. The whole composition is conceived in a bold and original style. The details are elaborately wrought out, and the eyes inlaid in silver. The lamp is further remarkable for its great size, measuring, as it does, 13½ inches in length, and having been, originally, of the same height and breadth. It has been suspended by a chain attached to the tails of the dolphins.

(7.) A bronze female figure, found in a railway excavation near Naples. This figure, which is 2 feet in height, is a very interesting specimen of early Græco-Italian or Etruscan art. It is draped to the feet. On the breast is engraved a floral pattern, and on the upper arm the fastening of the sleeves is indicated by the same process. The figure itself probably represents Aphrodite. This bronze is especially interesting as an early and fine example of ancient casting. The forearms, which are advanced in front of the body, have been separately cast, and then soldered on.

The (8th) and last individual specimen to which I think it worth while on this occasion to invite your attention is a remarkably beautiful figure in bronze of a Venus stooping as if to adjust her sandal. It is in height about 21 in. The subject is one not uncommon, several copies of it both in bronze and marble

It is not known where it was found, or whence it was obtained. This bust is supposed by Panofka, from the inclination of the head and neck, to have belonged originally to a seated figure, the general character of the workmanship, as he imagines, uniting the severity of the Æginetan school with the fullness and freedom of Phidias. I confess I cannot go the length of the learned German professor; or accept his judgment of its style as in any sense accurate. I see no proof whatever of archaic work or treatment, and beautiful as it undoubtedly is, it lacks the repose and force of the sculpture of the age of Phidias. On the other hand, there is ground for supposing, from the peculiar hardness and stiffness of the cutting of some part of the hair, especially at the top of the head, that it is really a copy from a bronze original. It appears further, that, at some time or other, the bust has been covered with paint, evident traces of red being visible here and there in the roots of the hair. It was originally held to be a representation of a Muse, but the comparison of many heads of the feminine type of Apollo, preserved in the different museums of Europe, leaves no doubt that the attribution to Apollo is correct.

Besides this beautiful head, several other works of minor importance were procured from the same sale: as, for instance, a head of a female Deity from the Greek Archipelago; together with busts of Julia Mamæa, Crispina, Lucius Verus, and a supposed Domitia. There are also two curious tessellated pavements, the one representing a landscape, on which are rocks covered with trees, and a cavern out of which a lion is seen issuing. In front of him is a running

stream, and, on the bank, a stag galloping off. Behind, at some distance, is a castle, and, in the extreme distance, blue mountains: opposite the lion, on the other bank of the river, is a rock covered with trees, in front of which is an aloe. The shadow of the stag is well indicated. The whole scene is enclosed in a frame ornamented with dentelles in black. The other mosaic represents a horse with a red bridle, kneeling on a platform raised on wheels. Beside the horse is an Amazon (?) dressed in a green cloak, reclining against the horse, and patting his neck with her right hand. Above, is a cable moulding. The whole has probably been a part of a much larger subject.

The next collection to which I shall call attention is one made during the years 1862–3, at the cost of Her Majesty's Government, in different places of Sicily, and more especially from Greek tombs at Centuripæ, Gela, and Agrigentum, by *Mr. George Dennis*, the well-known historian of Græco-Italian tombs in Italy.

I am glad to be able to add that Government has recognized the value of his services as an archæologist, and has sent him as consul to Ben-Ghazi, the ancient Berenice, a position in which he may emulate the success of Captains Porcher and Smith at Cyrene, and where, at all events, there is reasonable ground for supposing that relics of considerable value may yet be found. Certain it is, that the northern coast of Africa abounds in ancient sites, many of them the seats of colonies originally of great importance. In this district, should Mr. Dennis fail in obtaining the rich store of Antiquities he has met with in Sicily, he may derive consolation from the fact that the neighbour-

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hood of Berenice is no longer virgin soil, but has been explored again and again by a number of European antiquaries from the times of Admirals Beechey and W. H. Smyth to those of Captains Porcher and Smith.

The collection itself consists, chiefly, of *terra-cottas* and vases. Of these, the latter are remarkable alike for their size and their preservation; they belong, chiefly, to the class called *lekythi*, and vary from 14 to 19 inches in height.

The following are worthy of more especial notice:—

1. A *lekythos*, 18 inches high, with a group of two female figures in several colours on a white ground, a composition remarkable for the severe simplicity of the drawing and colouring, and for the force and distinctness of the outlines. 2. A *lekythos*, 14 inches high, with a seated female figure painted in various colours on a white ground. In this drawing the same pure and severe style may be recognized as on the one described above: and, in the head-dress, type of features, and general style of drawing, these figures much resemble the heads on the early tetradrachms from Syracuse. 3. A *lekythos*, 15 inches high, with figures in red on a black ground, the subject, a warrior receiving a libation from a female figure, perhaps on his departure to battle; on the shield is a satyr dancing, and from it hangs the *laiseion*, or fringe. 4. A *krater*, 17 inches high, with red figures on a black ground. On the obverse, four figures, probably representing the return of a victorious warrior. The drawing of this vase is later and rather careless. Besides these are some twenty *lekythi*, with red figures on a black ground. All these exhibit the severe drawing of the

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unglazed. This application of vitreous glaze to Greek *terra-cotta* figures is most rare, and was probably introduced at a very late period of Greek art.

I must also notice here a bequest from the late Viscount Strangford of three curious small marble figures, varying from 9 inches to 19 inches high, procured many years since by him in Greece. These figures, probably, belong to the very earliest period of Greek sculpture. Two of them represent a naked female figure, perhaps that of Aphrodite. Ross, who has published an account of several such figures from the islands of the Greek Archipelago (see 'Archäologische Aussätze,' i. p. 52), considers such and similar figures to be the work of the Carians or of some other Præ-Hellenic race.

To Mr. Newton's researches we are also indebted for some very curious leaden tablets found during his excavations at Cnidus, rolled up and broken near the bases of statues, in the *temenos* of Demeter. They are fourteen in number. These tablets have been recently unrolled, and have been found to be covered with inscriptions, which have since been deciphered and engraved in *facsimile*. The subjects of all of them are *Diræ*, or dedications to the infernal gods of certain offending persons, on whose head punishment is invoked. The inscriptions themselves have much interest, not only as specimens of cursive palæography, but also for the light they throw on some of the superstitions of the ancient world. Such tablets are of extreme rarity.

Lastly, in dealing with Collections I must not omit to notice the splendid collection quite recently purchased of Signor Castellani, which is peculiarly rich

in bronzes and engraved stones, a large portion of which belonged to the late Marchese St. Angelo, together with many choice ancient and mediæval rings, and some interesting archaic *terra-cottas*, vases, and *sarcophagi*.

Among them I will particularize the following:—in bronze, (1) a seated figure, probably that of a philosopher, recently found in dredging the harbour of Brindisi, the ancient Brundusium. This bronze is worthy of study for the broad and effective treatment of the subject; the drapery is skilfully composed, and the conception of the figure easy and natural. (2) A group of Heracles overcoming the horses of Diomedes, which has formed the *epithema* or ornament to the top of a *cista*, of which only fragments remain. This group is an excellent specimen of Etruscan art; the horses are carefully modelled, though in a style retaining many traces of archaic stiffness. It was found at Palestrina (Præneste). (3) Demeter seated in a rustic car, a very curious specimen of Etruscan art, in the finest condition. It was found at Amelia, in Etruria. (4) A lamp in the form of head of a greyhound, holding in his mouth the head of a hare. This object is beautifully modelled and belongs to the finest period of Greek art. It was found at Nocera (Nuceria Alfaterna). (5) An oblong mirror set in an ornamented frame, round which are flowers and Cupids, and below a group representing a male and female figure. This mirror, which was found at Locri, in Southern Italy, is remarkable for its size and richness of decoration. (6) A mirror, on which is represented Helen after the taking of Troy seeking refuge from the pursuit of Menelaus at the altar of Athens; the composition

It is not known where it was found, or whence it was obtained. This bust is supposed by Panofka, from the inclination of the head and neck, to have belonged originally to a seated figure, the general character of the workmanship, as he imagines, uniting the severity of the Æginetan school with the fullness and freedom of Phidias. I confess I cannot go the length of the learned German professor; or accept his judgment of its style as in any sense accurate. I see no proof whatever of archaic work or treatment, and beautiful as it undoubtedly is, it lacks the repose and force of the sculpture of the age of Phidias. On the other hand, there is ground for supposing, from the peculiar hardness and stiffness of the cutting of some part of the hair, especially at the top of the head, that it is really a copy from a bronze original. It appears further, that, at some time or other, the bust has been covered with paint, evident traces of red being visible here and there in the roots of the hair. It was originally held to be a representation of a Muse, but the comparison of many heads of the feminine type of Apollo, preserved in the different museums of Europe, leaves no doubt that the attribution to Apollo is correct.

Besides this beautiful head, several other works of minor importance were procured from the same sale: as, for instance, a head of a female Deity from the Greek Archipelago; together with busts of Julia Mamæa, Crispina, Lucius Verus, and a supposed Domitia. There are also two curious tessellated pavements, the one representing a landscape, on which are rocks covered with trees, and a cavern out of which a lion is seen issuing. In front of him is a running

the form of an *astragalus* or knuckle-bone. On it is represented a subject which is probably that of Pentheus and the Bacchantes. This vase was given to the National Collection by the late Earl of Aberdeen. It has been engraved, many years since, by Stackelberg, in his 'Gräber der Hellenen,' tab. xxiii.

(2.) A gold fibula, more than 8 inches long, of unusual size and beauty, formerly in the collection of Thomas Blayds, Esq. This fibula, which was found at Cære (Cervetri), is a magnificent specimen of Etruscan metallic workmanship. It is ornamented throughout its front by a double row of small lions, and the head is decorated with a sphinx, the whole being embossed and corded with filagree. It has been engraved in the 'Monumenti Inediti' of Micali, tav. xxi. figs. 6, 7. I have already pointed out the remarkable resemblance between the small lions on this fibula and the lions on No. 7 of the gold ornaments from Camirus.

(3.) A terra-cotta lamp, in the form of a galley, made of coarse red clay, and about 2 inches in length. This specimen was found at Pozzuoli, and was originally in the Durand collection, wherein it is fully described under No. 1777. The form is curious, and the figures with which it is ornamented render it a very remarkable object. On the upper part or deck of the galley are represented, in relief, a group of Serapis and Isis, below which is one of the Dioscuri, standing on a base inscribed with the word *ΕΤΠΑΟΙΑ*, in uncial characters. Below this again is a grotesque figure, supposed to be the potter Demiurgus, modelling a vase. On the bottom of the lamp is written, in uncial characters, *ΑΑΒΕ ΜΕ ΤΟΝ ΗΑΙΟ-*

CEPAIIIN. From the evidence of the two subscriptions it is probable that this lamp was a votive offering, dedicated in a temple of Serapis, at Pozzuoli, after a successful voyage.

(4.) A group in white marble, representing Europa crossing the sea on the bull, found at Gortyna, in Crete, and obtained for the British Museum through Mr. Consul Guarracino. Though obviously the work of an inferior Cretan artist, this group is an interesting acquisition from the fact of its having being found at Gortyna, the scene of the fabled landing of Europa, on the coins of which town the same group may be noticed, composed in a manner very similar. It has been much injured, and the lower part of the figure of Europa appears to be a late restoration. It is impossible to say to what epoch it ought to be assigned; I suspect, however, that though Greek work, it belongs to Roman times, perhaps to a period little preceding the establishment of Christianity.

(5.) A colossal marble torso, found at Elæa, the port of Pergamus, and presented to the Museum by Captain Spratt, R.N. This torso exhibits part of a naked male figure, of which only the trunk and part of the right arm has been preserved. The figure when perfect must have been about 12 feet high. From the action of the right arm, which is slightly advanced, it is probable that the right hand held a spear. The general character of its workmanship is bold and effective, and it is, as a whole, an interesting specimen of colossal statuary. It seems likely that it was executed during the Macedonian period by some sculptor of the school of Pergamus.

(6.) A bronze lamp with two spouts, said to have

been found at Paris, in an excavation under the ancient Roman Thermæ, the site of which is now partially occupied by the Hôtel de Cluny. The form of this lamp is similar to that of a smaller lamp found at Pompeii, and engraved in the Mus. Borbon. xi. tab. 13. Two dolphins, united at their tails, adorn the upper part of the lamp; at each side, projects a half lion, and, under each spout, is a satyric head in relief. The whole composition is conceived in a bold and original style. The details are elaborately wrought out, and the eyes inlaid in silver. The lamp is further remarkable for its great size, measuring, as it does, 13½ inches in length, and having been, originally, of the same height and breadth. It has been suspended by a chain attached to the tails of the dolphins.

(7.) A bronze female figure, found in a railway excavation near Naples. This figure, which is 2 feet in height, is a very interesting specimen of early Græco-Italian or Etruscan art. It is draped to the feet. On the breast is engraved a floral pattern, and on the upper arm the fastening of the sleeves is indicated by the same process. The figure itself probably represents Aphrodite. This bronze is especially interesting as an early and fine example of ancient casting. The forearms, which are advanced in front of the body, have been separately cast, and then soldered on.

The (8th) and last individual specimen to which I think it worth while on this occasion to invite your attention is a remarkably beautiful figure in bronze of a Venus stooping as if to adjust her sandal. It is in height about 21 in. The subject is one not uncommon, several copies of it both in bronze and marble

being extant, and, from their not unfrequent occurrence, it is certain that they must have been all taken from some original which, in its day, doubtless deserved a just reputation. This bronze is said to have been discovered at Patras (the ancient Patræ). It is of unusual size and in the finest condition. The countenance has great beauty, and in the whole motion of the figure there is a wonderful grace, the surest proof that it belongs to the best period of Greek art.

With this specimen I close for the present the catalogue of additions to the National Collection, with the hope that I may at some future time resume the subject.

W. S. W. Vaux.

Drawn on Ston

N BLE MR STRUTT

NOTE ON MR. STRUTT'S VASE.

BY MR. NEWTON.

(Read November 21, 1866.)

A SMALL *aryballos*, with red figures on a black ground, obtained at Athens by the Honourable Mr. Strutt, and said to have been found in a tomb at Tegea.

The subject is very similar to that of an Athenian *aryballos* in the British Museum, which formed part of the collection of the late Mr. Samuel Rogers. In both Aphrodite is represented seated on a rock in the centre of the scene, with female attendants round her, and certain accessories. In the Rogers vase, the *dramatis personæ* in this scene have their names inscribed over them; in Mr. Strutt's vase the names are wanting, but the figures and general composition are sufficiently alike to enable us to identify most of the figures on the uninscribed vase by the aid of the inscribed composition.

On the Rogers vase, Aphrodite, seated in the centre, turns round to Eros, who is sitting on her shoulder; on the right is Peitho, stooping over a kind of circular cage, which she is decking with branches of myrtle; beyond her again, on the right, is a myrtle or fruit-tree, from which Eudaimonia has gathered a fruit; on the left of Aphrodite is a similar fruit-tree, and

three female figures approaching with offerings of fruit and branches to Aphrodite, who are severally named Kleopatra, Eunomia, Paidia.

Turning to Mr. Strutt's vase before us, we have in the centre Aphrodite between two Erotes, who stand holding out branches of laurel or myrtle towards her. Beyond these figures, on the right, is a female figure moving towards Aphrodite, and holding in her left hand a cage similar to that on the Rogers vase. Aphrodite looks round towards this figure, which corresponds by its place in the composition and its association with the cage with the Peitho of the Rogers vase. From the extreme left another female figure approaches, bringing a wreath or a necklace. This may be one of the group of three on the Rogers vase, Eunomia, Paidia, or Kleopatra. M. de Witte, who has published the Rogers vase, in the 'Monuments Céramographiques,' iv. pl. 62, p. 191, points out that on another Athenian vase (Stackelberg, Gräber d. Hellenen, taf. 30) Aphrodite is represented holding on her lap a similar cage, into which Eros is entering. M. De Witte enters into an ingenious explanation of the Rogers vase, which he thinks may represent, euphemistically, the death of the young. In support of this view he cites a third *aryballos*, also in the British Museum, and engraved, iv. pl. 84 of his 'Monuments Céramographiques.' On this latter vase is a figure in the centre of the scene, resembling Aphrodite in motion, but inscribed Eudaimonia. Behind her is Eros, and to the right and left of her are three female figures, severally inscribed Hygieia, Pandaisia, and Kale. In the field are two myrtle-trees. This scene is also explained by M. De Witte as an euphemistic expression of Death.

These three *aryballi* are probably all of the same period. The drawing is very delicate, with a tendency to over-refinement and mannerism. Certain details, such as the wings of the Erotes, the beads of the necklaces, and the fruits, have been raised and gilt.

Mr. Strutt's vase is interesting, not only on account of its subject, but as a specimen of this particular kind of Fictile Art,—the first, as far as I know, that has been found in the Peloponnese.

C. T. NEWTON.

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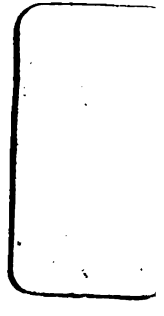
LITTLE QUEEN STREET, LINCOLN'S-INN FIELDS.

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